

JOHN DEE'S ACTIONS WITH SPIRITS:
22 DECEMBER 1581 TO 23 MAY 1583

in 2 volumes

by

Christopher Lionel Whitby

VOLUME I

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Synopsis

This thesis presents an investigation of the nature of the earliest extant records of the supposed communication with angels and spirits of John Dee (1527-1608) with the assistance of his two mediums or 'scryers', Barnabas Saul and Edward Kelly. The form chosen is a transcription of the records in Dee's hand contained in Sloane MS 3188, together with an introduction and commentary to the text, which has been transcribed only once before, by Elias Ashmole in 1672. In the Introduction the physical state of the manuscript is described and a hypothesis advanced as to how it arrived in the Sloane collection. Biographical details of Dee and his scryers are provided and a further chapter presents some background to Renaissance occult philosophy and the practice of scrying. Arguments that the manuscript represents a conscious fraud or a cryptographical exercise are examined and disproved and the magical system and instruments evolved during the communications or 'Actions' are described. The last chapter of the Introduction examines Dee's motives for believing so strongly in the truth of the Actions and suggests that a principal motive was the conviction, not held by Dee alone, that a new age was about to dawn upon earth. The Commentary aims primarily at explaining the many obscurities of the text. The thesis includes a photograph of an engraving of one of the magical instruments (the Holy Table) and a bibliography.

This thesis contains approximately 95,000 words, excluding the transcription of Sloane MS 3188.

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Abbreviations

- Calder I.R.F. Calder, 'John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist', unpublished University of London Ph.D. dissertation, 1952.
- CR 'The Compendious Rehearsall of John Dee his Dutifull Declaracion, and Proof of the Course and Race of his Studious Lyfe', Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee, Warden of the College of Manchester, edited by James Crossley, Chetham Society Publications, vol. XXIV (Manchester 1851), pp. 1-45.
- Diary The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee, edited by James O. Halliwell, Camden Society Publications, vol. XIX (London 1842).
- DNB The Dictionary of National Biography, 21 vols (London, later Oxford, 1885-1909).
- RM John Dee, General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfecte Arte of Navigation (London 1577), facsimile edition, The English Experience No. 62 (Amsterdam and New York 1968).
- Josten, Ashmole Elias Ashmole, his Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work, edited by C.H. Josten, 5 vols (Oxford 1966).
- Josten, 'Unknown Chapter' 'An Unknown Chapter in the Life of John Dee', edited by C.H. Josten, JWCI, 28 (1965), pp. 223-257.
- Monas John Dee, Monas hieroglyphica, translated by C.H. Josten, Ambix, XII (1964), pp. 84-221.
- Occ. Phil. Henry Cornelius Agrippa, Three Books of Occult Philosophy, translated by J[ames] F[rench] (London 1651).
- OED A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, edited by James A.H. Murray et al., 10 vols (Oxford 1884-1928).
- Preface John Dee, 'Mathematicall Preface' to The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara, translated by Sir Henry Billingsley (London 1570)
- TFR Meric Casaubon, A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers Between Dr: John Dee...and Some Spirits (London 1659).

Abbreviations (2)

Walker

D.P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella (London 1958, reprinted 1969).

I

THE MANUSCRIPT

Sloane MS 3188 contains the 'Actions with spirits' conducted by John Dee (1527-1608) and his scryers, principally Edward Kelly (1555-1595), between 22 December 1581 and 23 May 1583. These Actions are the records of visions of angels and other spirits and the messages delivered by them as seen and heard by the scryers with the aid of a crystal ball, and then immediately related to Dee, who though present saw and heard nothing. The manuscript contains 104 folios in Dee's hand which form his fair copy of notes recording the events taken at the time the Actions were conducted.¹ A short preface by Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) and some notes in cipher by William Shippen (1635-1693) are also contained in the present binding.

a) Provenance

In 1662 or 1663 a Mr. and Mrs. Jones of Lombard Street in London had occasion to move a chest, which they had bought shortly after their marriage, from its customary place in their house. Hearing something rattle they looked closely at the chest and Mr. Jones discovered a secret drawer containing various manuscript papers and a rosary and cross of olive wood. Being unable to understand the contents of these papers, they paid no great attention to them and many were eventually lost through being used by their maid to line pie dishes.² Two years later Mr. Jones died and although the chest perished in the Fire of London, the manuscripts, such as were left, were preserved. Mrs. Jones married again, this time to Thomas Wale who was a warder at the Tower of London and acquainted with Elias Ashmole. Learning the story of the discovery of the manuscripts and that the chest had once belonged to John Dee, Wale sent them to Ashmole on 20 August 1672 for his perusal.

The importance of the manuscripts was not lost upon Ashmole. Thirteen years before, most of the records of Dee's magical dealings from 28 May 1583 until his death had been published by Meric Casaubon as a warning how easily man may be deluded into dealing with devils.³ Now Ashmole had in his hands four magical books written by Dee and also the diaries of his magical experiments between 22 December 1581 and 23 May 1583 that immediately preceded those in Casaubon's edition. Here were the 'Actions with spirits' that formed the ground of all those contained in A True and Faithful Relation and without which the latter could not properly be understood. Consequently on 5 September 1672 Ashmole exchanged a copy of his popular work on the Order of the Garter⁴ for all the manuscripts that had been discovered in the chest.

After the attention of the Jones's maid the manuscripts were in a rather poor condition and Ashmole bound them and made transcripts of his own.⁵ He also spent much time trying to solve some of the difficulties and inconsistencies of the magical system that was evolved during those early years and began to collect information concerning Dee. In January of 1672 John Aubrey (1626-1697) had written to Anthony à Wood (1632-1695) that he hoped to be able to persuade Ashmole to write a biography of Dee and Ashmole seems to have considered the proposal seriously for he began to search for the MSS of Dee's that were reputed to be in the hands of Sir William Boswell, ambassador to the Hague.⁶ Anthony à Wood took up the task of writing Dee's biography, however, or at least of writing something concerning him within a larger work,⁷ and Ashmole decided to leave the project in his hands, writing that he would contribute such material as he had towards Wood's study. Yet

although much of Ashmole's information concerning Dee's life and magic, including his own annotated copy of TFR,⁹ were handed over to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford either with the Tradescant collection in 1683 or in the legacy of 1,758 books (which included 620 MS volumes, 311 in folio) that reached Oxford by 22 August 1692 after his death,¹⁰ the manuscripts discovered by Mr. and Mrs. Jones and Ashmole's transcripts of them were not included. They would else still be in the Bodleian with the other relevant manuscripts of both Dee and Ashmole. The reason concerns the directions given in Ashmole's will. This granted to Oxford all printed books and MSS, bound and loose, which would be found at the time of his death 'in the two uppermost Studies in my Turret at my house in South Lambeth' and in the inner closet 'within my lower Study over the Milke house' in the same house.¹¹ Evidently the manuscripts that now form part of the Sloane collection were not to be found there. It seems that they were not in the house at all since they were not catalogued among the 12 folio MSS that formed part of the collection of Ashmole's library that was auctioned after his death on 22 February 1694 at Roll's Auction House in Petty Canon Alley by St. Paul's Churchyard.¹²

C.H. Josten writes that 'it is not known how these Dee manuscripts, and Ashmole's transcripts of them, have found their way into the Sloane collection of manuscripts at the British Museum.'¹³ There are a few hypotheses that may be put forward, however, based upon evidence from the manuscripts themselves. On the flyleaf of Sloane MS 3188 Sir Frederic Madden, head of the manuscripts department at the British Museum from 1837 to 1866, wrote in January 1854:

This volume [was purchased at the sale] is in Dr. Dee's own handwriting, [of Sir Joseph Jekyll's library in January 1739/40] as far as fol. 108. [Lot]

A fair copy of it by Elias Ashmole was purchased at the same Sir Joseph Jekyll's sale, January 1739/40 (Lot 405) and is now MS Sloane 3677.¹⁴

The deletions, signified here by square brackets, indicate that while Ashmole's transcript was purchased at the above sale, there was some doubt concerning Dee's original MS. Sloane MS 3191, which contains the other four books found in Dee's chest, now bears no reference to its purchase, although there is an erased reference on the flyleaf by Madden to its having belonged to Thomas Cotton.¹⁵ Sloane MS 3189, which contains the so called Book of Enoch in Kelly's hand, was certainly in the Cotton collection,¹⁶ as were the manuscripts from which TFR was printed,¹⁷ these having been found buried in a field by Robert Cotton acting upon information he had received.¹⁸ The two possibilities that present themselves are that the original MSS discovered in the chest and Ashmole's transcripts remained together and somehow were acquired by Jekyll and then by Sloane, or else they became separated, only Ashmole's transcripts being acquired by Jekyll and the other MSS arriving in Sloane's collection by another way. It is not unlikely that the originals, being of greater scholarly as well as financial value, might have parted company with Ashmole's transcripts. The erased reference in Sloane MS 3191 suggests that they may have reached the Cotton collection, but they were never catalogued there at any time, and in order to reach the Sloane collection they must have left the Cotton collection before the founding of the British Museum in 1753. Since the Cotton collection spent much time sealed up, it is unlikely that these manuscripts were contained in it, unless they were suddenly removed by some person after the disastrous fire of 23 October 1731, a possibility which is again remote.

Even if Dee's original manuscripts were purchased at Jekyll's

sale along with Ashmole's transcripts, there is a period of at least forty-six years during which their location is not accounted for. In Ashmole's writings upon Dee many persons are to be found who seem to have had some interest in the Elizabethan scholar. Among them are John Aubrey, Sir Thomas Browne, Sir William Boswell, Meredith Lloyd, Anthony à Wood and William Shippen.¹⁹ This last figure was born in 1635, matriculated from Oxford in 1653, became a fellow of University College, and was preferred successively to Prestbury (1667), Kirkheaton (1670), Aldford (1676) and finally Stockport (1678) where he died on 29 September 1693. Shippen was intensely interested in Dee and collated his copy of TFR with the original manuscripts in the Cotton collection.²⁰ Ashmole's copy of a letter between Dee and William Camden of 7 August 1574 bears the marginal note that 'the Originall is in the Library at Dublin in Ireland, whence Mr. William Shippen now (1677) Minister of Kirkhethon neere Wakefield in Yorkshire tooke a Coppy, & from thence I caused this Transcript to be made.'²¹ Both Sloane MS 3188 and Sloane MS 3189 (The Book of Enoch) contain notes by Shippen. Bound in the back of Sloane MS 3188 are some papers by Shippen which provide a summary in long-hand and cipher of the contents of Dee's records and function to a certain extent as an index. One of the blank folios preceding the title page of Sloane MS 3189 has pasted upon it a note by Shippen explaining an error concerning the beginning of The Book of Enoch.²² The papers in the back of Sloane MS 3188 may have been gathered there when Sloane rebound the MS, but the note at the beginning of Sloane MS 3189 must have been with that MS when it arrived in Sloane's hands. The inference is therefore that these MSS arrived in Sloane's hands together with Shippen's

annotated copy, although only Sloane MS 3189 bears specific references to intermediate owners (see note 16) and we cannot tell whether Sir Joseph Jekyll ever owned more than Ashmole's transcripts of them. If Shippen did indeed possess the MSS at any time, they must have reached him soon enough before his death in 1693 for him to make extensive notes. A note by Madden on a flyleaf to Shippen's copy of TFR states that the annotations were made in 1683 and so it is likely that around that time Shippen may also have borrowed the MSS in Ashmole's possession. Since he must have borrowed Sloane MS 3189 from the Cotton collection, whence Ashmole took his own copy, there is some doubt about his effecting its return,²³ as it is now in the Sloane collection and bears signs of ownership by Dr. Biggs and Mr. Jane Hulbert (note 16). If he borrowed Sloane MS 3188 from Ashmole before the latter's death, he may also have failed to return that, Ashmole dying before Shippen had completed his work on the MS and then Shippen himself dying shortly afterwards, his goods and the borrowed MSS presumably passing on to his son William for disposal as he saw fit.

None of the evidence concerning the ownership of the MSS between their possession by Ashmole and Sloane is conclusive. The most probable hypotheses are however that either Ashmole lent the originals (and perhaps also his own transcripts) to some person and that they were not returned or that his widow disposed of them separately after her husband's death, perhaps according to some instructions given to her. The most likely candidate to whom the MSS might have been lent is William Shippen, since his hand appears in annotations in Sloane MSS 3188 and 3189, the former having been in Ashmole's possession and the latter having been in Sir John Cotton's. The place of Sir Joseph Jekyll in the

proceedings is only clear with regard to Ashmole's transcripts of Sloane MSS 3188 and 3191 and I am not convinced that he ever possessed Dee's original copies.

b) Physical Characteristics

Sloane MS 3188 contains 171 leaves in its present folio binding. The first two leaves are unpaginated, and thereafter the leaves are foliated in pencil in the top right hand corner from 1 to 169. Folios 1-13 measure 315-320mm high by 205mm wide and fol. 14 measures 220mm by 205mm. All other leaves measure 295-300mm by 205mm with the following exceptions: fol. 15 (175mm x 140mm), fol. 46 (77mm x 252mm), fol. 81 (200mm x 142mm), fol. 87 (134mm x 190mm), fol. 97 (112mm x 123mm), fol. 99 (70mm x 127mm), and fols 141-169 (188mm x 150mm).

The second leaf bears the note by Sir Frederic Madden concerning the purchase of the volume and the leaf designated as fol. 1 bears a note in an unknown hand which reads: 'Dr. Dee's conference with Angels from Dec. 22. 1581 to May 30. 1583 being what preceeds y^e other Conferences printed by Dr. Meric Causabon Lond. 1659. in folio with a preface by Elias Ashmole. Añ:1672.'²⁴ Fols 2-3 are in Ashmole's hand and contain the account of the manuscript's discovery. Thereafter until fol. 108 the manuscript is in Dee's hand, with the exception of fols 15, 16 and 46 which are in Ashmole's hand and fol. 99 which is mostly in Edward Kelly's hand. Fol. 87 is either in Dee's or in Kelly's hand, but being written in an unprecedented cipher it is not possible to define the authorship any more closely. Fols 109 to 169 are partly in cipher and are in the hand of William Shippen. The ink used in the manuscripts is either black or brown, except that certain characters

at fol. 97 are written in red ink. Some parts of the MS may have once been in red ink which has since faded to a yellow-brown colour, as is indicated by a comparison of the colours in Ashmole's transcript of The Book of Enoch against the original.

That part of the manuscript which I have transcribed and which forms the second volume of this thesis occurs between fols 2 and 108 inclusive. I have, however, retained the folio numbering in pencil as it now exists in the MS. Hereafter references to 'the manuscript' will only signify that part which I have transcribed, unless otherwise stated. Dee's records of his magical dealings are divided into five books and an appendix to the fifth book. Title pages occur at fols 4, 16, 31, 44 and 60, that at fol. 16 being in Ashmole's hand. The title to the appendix to the fifth book is written at the top of fol. 91a.

When Ashmole received the papers he placed them in his own binding²⁵ and certain words were wholly or partially obscured by the binding, while others were lost through previous damage to the MS. Consequently the MS contains words in Ashmole's hand, usually in the left hand margin, replacing those rendered illegible by his binding. Many of the original words have since reappeared as a result of the rebinding by Sloane and some repetition of words has therefore ensued. Ashmole also paginated each leaf of Dee's MS,²⁶ beginning at Dee's prefatory explanation to the Actions (fol. 7a) and this pagination is given below. The only numbers in Dee's hand occur in the fourth book between fols 45a and 59a and these are given below in round brackets. The numbers in square brackets are those which Ashmole deleted after he discovered an error in his own sequence.

fols 1a-6b unnumbered.

fols 7a-14b numbered 1-16.

fols 15a-16b unnumbered.

fols 17a-18b numbered 19-22.

fols 19a unnumbered as a consequence of damage to the folio.

fols 19b-30a numbered 24-45.

fols 30b-31b unnumbered.

fols 32a-35a numbered 47-53.

fols 35b-38a numbered 54 [56]-59 [61].

fols 38b-39a numbered 60-61, the latter number being written over 63.

fol. 39b numbered 62 [64].

fols 40a-41b numbered 63 [65 67]-66 [67 69].

fol. 42a numbered only [69] and is damaged.

fols 42b-43a numbered 68 [70]-69 [71].

fols 43b-44b numbered 70-72.

fols 45a-45b numbered 75-76, recto also being numbered (2).

fols 46a-46b unnumbered.

fol. 47a numbered (3).

fols 47b-49b numbered 78-82.

fol. 50a numbered (6).

fols 50b-51b numbered 84-86.

fols 52a-59b numbered 87-102, rectos also being numbered (8) - (15).

fols 60a-60b unnumbered.

fols 61a-80a numbered 103-141 with signs of erasures.

fol. 80b numbered 142 [144].

fols 81a-81b unnumbered.

fols 82a-85a numbered 143 [145]-149 [151].

fol. 85b numbered 150.

fols 86a-86b numbered 151 [153]-152 [154].

fols 87a-96b numbered 153-172.

fols 97a-97b unnumbered.

fols 98a-98b numbered 173-174.

fols 99a-99b unnumbered.

fols 100a-108a numbered 175-191.

fol. 108b unnumbered.

Of the six non-folio leaves bound in the manuscript only that at fol. 87 is paginated and included within the numbering sequence. Of the title pages those at fols 4, 31 and 60 are neither paginated nor included within the numbering sequence, while those at fols 16 and 44 are paginated.

c) Missing Leaves

Despite the attentions of the Jones's maid, the five books and appendix of Dee's magical dealings are nearly complete. There are papers missing at the beginning of the second book, possibly at the end of the second and third books, and at the beginning of the fourth. The five books of the manuscripts cover Actions between the following dates:

Book 1: 22 December 1581 - 15 March 1582

Book 2: 19? March 1582 - 21 March 1582

Book 3: 28 April 1582 - 29 April 1582 and 4 May 1582²⁷

Book 4: 15 November 1582 - 21 November 1582

Book 5: 23 March 1583 - 18 April 1583

Appendix: 20 April 1583 - 23 May 1583

The second book begins in the middle of an Action and the extant first leaf of that book is damaged in the upper half. Ashmole notes at fol. 15a that concerning Book 2 the 'beginning thereof is vtterly perished' but gives a more detailed conjecture

in his transcript. There he remarks that 'the first Leafe, and the vpper part of the second is vtterly perished' (Sloane MS 3677, 22a). There is no conclusive evidence as to the number of folios missing from the beginning of this book and Ashmole's note concerning the first leaf may only refer to the title page which is now in his hand (fol. 16). Dee had evidently received some instruction for the making of a seal, but whether in one or more missing folios or in a private vision of Kelly's (he often had such), it is not possible to determine. There might be much or little wanting from the beginning of this book, but according to Ashmole's estimation, based on the size of the extant first folio, there are only sixteen lines destroyed by the damage to each side of fol. 17 (see Sloane MS 3677, 24a and 24b).

Ashmole also conjectures that there are some papers missing between the second and third books, probably belonging to the second book, 'for in the begining of the Action of 28 of April Michael taxeth and threatneth Δ [Dee] for his slacknes in not preparing things appointed by him (which Δ excuseth with inability) but there is no mention of such appointment in the Action of 21 of March' (Sloane MS 3677, 23a). Kelly had left for London on 22 March²⁸ but there is no reference in any of Dee's writings as to the date of his return. The second book shows no obvious signs of any papers having been removed from its end and the third book is certainly intact at its beginning, bearing a title page in Dee's hand immediately followed by the beginning of the Action noted on that title page. It therefore seems more likely that the instructions which Dee failed to carry out and for which he was consequently admonished were contained in such papers as are wanting at the beginning of the second book.²⁹

It is very likely that the third book is not extant in its entirety. Ashmole reached the conclusion that this was so on account of the note on the title page of the fourth book which reads 'post reconciliationem Kellianam' ('after the reconciliation with Kelly') but his reasoning was in error. Kelly was first introduced to Dee under the name of Edward Talbot and the fourth book is the first time that he is noted under the initials of 'E.K.' rather than 'E.T.'³⁰ Ashmole at this time failed to realise that Talbot and Kelly were the same person, even though the style and tone of Dee's assistant remain the same and E.K. shows an extraordinary familiarity with all the information and the magical system that has come through the scrying of E.T. Ashmole notes that on 4 May 1582 'Mr. Talbot went away from Mortlack as soone as his account of 4 of May was finished, and deserted the imployment' and argues that in order for some reconciliation to have been made with Kelly before the beginning of the fourth book, Kelly must have been previously employed by Dee (Sloane MS 3677, 23a). It is curious that Ashmole did not connect Kelly with Talbot here since he does note that 'E.T. was unwilling to proceed as Skryer any further, because Michael willed him to marry and tis probable he here left off' (Sloane MS 3677, 23a). It makes greater sense to see Talbot and Kelly as the same man and this unwillingness shown on 4 May as the rupture that needed reconciliation than to suppose a change of scryer from Talbot to a different individual by the name of Kelly to whose previous employment and desertion there is not a single reference. Nevertheless Ashmole failed to make the necessary connection between Talbot and Kelly and so postulated some missing Actions.

Yet in spite of Ashmole's erroneous reasoning, Dee's Diary does

suggest that there might indeed be some Actions missing between 4 May and 15 November 1582. On 4 May 'Mr. Talbot went', presumably to collect some books that were in the possession of Lord Monteagles (see 24b, 44 - 25a, 4). There is no reference to any acrimony between Dee and Kelly, except in so far as Kelly was angered by an instruction from the angels on 29 April that he should take a wife, (39b, 45). Although he 'wold not willingly now deale' with the angels nor 'put of his hat in any prayer to god' (42a, 3-5), Kelly continued to act as scryer for the Action of May 4 which ends with a promise of a 'next Call' or Action (43b, 15). Although Kelly left on 4 May in mistrust of the angels, it is not certain that he broke the relationship with Dee at this precise time. Dee generally noted arguments between himself and Kelly either in his diary or in the records of the Actions,³¹ and that Kelly left in order to obtain the books held by Lord Monteagles is indicated by Dee's Diary entry of 13 July 1582, which reads:

Mr. Talbot cam abowt 3 of the klok afternone, with whom I had some wordes of unkenndnes: we parted frendely: he sayd that the Lord Morley had the Lord Mountegle his bokes. He promised me some of Doctor Myniver's bokes.

Yet although Kelly was evidently still performing services for Dee, he may have refused to continue as his scryer. There certainly seems to have been some kind of break between them between 4 May and 13 July since an erased note in Dee's diary states that on 6 May 1582 Dee's wife Jane was 'in a mervaylous rage at 8 of the cloke at night, and all that night, and next morning till 8 of the cloke, melancholike and ch<ided me> terrible for..... that come to me only honest and lerned men' and that 'by Mr. Clerkson his help was <pacified> '.³² Since she was pacified with the help of Clerkson, who had first intro-

duced Kelly, under the name of Talbot, to the Dee household,³³ and her complaint was that Dee was involved with dishonest men, it is probable that the cause of her anger was Kelly. If Kelly had refused to act as Dee's scryer at this time, Jane Dee may have berated her husband then in the hope of preventing any similar kind of man being taken into the household, or her anger at some action of Kelly's may have caused the scryer to forsake the household feeling much aggrieved at his treatment. Evidently some reconciliation was made by 13 July, however, and there is no further reference in the Diary to Kelly until 22 November, seven days after the extant Actions had begun again. That there was business between Dee and Kelly which is not recorded is shown by the fact that Dee's Diary entry of 13 July still uses the name of Talbot while the first extant Action thereafter uses the name Kelly without explanation for the change.

Nothing points conclusively to there being any papers missing from this third book, but neither is there any conclusive evidence that the book is complete as it now stands. The third book ends in an unsatisfactory way, the Action of 4 May bearing the superscription 'Liber 4', (42a, 1) while the fourth book is begun again with the Action of 15 November 1582. Whether the promise of further Actions given in the Action of 4 May and implied by the title of 'Liber 4' remains apparently unfulfilled until 15 November because Kelly refused to act any more as scryer or because part of the third book is missing cannot be satisfactorily answered. The six month gap is the longest period in the manuscript during which there are no Actions recorded and if Kelly consistently refused to serve, one would expect Dee to have made some attempt to procure another scryer. That he apparently made no such attempt³⁴ suggests

the probability that he may at some time during that period have prevailed upon Kelly to continue with the Actions, a rupture between them occurring towards the latter end of the period, perhaps connected with the revelation that Kelly had been using a false name.

The fourth book evidently lacks the first leaf, since Dee numbered the recto of each folio and the first extant leaf begins with the number 2 (45a). The four month period between books four and five was a result of Kelly spending the winter in Gloucestershire. On 22 November he went to Blockley at the foot of the Cotswold hills and was supposed to return in ten days (Diary). That he did not was probably partly a result of his own inclinations and partly a result of the difficulties of winter travel. When he did return he brought with him certain clues as to the location of some buried treasure, supposedly having been led to these clues by a spiritual creature, and this no doubt assuaged any wrath that Dee may have intended to vent upon him for his prolonged absence. The fifth book and its appendix are complete and there is only a five day period between the last Action of the manuscript and the beginning of TFR, such a gap being not uncommon between consecutive Actions.

1. Evidence for the manuscript being a fair copy may be found in some of the mistakes and corrections Dee made (see for instance 39a, MN34 and 54a, 15) and in a statement to this effect at 98b, 15.
2. The story of the discovery and loss of the manuscripts is contained in Ashmole's preface to Sloane MS 3188 (fols 2-3). The use of old papers for this purpose was a common culinary practice and a similar misfortune befell many of the manuscripts in the possession of the eighteenth-century scholar William Warburton (see W. W. Greg, 'The Bakings of Betsy', W.W. Greg, Collected Papers, edited by J. C. Maxwell (Oxford 1966), pp. 48-74).
3. A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee (A Mathematician of Great Fame in Q. Eliz. and King James their Reignes) and Some Spirits, edited by Meric Casaubon (London 1659), hereafter abbreviated to TFR. The manuscripts from which this volume was printed are now BM Cotton Appendix XLVI (2 volumes).
4. Elias Ashmole, The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (London 1672).
5. Ashmole's transcript of Sloane MS 3188 is now Sloane MS 3677. His transcripts of the other four books are now Sloane MS 3678.
6. See Elias Ashmole, his Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work, edited by C. H. Josten, 5 vols (Oxford 1966), I, 183.
7. Wood's account of John Dee is appended to his life of Arthur Dee (John Dee's son) in Athenae Oxoniensis, edited by Philip Bliss, 4 vols (London 1813-1820), III, 288-292.
8. Josten, Elias Ashmole, III, 1288-1289 (Wood MS F. 39, fol. 59). The letter is dated 30 December 1672.
9. This was based upon Meric Casaubon's own annotated copy of the work. Ashmole's copy is now Ashmole MS 580 and Casaubon's copy is also in the Bodleian Library, shelf-mark D. 8. 14 art.
10. See Josten, Elias Ashmole, I, 1301 and IV, 1891, n. 1.
11. Josten, Elias Ashmole, IV, 1828-1832. The will is dated 6 September 1686, six years before Ashmole's death.
12. See Bibliotheca Ashmoliana, A Catalogue of the Library of the Learned and Famous Elias Ashmole Esq., in the BM collection of sale catalogues 1680-1696, shelf-mark S-C 92319.

13. Josten, Elias Ashmole, I, 185, n. 1.
14. Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663-1739) entered the Middle Temple in 1680, was called to the bar in 1687 and was appointed Master of the Rolls on 13 July 1717.
15. What led Madden to this conclusion is not clear, but since the note refers to Ashmole making a copy from the MS belonging to Cotton, Madden may have confused this MS with Sloane MS 3189.
16. Ashmole writes that he borrowed the original from Sir John Cotton in order to make his own transcript (Ashmole MS 422, fol. 1b). It must be assumed that he did return the original, having no further need for it.
17. These MSS were not catalogued in Thomas Smith's Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae (Oxford 1696), but were noted as Cotton Appendix XXVI No. 5007 in the Planta catalogue of 1802. They were then bound in three volumes and described as 'a quantity of folio paper books of his [Dee's] own writing, consisting of many parts of his Liber mysteriorum, and conferences with angels'. It is possible that the Book of Enoch was one of these volumes, but since it is now in the Sloane collection, it almost certainly left the Cotton Library before the catalogue of 1802. The second flyleaf contains a partially torn note in an unknown hand that someone '[boug]ht this booke of Dr Biggs for a Guinea' and yet another hand on the following folio proclaims that 'Mr Jane Hulbert is my na[me]', these folios being later additions to those in Kelly's hand.
18. See John Aubrey, Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 2 vols (London 1813), second volume in two parts, II part 1, 311.
19. See Josten, Elias Ashmole, II, 662-3, 731, 754-5; III, 1242, 1285, 1288-9; IV, 1293, 1298-1300, 1332, 1371-3, 1398, 1453, 1656-7.
20. Shippen's copy is now in the British Library, shelf-mark 719. m. 12.
21. Josten, Elias Ashmole, IV, 1453.
22. Sloane MS 3189, fol. 2a.
23. It was a common complaint of owners of libraries that borrowers were unwilling to return copies lent to them, although the owners themselves were often guilty of the same behaviour. Sir John Cotton asserted for instance that many works lent to John Selden were never returned (see Aubrey, Letters, I, 23). Similar complaints were voiced by both Dee and Ashmole.

24. Sloane MS 3188 goes up to the Action of 23 May 1583 and TFR begins at 28 May 1583, so the cause of this error in declaring that the manuscript continues until 30 May is inexplicable.
25. A note by Madden on the flyleaf of Sloane MS 3191 declares that 'this Volume formerly belonged to Ashmole and on the clasps of the old binding his coat of arms was impressed'. It is reasonable to assume that Sloane MS 3188 was formerly in a similar binding.
26. In his transcript Ashmole writes that 'he supplied that defect' of pagination 'in the Originall' (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 68a).
27. The Action of 4 May 1582 bears the marginal title 'Liber 4', but the Actions of 15-21 November 1582 are preceded by a title page denoting them as Book IV (fol. 44a). Dee thought to begin Book IV on 4 May but there followed a rupture between him and Kelly and Book IV was begun again after their reconciliation.
28. See the entry for this date in The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee, edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Camden Society Publications, vol XIX (London 1842), hereafter abbreviated to Diary.
29. The beginning of the second book (fol. 17a) does not give any real indication of the nature of the missing material.
30. At fol. 11a, 7, 'E.K.' appears to be written under 'E.T.', but the error might be sheer coincidence.
31. See for instance Sloane MS 3188, 91a, 4-19.
32. This entry is not recorded in Halliwell's edition and is to be found in the original diary which consisted of the Ephemerides of Stadius for 1554-1600 (Cologne 1570) and of Maginus for 1581-1620 (Venice 1582), in the margins of which were written respectively the memoranda which constitute the Diary from January 1577 to December 1600 and from September 1586 to April 1601. These volumes are now Ashmole MSS 487 and 488. The entry for 6 May 1582, part of which is illegible, is to be found in Ashmole MS 487, sig. Hhhhh 2v.
33. See Diary, 8 March 1582 and 9 March 1582.
34. On 19 June Dee was visited by his former scribe Barnabas Saul, but there seems to have been no attempt at reconciliation, for Dee 'chyd him for his manifold untrue reports' (Diary).

II

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

a) John Dee

The two principal sources of Dee's life are of his own composition. They are his diary and the autobiographical exposition that he prepared for the Queen's commissioners in 1592 in an effort to gain redress for 'the intollerable extremitie of the injuries and indignities' which his name had suffered at the hands of the populace for a number of years. This document was fully entitled The Compendious Rehearsal of John Dee his Dutifull Declaracion, and Proof of the Course and Race of his Studious Lyfe, for the Space of Halfe an Hundred Yeares, Now (by God's Favour and Helpe) Fully Spent, and of the Very Great Injuries, Damages, and Indignities, which for these Last Nyne Years He hath in England Sustained, (Contrary to Her Majesties Very Gracious Will and Express Commandment), Made unto the Two Honourable Commissioners, By Her Most Excellent Majestie Thereto Assigned, According to the Intent of the Most Humble Supplication of the Said John, Exhibited to Her Most Gracious Majestie at Hampton-Court. Anno 1592. Nov.9.¹

Other sources are to be found in the writings of Ashmole and Aubrey and in the biography in Thomas Smith's Vitae quorundam eruditissimorum et illustrium virorum (London 1707). Since Smith's account only three works have attempted to give any comprehensive and accurate assessment of the whole of Dee's life:

Charlotte Smith's biography John Dee (London 1909); I.R.F. Calder's unpublished University of London doctoral dissertation John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist (1952); and more recently John Dee by Peter J. French (London 1972).² Since my concern is with Dee in relation to his magical dealings between 1581 and 1583, I propose to do little more than give the straightforward facts of his life and major works here.

Dee was born on 13 July 1527 in London, the son of Rowland Dee, a gentleman server to Henry VIII, and Johanna Wild, daughter of William Wild.³ Dee's early studies were in London and at the chantry school in Chelmsford and in November 1542 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, graduating with the degree of B.A. in the early part of 1546. He was then elected a Fellow of Trinity College and appointed as the Under-Reader of Greek. At a students' performance of the play Eirene ('Peace') by Aristophanes he devised a mechanical beetle which flew 'up to Jupiter's pallace, with a man and his basket of victualls on her back: whereat was great wondring, and many vaine reportes spread abroad of the meanes how that was effected' (CR, pp. 5-6). In a society in which mathematics was regarded with great suspicion,⁴ Dee's mechanical wonder excited rumours of supernatural powers being employed, rumours that were to plague his life to the end. In May 1547 he made his first journey abroad spending several months in the Low Countries in conference with 'some learned men, and chiefly mathematicians, as Gemma Frisius, Gerardus Mercator, Gaspar à Mirica, Antonius Gogava, &c.' (CR, p.5) and he returned the same year with two great globes made by Mercator and an astronomer's armillary ring and staff of brass, devised by Frisius, all of which he later left to Trinity College, Cambridge.⁵

In 1548 Dee received the degree of Master of Arts and entered as a student at the University of Louvain in the summer of that year, remaining there until 15 July 1550. His reputation for learning spread far and wide⁶ and when a few days after arriving in Paris on 20 July 1550, he gave readings on Euclid's 'Elements Geometricall, Mathematicè, Physicè, et Pythagoricè; a thing never done publicly in any University of Christendome' (CR, p.7), his audience, mostly

older than himself, was so large that the mathematical schools could not hold them and many were forced to listen at the windows. Following these lectures Dee became acquainted with many of the best minds on the continent,⁷ with whom in later years he maintained a steady correspondence, but despite an offer of 200 French crowns yearly to be one of the French King's Readers in mathematics, he returned to England in 1551.

In December 1551 Dee obtained through John Cheke (later knighted) an introduction to William Cecil, then Secretary and later Lord Treasurer of England, and received from King Edward VI an annual royal pension of 100 crowns, possibly in response to two manuscript works which Dee had dedicated to the young king, De usu globi coelestis (1550) and De nubium, solis, lunae, ac reliquorum planetarum, etc. (1551).⁸ On 19 May 1553 this pension was exchanged for the rectory of Upton-upon-Severn in Worcestershire, which despite Dee's reference to it as a 'bettering' (CR, p. 10) proved in the end to be a poor bargain. He never lived at the rectory and even when the rectory of Long Leadenham in Lincolnshire was added later in the year, he received only £80 per annum.⁹ At the end of February 1552 Dee entered the service of the Earl of Pembroke,¹⁰ writing two treatises at the request of the Duchess of Northumberland,¹¹ and apparently acted as tutor to the Dudley family, among whom was Robert Dudley, the future Earl of Leicester, with whom Dee ever remained a close friend, according to Anthony à Wood.¹²

When Mary Tudor succeeded to the throne in 1553 Dee was requested to calculate her nativity. He also cast the horoscope of the young Princess Elizabeth, then residing at Woodstock, and entered into correspondence with her. On 28 May 1555 an order

was made by the Privy Council for his apprehension and for a search to be made for papers and books relating to him.¹³

According to a letter written by one Thomas Martyn on 8 June that year Dee was imprisoned on the plea of a certain George Ferrys who asserted that Dee had struck one of his children blind and killed another by magical means and that Dee was attempting to enchant the Queen with his casting of horoscopes.¹⁴ He was cleared of any suspicion of treason in the Star Chamber but was handed over to Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, for ecclesiastical interrogation. Bonner failed to find any chargeable fault in Dee's religious attitudes and an order was made for his release on 19 August 1555, albeit he was 'first bound in recognizance for ready appearance and the good abearing for about some four months after' (CR, p. 20). Even so Dee was present at the examination of John Philpot on 19 November of that year and may even have acted as Bonner's chaplain.¹⁵

On 15 January 1556 Dee presented to Queen Mary A Supplication ... for the Recovery and Preservation of Ancient Writers and Monuments, in which he requested that a national library be founded by the state.¹⁶ No action was taken upon this request and in consequence Dee was to spend a vast amount of time and money on his own library in his house at Mortlake. Throughout his life Dee's financial position frequently reached the point of desperation, and undoubtedly the three most costly items of expenditure were his library, his laboratories and his continental travelling, although the latter was sometimes financed by patrons eager to see the Philosophers' Stone. Dee listed the contents of his library in 1583,¹⁷ by which time there were nearly four thousand items 'the fourth part of which were the written bookes' and he estimated

the value at two thousand pounds (CR, p. 27). The growth of this library was a continuing occupation throughout Dee's years at home and abroad.

After the death of Mary Tudor, Dee was invited to predict an auspicious day for the coronation of Elizabeth and as the years went by, his choice of 14 January 1559 must have given support to his reputation for learning in spite of continuing rumours of dark dealing. Autographed books that belonged to Dee show that he was lodging in London in 1555, 1557 and 1558, but his exact whereabouts are not known. Soon after her accession Elizabeth invited him to her service at Whitehall, Dee's friendship with Robert Dudley probably being primarily responsible, and he received the first of many unfulfilled promises of preferment.¹⁸ Before Christmas 1562 he once again left for the Continent, however, to arrange the printing of works already in manuscript. On 16 February 1563 he wrote to Cecil from Antwerp requesting leave to stay abroad since there were printers' delays and he wished to continue his researches. Between then and the appearance of his Monas hieroglyphica¹⁹ on 31 March 1564 Dee travelled to Zurich, Urbino and Rome, Pressburg in Hungary and back to Antwerp. He left Antwerp in the company of the Marchioness of Northampton, who had gone to Flanders to consult physicians about a cure for cancer,²⁰ and they reached England by 14 June 1564(CR,p.19).

Sometime in 1565 Dee married Katherine Constable, widow of a London grocer,²¹ and settled at Mortlake in a house belonging to his mother.²² There he was to carry on his researches, with occasional interruptions, for nearly twenty years, adding rooms and acquiring adjacent properties. Mortlake was close to the Court, the journey being easily made to London by river, and Dee probably

never received all the promised benefices because the Queen preferred to keep him close at hand.²³ In 1571 Dee made a journey to the Dukedom of Lorraine on some of the Queen's business and upon falling dangerously ill on his return, received the Queen's gratitude in the form of two of her own physicians being despatched to him from the Court (CR, p. 12). Such good fortune did not attend his wife, however, for she was laid in the ground on 10 March 1575 (CR, p. 17).

The year 1570 had seen the publication of the first English translation, by Sir Henry Billingsley, of Euclid's Elements of Geometry to which Dee added extensive notes and a 'Mathematicall Preface'. Increasing attention is being paid to the influence of this work in its own time, particularly the 'Preface',²⁴ but perhaps the true extent to which this work caused a revival of the Vitruvian arts in England will never be known. The 'Preface' outlines the entire state of science as it was known in the sixteenth century and advocates a form of education based upon the quadrivium, thus marking Dee as an educational reformer in line with Robert Recorde,²⁵ whom he succeeded as the leading scientific thinker of the age. The essential importance of Dee's 'Preface' is that it offered not only a mystical appreciation of the science of numbers, which may also be seen in the Actions with spirits, but also practical help to the 'Common Artificer' (sig. A4r). The Preface was a handbook of the scientific arts to be used in all walks of life where things were to be constructed, Euclid's text providing the method, and the classical rules of harmony and proportion providing the guiding spirit. Characteristically the work also contains a long personal defence of Dee's own reputation (sigs Alv-A2r) against those who saw the devil in the laws of Nature that

they did not understand:

And for these, and such like marveilous Actes and Feates,
Naturally, Mathematically, and Mechanically, wrought and
contrived: ought any honest Student, and Modest Christian
Philosopher, be counted, and called a Conjurer? (sig. Alv)

While Dee did turn to more occult sciences, it cannot be over-emphasised that he was ever anxious to further the prosperity of the nation in the most practical manner.

Seven years later a work that might have been equally influential was ready for the press. Dee had spent most of 1576 writing a series of volumes under the title of General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation (hereafter GRM). The first volume was dedicated to Christopher Hatton and bore the title The British Monarchy, or Hexameron Brytannicum and was printed in 1577,²⁶ while the second volume, The British Complement of the Perfect Art of Navigation, was never printed and is no longer extant, with the result that nothing is known of Dee's invention of the 'paradoxal cumpas', an exposition of which was contained therein.²⁷ The third and fourth volumes were likewise never printed, but only the fourth survives, being entitled The Great Volume of Famous and Rich Discoveries.²⁸ The title page of GRM declares that it was 'first published 24 yeres after the Invention thereof', so Dee first conceived the idea in 1553 when Queen Mary was still on the throne. The first volume of GRM is primarily concerned with putting forward proposals for increasing Britain's sea-power, not only for the purposes of imperial expansion but also for fishery protection, and Dee advocates the establishment of 'a Petty Navy Royall, of Threescore Tall ships', of 160 to 200 tons burden, these to be manned by those who could not show security of employment and abode. The navy was to be

financed from taxes, concerning which and other details such as victualling Dee made very detailed proposals.²⁹ This small navy was to operate in a defensive and protective role, safeguarding all British domestic sea-interests. Dee may therefore be regarded 'as the literary pioneer of the claims to the sovereignty of the sea which were put forth by England in the seventeenth century'.³⁰

The second volume was according to Dee's own account 'a great booke, in which are contained our Queene Elisabeth her tables gubernautick for longitudes and latitudes finding most easily and speedily, yea, if neede be, without sight of sun, moon, or star: with many other new and needefull inventions gubernautik' (CR, p.25). It was never published because the figures and tables it contained made the cost of printing prohibitive (see GRM, sig. E4r). The third volume was evidently of a less mechanical nature, probably dealing with such occult aspects as astrological influence and angelic governance,³¹ and was 'vtterly suppressed or deliuered to Vulcan his Custody' (GRM, sig. E4v). Of Famous and Rich Discov-eries is largely devoted to Oriental matters³² and contained 'the History of King Solomon, every three yeares, his Ophirian voyage, with divers other rarities' (CR, p. 25). Yet even though the first volume did appear in print, no action was taken upon Dee's proposals any more than action had been taken upon his earlier supplication for the founding of a national library. Even as he was continuously disappointed financially as promised benefices went to others, so was he continuously disappointed in the execution of projects that could have made Britain a power to be envied throughout the world in the middle of the sixteenth century.

On 5 February 1578 Dee married again, the bride being Jane Fromond, a lady-in-waiting at the Court to Lady Howard of

Effingham, wife of Charles Howard, the Lord Admiral. At the end of that year Dee undertook a journey to the Continent to consult one or more foreign physicians concerning an illness that the Queen was suffering. He sailed from Lee on 9 November (Diary) but the date of his return is not recorded. On 15 June 1579 Dee's mother surrendered the house and lands at Mortlake to Dee and his wife and on 13 July, Dee's fifty-second birthday, they presented her with a grandson Arthur (Diary).³³ During the following years Dee was to be much concerned with the proposed voyages for discovering a North-West passage and a new route to Cathay and his diary records meetings with Humphrey and Adrian Gilbert, John Davis and others involved in the planning and execution of the voyages of discovery made during Elizabeth's reign. On 10 September 1580 Humphrey Gilbert granted to Dee a patent 'for the royalties of discovery all to the North above the parrallell of the 50 degree of latitude' (Diary) and there is evidence that Dee may now have joined the Company of Merchant Venturers.³⁴ Such comings and goings of seamen, merchants and navigators continued until Dee began his prolonged stay on the Continent in 1583. The Queen was an occasional visitor, even making a special journey on 10 October 1580 to give Dee some words of comfort following the death of his mother (Diary) and reminding him that she had once called before on the day of his first wife's death (see CR, p. 17).

On 7 June 1581 Dee's second child Katherine was born, but strange events began to take place. On 3 August Dee noted that 'all the night very strange knocking and rapping in my chamber' was to be heard (Diary). This is undoubtedly connected with Dee's increasing involvement with magic, for the Action that opens

Sloane MS 3188 and which is dated 22 December 1581 is described by Dee as one of the last he experienced with Barnabas Saul as his scryer.³⁵ Dee had noted on 25 May of that year that he 'had sight in λρυσταλλω [a crystal] offerd' to him and he 'saw', though what it is that he saw is not clear. Barnabas Saul is first mentioned in the Diary on 8 October. The following day 'Barnabas Saul, lying in the hall was strangely trubled by a spirituall creature abowt mydnight' (Diary). On 6 March 1582 Saul 'confessed that he neyther hard no saw any spirituall creature any more' and left the Dee household two days later. The same day Dee was introduced to Edward Kelly, who was to act as his scryer until 1588, but who was then passing under the name of Edward Talbot. For the next two years Dee was principally involved in continuing discussions with those concerned with the voyage of discovery for a North-West passage and with the Actions which are recorded in Sloane MS 3188. Dee was meanwhile graced with another son, Rowland, who was baptised on 2 February 1583 (Diary).

On 18 March 1583 Dee 'receyved salutation' through a 'Mr. North from Poland' from Albertus Alasco (sometimes called Lasky), Count Palatine of Siradia, who was one of the most powerful of the Polish nobles reconverted to Catholicism. Lasky came to London on 30 April or 1 May following,³⁶ proceeding to Winchester House, Southwark, where he took up lodgings. Dee met Lasky in the Earl of Leicester's chamber in the court at Greenwich on 13 May and five days later Lasky dined with Dee at Mortlake (Diary). Lasky soon became partially involved in Dee's magical dealings, visiting Dee again on 15 and 19 June, staying overnight on the latter date, and dining with Dee once more on 2 August, this time at the Queen's expense (CR, p. 13). On the advice of the angels

'appearing' in the magical Actions, plans were made for the entire Dee household to return to the Continent with Lasky,³⁷ and on 21 September Dee, his wife and children, Kelly and his wife,³⁸ and Lasky left Mortlake for the two ships waiting for them some seven or eight miles beyond Gravesend. The departure was of a rather secretive nature, since Lasky was under some suspicion from Walsingham and Burghley,³⁹ and none of the remaining party had permission to leave the country. After some difficulties they landed at Brill on 29 September, boarding a Dutch hoy at Rotterdam. By degrees, the Actions with spirits still taking place at various halts, they reached Stettin on Christmas morning.

Dee had left his property in the keeping of Nicholas Fromond, his brother-in-law, but placed too much trust in the latter's goodwill. Upon his return in 1589 he found himself bound to remonstrate with Fromond and make a new agreement for him 'to occupy as a tenant with better order' (Diary, 20 December 1589). He had committed his household goods to the care of his brother-in-law with the intention of returning within twenty months, but Fromond sold some of the goods in his care and failed to collect rents owing to Dee (CR, p. 31). Shortly after Dee had left England in 1583 Fromond proved himself powerless to prevent an unruly mob, inspired by rumours of Dee being in league with the devil, from breaking into the library at Mortlake and destroying some 500 books, much laboratory equipment, and various astronomical and mathematical instruments, including 'the paire of Gerardus Mercator his best Globes' (CR, pp. 27-32). Much of the damage was utterly irreparable, some books being 'not to be gotten for money at any mart, or in any stationer's shop, they being very rare and excellent good bookes' (CR, p.32).

From Stettin the party moved quickly to Posen, covering the two hundred miles in only four days. Then they turned south and on 3 February 1584 reached Lask, the Polish prince's own property. The Actions continued and Dee was advised by the angels to go and live in Cracow (TFR, p. 67). It was five weeks after this instruction that the party finally moved, there having been much delay on account of Lasky's having mortgaged his estate at Kesmark⁴⁰ and being required to repay the money, which he did not have, by 23 April. Cracow was reached on 13 March and after lodging for seven nights in a church, they moved to a house in St. Stephen Street, Dee and his family shortly being joined by Kelly and his wife, who appear to have been a little delayed (TFR, p. 72). Lasky had remained behind, but arrived in Cracow on 25 April, en route for Kesmark. He now intended to redeem the property there, but King Stephen of Poland and his Chancellor were both set against him. Lasky therefore requested Dee to accompany him to Rudolph II, the Emperor of Austria, to whose father Dee had dedicated Monas hieroglyphica. The angels took Lasky's part but Dee delayed seeing the Emperor because of the heavy cost (TFR, p. 182). On 1 August he set off for Prague to see the Emperor, arriving there on the ninth, now in the company of Kelly's brother Thomas and Edmund Hilton, the son of John Hilton of Fulham, from whom Dee had borrowed money some years before (Diary, 18 June 1577). John Hilton had requested Dee on 4 October 1579 that his two sons be allowed to resort to Dee's house, so Edmund would have been accustomed to the way of life of the Dee household, including the disappearance of Dee and a scryer to a chamber for many hours.

On 15 August 1584 Dee was settled in Prague at a house lent for his use by a Dr. Hageck, the house being situated by Bethlem

in the old part of the city (TFR, p. 212). Dee's wife and children were still in Cracow, the first letter from her arriving on 21 August. Dee wrote to the Emperor on 17 August⁴¹ and on 3 September received a letter granting him an audience. Dee immediately went to the castle and promptly gave a full account of himself. Such was his faith in the angelic utterances received through Kelly, that he told the Emperor to repent his sins and that the angels had commanded that all Dee's angelic dealings should be shown to him. Rudolph not unnaturally said that the time was not convenient and that he would read the accounts at some later date. On 12 September Rudolph wrote to Dee that a Dr. Curtius (Kurtzsius) would act as an intermediary for arranging audiences and transmitting information and on 14 September Dee showed Curtius all his records of angelic dealings, which was not the wisest thing to do. There is some doubt about the honesty of Curtius and whether he did indeed pass on any information to the Emperor as he promised (TFR, p. 240). Dee also showed the fourth book (Sloane MS 3188, 44a - 59b) to the Spanish Ambassador at a dinner on 25 September. From these liberal displays of unorthodox religious activity probably arose the later trouble with the Papal Nuncio.

On 27 September Dee accused Curtius of being particularly unhelpful with regard to access to the Emperor, but upon being asked to release the Latin translations of the Actions, refused and promised to write a copy 'at leasure', which he probably did not do. Kelly meanwhile was voicing a desire to return to England (TFR, p. 247 & 254). On 8 October Dee's party was granted a passport of safe conduct for an indefinite time through all the Emperor's lands and Dee soon returned to Cracow to bring his family and goods on to Prague. He was back in Prague by 20 December

and on 12 January 1585 moved to another house near the market-place in Old Prague. Dee's position was now rather dangerous. The angels no longer favoured Lasky, Curtius and Rudolph and the records of the Actions contain undefined statements of plotting and treachery (see TFR, p. 379). On 27 February Dee and the two Kellys rode to Limburg, six miles from Prague in great secrecy, but they were back in Prague by 14 March, when Dee's son Michael was baptised. Michael was always a sickly child and died on 13 July 1594.

On 5 April Dee and Kelly returned to Cracow and on 17 April Dee accompanied Lasky to see King Stephen of Poland. On 23 May another audience was granted and a few days later King Stephen was present at a couple of Actions (TFR, pp. 404-408). August saw the party back in Prague, Stephen having been unconvinced by the Actions he had witnessed that Dee's promises to make the Philosophers' Stone could prove fruitful.

Now a newcomer, Francesco Pucci, became associated with the magical experiments. Pucci had spent much time in England and had left the Catholic church, publicly maintaining an extreme form of Pelagianism, in which he claimed that all men are by nature in a state of salvation.⁴² An angelic commandment resulted in Pucci re-entering the Catholic Church (TFR, pp. 413-417), but he was evidently living in Dee's house by 30 April 1586.⁴³ By this time some communication had arisen between Dee and William, Lord Rosenberg, and Dee was asking the angels whether Rosenberg ought to be admitted to the Actions (TFR, p. 419). On 6 May Dee journeyed to Leipzig, arriving on the eleventh, and on 14 May he wrote to Walsingham requesting that Thomas Digges might be sent to his side.⁴⁴ Dee had kept up a correspondence with the Queen and

Walsingham during the last few years, but he was no longer in great favour in England and none of his requests bore fruit.

On 30 May Emperor Rudolph gave Dee and his company six days in which to leave Prague and so they journeyed to Erfurt. Pucci called on Dee and held out hopes that permission might be given for a return to Prague, for the new Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Piacenza, was inclined to be more favourable than his predecessor Malaspina, with whom Dee had earlier run into trouble.⁴⁵ Pucci was in favour of Dee taking up the Nuncio's invitation to go to Rome, but it is quite clear that a charge of heresy awaited any arrival there. Pucci was probably trying to curry favour with the Church that he had once left and which still regarded him with some suspicion. Pucci consequently fell from favour with Dee and by the time that Dee's party arrived in Trebona⁴⁶ on 14 September, Rosenberg was the favourite and was admitted to the Actions by 14 October. In December Dee received an invitation from the Emperor of Russia to enter his Court and work in his service for a stipend of £2,000 sterling and a thousand roubles. For reasons of his own, perhaps a deep-seated loyalty to Elizabeth and England, to which he still intended to return, Dee refused the offer.

Kelly left for Prague on 30 December and commuted between Prague and Trebona frequently during the next three months, bringing money from Rosenberg on occasions. Lasky stayed at Trebona between 9 and 12 February 1587 and on 7 March sent Dee 3,300 ducats, probably through Kelly (Diary). Although the angels had cast doubt upon Lasky, he was still admitted to Dee's company as a friend, if no longer as one chosen by God for divine revelation. By 4 April Kelly was once more settled as part of the household and the Actions began again after some interruption. He was

however anxious to be set free from the angelic demands made upon him and told Dee that he prayed at least once a day that he might 'no more have dealing to scry' (TFR, p.*3). The angels reproved him but granted his freedom and declared that the visionary ability would pass to Dee's son Arthur. Consequently on 15 April Arthur Dee, then seven years old, was placed in front of the crystal in which the visions were to be seen. At first Arthur did see something, a vision of two men with crowns appearing three times on different days, but he also saw pricks of light which Dee concluded were probably 'something of the Glass it self: as there were in it certain white spots' (TFR, p.*5). By Friday 17 April Arthur was declaring that he no longer saw anything in the stone, while Kelly claimed to have seen many spirits while praying with Arthur. The experiments with Arthur came to an end on 18 April when he fainted and Kelly resumed the office. Kelly received instructions concerning a new unity to exist between the four adults, that is Dee, Kelly and their wives, and there began one of the most curious episodes in the whole business.

Dee understood this unity to be spiritual but Kelly said that he understood something different and resolved to leave (TFR, p.*11). After much hesitation he expounded to Dee that the unity was to be a common sharing of everything, including wives. Dee rebuked the spirit, Madimi, that brought 'so hard and unpure a doctrine' and he and Kelly argued until early in the morning. Dee's faith in the angels was such, however, that he was finally persuaded,⁴⁷ and told his wife that he could 'see that there is no other remedy, but as hath been said of our cross-matching, so it must needs be done' (TFR, p. *13). Jane was horrified but succumbed to her husband with the words: 'I trust that though I give myselfe thus

to be used, that God will turn me into a stone before he would suffer me to receive any shame or inconvenience'.⁴⁸ Both she and Kelly's wife demanded a repetition of the Action, but the answer was still the same. Thus on 3 May 1587 a document was drawn up and signed by all four partners which stated that they should hold all things in common with no intention of impurity or guilt and that they should tread under foot all doubting that the true power of the remission of sins was from the Creator (TFR, pp. *20-*21). The outcome of this cross-matching is not recorded in TFR, but an erased passage in the original manuscripts shows that a sexual relationship did take place, at least on the part of Kelly. In an Action of 23 May Kelly saw a man on a white horse (signified in the MS by ▷) and the following dialogue took place:

- ▷ Kelley: was thy brothers wife obedyent & humble vnto the
 E K —she was
 ▷ Dee was thy brothers wife obedyent vnto the
 Δ — she was obedyent.
 ▷ Even as you wer, one obedyent vnto an other: Euen so
 shall the lord deal w/th you.
 E K—he is rydden away: he semeth to ride throwgh
 a great feelde
 E K— Here is now cōme Madimi
 ▷ Dee dost thow ly, or say truth, in saying she was
 obedyent—
 Δ —I cownted her obedyent for that, she did: Wherein she
 thowght her obedience to consist: for that she did
 not cōme after, as I thowght she wold, she might seme
 in some part disobedyent: but if it offendeth not
 god, it offendeth not me: and I beseche god it did not
 offend him.⁴⁹

Kelly's motives throughout the whole business are obscure.

The angels had declared in an Action of 4 April that his wife was barren and there is evidence of hiS having taken a violent dislike to her.⁵⁰ Whether the angelic voice commanding the cross-matching was part of a fraud on Kelly's part or whether he really believed that he heard such a demand matters little. The day after Dee drew

up the first draft of the document signed by the four, Kelly wrote an article washing his hands of the whole matter and on 20 May Kelly cut Dee's document in two, retaining half. Whether this was to make Dee adhere to the covenant by threatening exposure or whether it was to ensure that Kelly's name would not be found on such an incriminating document is not clear. Either way this whole episode signalled the approaching end of the Actions with spirits for a protracted period. The manuscripts end the series of Actions with Kelly on 23 May 1587 and there are no other records of scrying until 20 March 1607, when Kelly was dead and Dee was using his servant Bartholomew Hickman as scryer. Whether there are some records missing after 23 May it is not possible to say, but Dee's Diary shows that Kelly became increasingly involved with alchemical experiments. It seems likely that attention was turned from angelic revelation to the making of the Philosophers' Stone, concerning which the angels had already delivered much information.⁵¹

Kelly was frequently riding to Prague and in October a certain John Carpio, who had joined them at Trebona, 'did begyn to make furnaces over the gate, and he used...rownd bricks, and for the yern [iron] pot was contented now to use the lesser bricks, 60 to make a furnace' (Diary, 28 & 29 October 1587). This Carpio was to leave on 10 December on the order of the Emperor 'to marry the mayden he had trubbled' in Prague, returning in April with his new wife. Kelly was by now established either in his own lodgings or in separate apartments in the Trebona house (see Diary, 13 January 1588). On 8 February 1588 Kelly sent for Dee to see how he distilled 'sericon', so he was evidently working separately and in some secrecy from Dee. The relationship between them was foundering

and on 10 April Dee wrote to Kelly and his wife two 'charitable letters, requiring at theyr hands mutual charity' (Diary) for Kelly was undermining Dee's influence with Rosenberg, who himself had much influence with the Emperor. The rest of the year saw Kelly demonstrating his alchemical skill to Dee, but ever using him unkindly, and Dee was no longer favoured by his erstwhile patrons. Kelly had more to offer them in the shape of the promised Philosophers' Stone. On 15 September Dee complained in his diary: 'the Lord Chamberlain cam to Trebona, and went away on the 17th. The rancor and dissimulation now evident to me, God deliver me! I was not sent for'.

Dee, with an addition to the family, a son Theodore born on 28 February, was resolved to return to England and on 10 November 1588 he wrote to the Queen, congratulating her on the defeat of the Armada and requesting leave to offer his services to her once again.⁵² On 4 February 1589 Dee delivered to Kelly various equipment and books for Rosenberg 'and he thereuppon gave me dischargd in writing of his own hand subscribed and sealed' (Diary), for Kelly was still being paid £50 a year for serving Dee.⁵³ Rosenberg was away and did not bother to make a personal farewell, dispatching his man Menschik to see Dee on his way. Dee left Trebona on 11 March, but in style with fifteen horses, three coaches, and an escort of twenty-four soldiers from Diepholt to Oldenburg, and six musketeers from Oldenburg to Bremen, all at a cost of some £600 (CR, p. 32). He was in Bremen by 19 April where he stayed until 19 November, mingling with the learned men of the region. He took ship for England and reached Gravesend on 2 December, six years after his departure and now alone with his family. He always hoped that Kelly would return (see Diary, 23

January 1590) but his erstwhile scryer was to meet his end in the Bohemia in which he had chosen to chance his fortune.

Dee returned to his house at Mortlake, to the ruined library and the despoiled laboratories. On 5 March 1590 his daughter Madimia was born. Dee's Diary now contains little more than domestic and financial matters and notes of his writing to Kelly, who was not performing the service of a friend to Dee (see Diary, 5 June 1590). Dee was in desperate financial straits. He had received no money from his two rectories while he was abroad, nor was there any awaiting him on his return. The Queen promised him something 'to kepe Christmas with', but riding by his door on 4 December declared that 'there was never promise made but it was broken or kept', although two days later she sent him £50. By 21 January 1591 Dee recorded that he was 'utterly put owt of hope for recovering the two parsonages by the Lord Archbishop and the Lord Threasorer' (Diary) and he was forced to sell some plate. Throughout the year he was put in hope of rewards that never materialised, as with 'the jentle answer of the Lord Threasorer that the Queene wold have me have something at this promotion of bishops at hand' that he noted on 20 December. New Year's Day 1592 saw the birth of yet another dependant, his third daughter Francis.

By November 1592 Dee's state was so desperate that on the ninth he drew up a supplication which Lady Warwick presented the same day to the Queen at Hampton Court, begging for a personal audit of and investigation into his affairs (CR, p. 3). This was the Compendious Rehearsal and on 22 November two commissioners appointed by the Queen, Sir John Wolley, Secretary for the Latin Tongue to the Queen, and Sir Thomas Gorges of the Privy Council,

sat in Dee's 'late library-roome' and heard Dee read the document (CR, p. 4). The supplication contains towards the end a chapter containing 'sundry good reasons, why' Dee should 'rather desire Saint Crosse's, than any other living, fee, or dignity of like value to be had in any other place' (CR, p. 30). Dee's principal reasons for desiring the Mastership of Saint Cross embraced finance, privacy, and the potential for housing books, instruments, laboratories, and even a printing press (CR, p. 40). The immediate result of the Compendious Rehearsal was a gift of 100 marks from the Queen (Diary, 1st December 1592), and on 21 May 1594 his suit was 'graunted after a sort' by the Queen 'but referred all to the Lord of Canterbury' (Diary). By then however, Dee was having recurrent attacks of 'a great fit of the stone' in his kidneys (Diary, 31 March and 15 June 1594). Dee decided to support his supplication to the Queen with a brief version of the Compendious Rehearsal to Archbishop Whitgift and in 1594 or 1595 the Archbishop was presented with A Letter Containing a Most Briefe Discourse Apologeticall, with a Plaine Demonstration, and Feruent Protestation, for the Lawfull, Sincere, Very Faithfull and Christian Course, of the Philosophicall Studies and Exercises, of a Certaine Studious Gentleman: An Ancient Seruant to her Most Excellent Maiesty Royall.⁵⁴ Everything fell through, however, and on 29 June 1594, Dee wrote in his diary:

After I had hard the Archbishop his answers and discourses, and that after he had byn the last Sondag at Tybald's with the Quene and Lord Threasorer, I take myself confounded for all suing or hoping for anything that was. And so adiew to the court and courting tyll God direct me otherwise! The Archbishop gave me a payre of sufferings to drinke. God be my help as he is my refuge! Amen.

As if this was not enough to bear, his son Michael fell ill on 6 July and on 13 July 'did give up the ghost' (Diary).

In January the following year, however, Archbishop Whitgift was pressing the Queen to grant Dee the Wardenship of Christ's College, Manchester, as Dr. William Chadderton, the incumbent and Bishop of Chester, was to be promoted to the see of Lincoln. Sir John Wolley presented the bill to Elizabeth on 5 February 1592, but she deferred signing. She did finally put her name to the bill on 18 April and on 25, 26 and 27 May it passed the Signet, the Privy Seal, and the Great Seal (Diary).⁵⁵ The future at last held some kind of security for Dee and his family, which was increased on 14 August by the birth of another daughter, baptised Margaret on the twenty-seventh. Dee's house continued to see a succession of visitors, but preparations were under way for the northward move and on 15 February 1596 he arrived in Manchester.

The affairs of the College were in some disarray and Dee began to set them in order. A Royal Commission was appointed and on 18 June 'the commission for the colledge [was] sent to London to be engrossed in the Duchy office' (Diary). Dee's diary for the Manchester years record various controversies between himself and the curates under him. Dee had always stipulated that he wanted no post which bore the responsibility for the cure of souls and his interests in the college were strictly temporal. His library was in much demand, however, and it is not surprising that he records lending such works as John Wier's De praestigiis daemonum, the Fustis daemonum and Flagellum daemonum of Hierom Menghi, and the Malleus maleficarum.⁵⁶ Lancashire was renowned for witches and witch-trials. Disputes and difficulties over the College lands eroded Dee's income and by 17 February 1597 Dee was compelled to borrow money again and sell some of his plate, such as his 'silver tankard with the cover, all dubble gilt, of the

Cowntess of Herford's gift to Francis her goddaughter' and Dee's daughter (see Diary).

By the beginning of 1598 Dee had four lawsuits on his hands⁵⁷ and the troubles at the College continued. The diary ceases abruptly on 11 March 1598 and does not resume again until 10 June 1600. There are no records of Dee's life during this period, but he undoubtedly spent some of the time in London, since the first entry of 1600 records his setting off from London for Manchester again. He probably made a personal journey to represent to the Privy Council the terrible state of affairs at Manchester, where the College had become virtually 'no college'.⁵⁸ Another commission sat in the College chapter house on 3 July 1600, but Dee's problems did not only concern the affairs of the College. He records that on 11 September commissioners from the Bishop of Chester 'did call me before them in the church abowt thre of the clock after none, and did deliver to me certayn petitions put up by the fellows against me to answer before the 18th of this month' (Diary). By the end of the year Dee was again forced to borrow money against his plate (see Diary, 20 December 1600). The diary closes on 6 April 1601 and there is no further record of Dee's life save a few fragments at the end of TFR, concerned with scrying for treasure and stolen goods, and certain information gathered from acquaintances of Dee by John Aubrey and Ashmole.

Dee's son Arthur married in 1602 and settled near his parents at first, but it can have been little consolation to Dee. With the death of Queen Elizabeth on 23 March 1603 he lost his last patron and protector. King James's fixation with witchcraft placed Dee in a precarious position and although no charges were ever brought against him, rumours concerning his magical dealings

increased. Dee was evidently much harassed for on 5 June 1603 he presented to the King a petition 'to cause your Highnesse sayd Servant, to be tryed and cleared of that horrible and damnable, and to him, most grievous and dammageable Sclaunder: generally, and for these many yeeres last past, in the Kingdome raysed, and continued, by report, and Print, against him: Namely, That he is, or hath bin a Coniurer or Caller, or Invocator of diuels'.⁵⁹ He followed this three days later with a verse address to Parliament, requesting them to pass 'an Act Generall against slander, with a special penal order for John Dee, his case'.⁶⁰ To both pleas there was absolutely no response. It was as if Dee did not exist. A bereavement greater than that of his good name was to strike Dee in 1605, for having nursed her children safely through an outbreak of plague, Jane Dee fell victim herself and on 23 March was buried in the collegiate church of St. Mary in Manchester.

On 20 March 1607 Dee was in London 'at Mrs. Goodman her house' still using Bartholomew Hickman as his scryer (TFR, p. *34). Whether Dee had moved back to London permanently or not cannot be ascertained, but he was staying at 'the Three Kings' in Westminster in July and was in ill health (TFR, p. *33). The angelic dealing promised another journey abroad but it was a fruitless dream. The last entry in TFR is dated 7 September 1607. Dee was attended by his daughter Katherine but in his last days she was forced to sell secretly books from his library in order to obtain the money to keep them alive.⁶¹ On which day in December 1608 Dee died and on what date he was buried in the chancel of Mortlake church is not known, since the relevant parish records of Mortlake are missing, as is also the stone which Aubrey says marked his grave.⁶² Unfortunately his reputation as a necromancer and conjurer

did not die with him, but on the contrary took on an even more vigorous life.

b) Edward Kelly

Far less is known of Kelly than of Dee and much of the information concerning his life before the meeting with Dee is based upon later gossip collected by Ashmole and Anthony à Wood (see notes 2 and 3). That he was born at Worcester on 1 August 1555 we know from Dee's horoscope for him.¹ He is accredited with training as an apothecary² and with having studied for some time at Oxford under the name of Talbot.³ He is reported to have had his ears cropped in the pillory at Lancaster either for forging title-deeds or for coining base money about 1580.⁴ Long after his death he was accounted with having once dug up a corpse in Walton-le-Dale park in order to question the dead or 'an evil spirit speaking through his organs', but this belongs to the tradition of Dee and Kelly as necromancers in league with the devil.⁵ At some time he acted as a secretary to Thomas Allen,⁶ a magus not unlike Dee, whence he may have acquired his knowledge of magical works and particularly of Agrippa's De occulta philosophia.

His first meeting with Dee was on 8 March 1582 in the company of a Mr. Clerkson, if the title of 'frende' of Clerkson does indeed refer to Kelly (Diary). Kelly was using the name of Talbot and he and Clerkson visited Dee again at dinner time on 9 March and 'declared a great deale of Barnabas nowghty dealing' with Dee, Barnabas Saul being Dee's scryer at the time (Diary). The diary entry for this date shows that Dee may have heard of Kelly earlier than 8 March, and even if not, was impressed by Kelly's knowledge,

which already included visionary experiences. Clerkson informed Dee that Saul had been

telling Mr. Clerkson ill things of me [Dee] that I should mak his frend, as that he was wery of me, that I wold so flatter his frende the lerned man that I wold borow him of him. But his frend told me, before my wife and Mr. Clerkson, that a spirituall creature told him that Barnabas had censured both Mr. Clerkson and me.

On 10 March Kelly went again to Dee's house and asked Dee to show him 'some thing in spirituall practise' having 'two dayes before made the like demaunde' (Sloane MS 3188, 9a). Dee explained that he was not practised in 'the vulgarly accownted Magik' but confessed that he had long desired a helper in his 'philosophicall studies'. Dee then requested Kelly to try and call the angel Anchor to appear in a crystal stone and within fifteen minutes Kelly saw a spiritual creature who declared himself to be the angel Uriel. Thus began the relationship between Dee and Kelly as master and scryer, although Kelly confessed that his first coming had been to trap Dee if he 'had any dealing with Wicked spirits' (Sloane MS 3188, 9a).

Kelly was presumably not yet living in Dee's house, but there is no indication as to where he was lodging. He left for London on 22 March 'to take his jorney', probably to collect some belongings, and must have returned before 28 April, when the records of the Actions resume with some folios missing (see above p.11). On 4 May Kelly left again to collect some books that were in the possession of Lord Monteagles and there was evidently a rupture between Kelly and Dee between this date and 13 July; this I have discussed in reaching my conclusions about the possibility of some records of Actions being missing between 4 May and 15 November 1582 (see above pp.12-15). The Actions did not begin again until 15 Nov-

ember, by which time Kelly was using his real name. On 17 November the angels declared that 'none shall enter into the knowledge of these mysteries but this worker', indicating Kelly (Sloane MS 3188, 51b, 19-20) and his position as Dee's scryer was consolidated.

On 29 April the angel Michael had made Kelly swear to perform whatever Michael might require of him, and at the end of the Action had told him that he must take a wife (Sloane MS 3188, 39b). Kelly professed that he had no desire to enter into wedlock but sometime before he returned permanently to Dee's service he married Jane or Joan Cooper of Chipping Norton,⁷ who was born on 23 June 1563 (Diary, p. 1). The date of this marriage is not known, but since the girl came from Chipping Norton it seems most likely that it took place after Kelly had left Dee again on 22 November to go to Blockley at the foot of the Cotswold Hills. He was supposed to return in ten days but the Actions did not resume until 23 March 1583 and Kelly seems to have spent the winter in that area.

On his return Kelly also brought with him a book and a scroll 'written in strange characters' (Sloane MS 3188, 61a) and a phial containing a red powder.⁸ He had been led to the discovery by 'a spirituall Creature'. Dee often refers to the book as being 'the Book of Dunstan' and Fell Smith suggests that it may have been a copy of the manuscript Tractatus...de lapide philosophorum which was formerly believed to be the work of that saint.⁹ Certainly the book was alchemical in nature. The scroll gave in cipher the names of ten places which with angelic help would yield treasure buried by the Danes. The powder was an important discovery which would yield the secret of the Philosophers' Stone.

Although Kelly was employed as Dee's scryer he was not averse to raising spirits, even of a wicked nature, during Dee's occasional absences.¹⁰ This was one of the causes of dissension between them, but Kelly's volatile nature was such that their relationship was never stable for long.¹¹ Dee firmly believed that the spirits called into the crystal were good spirits, whereas Kelly frequently denounced them as deluders and refused to deal with them anymore. Each time Dee persuaded him to return to the business of scrying, arguing that the creatures were good and their words true. Kelly exhibited throughout that melancholic disposition which was traditionally associated with a capacity for visionary experience.¹²

Dee had contracted to pay Kelly £50 per annum on 29 June 1583 in order to retain the services of his scryer, but even this did not bind the two together in any certain fashion. On 4 July 1583 Kelly took offence at a letter which Dee had written to Lasky and shortly after saw a spirit which told him to leave immediately, for if he were to stay with Dee he would be hanged and if he were to go away with Lasky he would be decapitated. Kelly immediately rounded on Dee, saying:

You mean not to keep promise with me. And therefore if I might have a thousand pound to tarry, yea, a kingdom, I cannot. Therefore I release you of your promise of 50 pounds yearly stipend to me, and you need not doubt but God will defend you and prosper you, and can of the very stones raise up children unto Abraham (TFR, p. 30).

He then mounted his mare and rode off towards Brentford. Yet by ten o'clock that same night he had returned, calmed and pliant to Dee's wishes. The spirit Madimi appeared to him and rebuked him for his outburst, telling him that 'thou hast a Just God that loveth thee...therefore be thou vertuous' (TFR, p. 32).

After this scene with Kelly there is a hiatus in the records of the Actions. It seems that Kelly went away again for Dee's Diary notes that on 7 July 'George was dismissed my servys and payd all reconings in the presens of goodman Hilton and Mistres Kelly in my study'. He also notes that on 1 August 'a Wurbceter-shire man, a wicked spy cam to my howse, whom I used as an honest man, and found nothing wrong as I thought. He was sent to E.K.'¹³ He was evidently back in the Dee household by 18 August, however (Diary). On 21 September they all went with Lasky to Gravesend to catch the ships that would carry them to the Netherlands.

I have documented the travels of the party and the comings and goings of Kelly in the biography of Dee and concerning the Actions with spirits there is little to add. Kelly continued to act as Dee's scryer until 1588 with the usual outbursts, departures and reconciliations that had marked his relationship with Dee in earlier years. It was becoming evident to him, however, that Lasky was not going to become the King of Poland¹⁴ and that the expected largess at his hands was no longer to be looked for. His interest therefore turned to providing his own wealth through the making of the Philosophers' Stone. He claimed success on 19 December 1586, when Dee noted in his Diary that Kelly had made projection and produced nearly an ounce of best gold. Over the next few months Dee's Diary records many gifts from Lord Rosenberg being delivered through Kelly and it seems that Kelly had become a favourite of Rosenberg and possibly the Emperor as well. The new patronage could only be a result of his 'success' at transmutation. On 28 September 1587 Dee recorded that he delivered 'to Mr. Ed. Kelley (ernestly requiring it as his part) the half of all the animall which was made' which weighed twenty ounces

and by 8 February 1588 Kelly was working separately in his own laboratory and sending for Dee to view the results of his experiments (Diary). The partnership with Dee was breaking up but despite the many frictions between the two, Kelly did not totally ignore Dee. On 10 May 1588 Dee noted in his Diary that 'E.K. did open the great secret to me, God be thanked!', although the reason for this alchemical revelation may not have been so much friendship as a desire on Kelly's part to show Dee that he was the master now, having exceeded Dee in knowledge.

When Dee decided to return to England, the first of the party to begin the long homeward journey was Kelly's wife (Diary, 17 October 1588). Her relationship with her husband had never been good, and there was little to make her stay when Kelly alone decided to remain in Bohemia. Before leaving himself Dee gave Kelly his 'Glass, so highly and long esteemed of our Quene',¹⁵ and also gave him 'the powder, the bokes, the glas and the bone, for the Lord Rosenberg' (Diary, 4 February 1589). Dee seems to have expected Kelly to join him at Stade, thinking they would return to England together (Diary, 3 November 1589), but he was much mistaken. Kelly was now much honoured by the Emperor Rudolph for his gold-making and was made a knight of Bohemia.¹⁶ Throughout 1590 frequent letters passed between Dee and Kelly, either through Thomas Kelly or Francis Garland, and Kelly's reputation as a possessor of the Philosophers' Stone captured many minds.¹⁷ It was even said that Elizabeth received a warming pan, from the lid of which a piece had been cut, transmuted into gold and then replaced.¹⁸ Even Burghley was convinced and in a letter to Edward Dyer, urged him to try and persuade Kelly to return.¹⁹ He was also in direct correspondence with Kelly²⁰ and Kelly promised that he would 'shortly

send the good thing desired for your health'.²¹

It is doubtful whether Kelly ever had any intention of returning to England, but even if it had been in his mind, events in Prague were to overtake him. He had established himself in a house near the palace and had been rejoined by his wife, his brother and Edward Dyer. On the last day of April 1591 the Imperial Guard broke in to arrest Kelly, but he had already fled to Rosenberg. He was tracked down to Sobislaus, twelve miles from Prague, on 2 May and taken to the Castle of Pürglitz, three miles from Prague, where he was kept imprisoned for two years.²² The charge was apparently Laesus Majestatis, for three days before the order for his arrest Kelly had refused to obey a summons from the Emperor.²³ In prison he wrote a treatise entitled De lapide philosophorum which he dedicated to Emperor Rudolph and in which he writes of two other imprisonments.²⁴ He was enlarged on 4 October 1593 and the correspondence with Dee resumed. On 12 August 1595 Dee received 'Sir Edward Kellyes letters of the Emperor's, inviting me to his servyce again', but by then Kelly may already have been dead. The manner of his death is not certain, but the legend is that he was imprisoned again in one of Rudolph's castles and that he broke his legs in a fall, while attempting to escape, dying a few days later.²⁵ Wood notes the date of Kelly's death as being in October 1595 and the news reached Dee on 25 November, when he noted in his Diary simply 'the newes that Sir Edward Kelley was slayne'.

c) Other Scryers

Barnabas Saul

The first Action in Sloane MS 3188 involves a scryer by the name

of Barnabas Saul and is included by way of a prologue to the Actions with Kelly. There is little factual information available concerning Saul. Unlike many other of Dee's acquaintances and servants, his date of birth is not recorded in the Diary and if Dee ever did cast his horoscope, it is not extant. The first reference to him in Dee's writings is on 8 October 1581 when Dee records: 'I had newes of the chests of bokes fownd by Owndle in Northampton-shyre; Mr. Barnabas Sawle told me of them, but I found no truth in it' (Diary). The next day Saul 'was strangely trubbled by a spirituall creature about mydnight' (Diary). Saul ceased to scry for Dee by at least 6 March 1582, when he confessed that he 'neyther hard or saw any spirituall creature any more', but it is probable that he ceased much earlier, since the Action of 22 December 1581 is described by Dee as 'one of the last Actions' with this scryer (Sloane MS 3188, 7b). The date on which Saul began to act as Dee's scryer is uncertain, but it cannot have been particularly long before 1582 on account of the lack of references in the Diary, Dee being a meticulous recorder. Since Dee writes that the prayer on fol. 5a of Sloane MS 3188 was used from 1579 onwards, it is possible that Saul was first employed in 1579, the new prayer coinciding with the arrival of the new scryer.

Whether Saul ever lodged in Dee's house is unknown, but it is evident from Dee's Diary entry of 27 January 1582 that he was by then living separately. It seems likely that he had already broken with Dee to some extent and was no longer scrying for him, having been indicted at Westminster Hall. He was acquitted on 12 February, but was no longer on friendly terms with Dee (see Diary, 9 March & 19 July 1582). The relationship between Saul and Dee was no better than that between Kelly and Dee. Dee had once had great hopes,

writing that 'hearing of one, (A Master of Art and a preacher of thy word admitted) accounted as a good Seer, and skryer of Spirituall apparitions, in Christalline receptacles, or in open ayre', he had eventually procured his services. Unfortunately Dee soon found 'great diuersity betwene his private usual manner, and intents of practise, and my pure, sincere, devowte, and faithfull prayer' (Sloane MS 3188, 7b), and he caught Saul dealing with wicked spirits (Sloane MS 3188, 10b). Like Kelly, Saul was 'very unwilling to here him self rebuked for his nawghtynes' (Sloane MS3188, 7b), and the partnership dissolved. The Action of 22 December 1581 is the only extant record of the dealing with Saul, the rest having been hidden in a capcase in the chimney of Dee's house at Mortlake (Sloane MS 3188, 90b). Whether they were found and destroyed when the mob broke into Dee's house in 1583, or whether they perished with the house or with so many of Dee's other papers after his death is unknown.

Bartholomew Hickman

Dee's last recorded scryer was Bartholomew Hickman, who was born at 'Shugborough' in Warwickshire on 24 August 1554 (Diary, p. 1), this presumably being the modern Lower Shuckburgh between Daventry and Southam (I can find no Upper Shuckburgh). He seems to have visited Dee first on 22 June 1579 in the company of his uncle Richard Hickman and a Mr. Flower, who had been commended to Dee by Christopher Hatton. There is no further reference to Hickman in Dee's Diary until 13 February 1591. It is possible that he may have acted as scryer for Dee in 1579, but he never seems to have lodged with Dee and there is no record of their meeting again until a couple of years after Dee's return from the Continent. By then Hickman was married and had a daughter Jane (Diary, 31 May 1591). According to the



extant records Hickman was never employed in Dee's service (although his daughter was) but was preferred by Dee to the service of Lord Willoughby (Diary, 2 December 1594). He remained a close friend of Dee, however, visiting him many times, receiving financial help, and sometimes acting as a messenger and carrier (Diary, 7 September 1592 & 27 February 1598).

Although not in Dee's service, Hickman probably did act as a scryer for Dee during his many visits, for on 29 September 1600 Dee 'burned before Mr. Nicols, his brother, and Mr. Wortley, all Bartholomew Hikman his untrue actions'.¹ In contrast to the relationship between Dee and his other scryers, Saul and Kelly, there is no indication that Dee and Hickman ever fell out with one another. Even the reference to 'untrue actions' does not necessarily imply that Dee thought Hickman acted fraudulently. The burning of the papers in front of witnesses suggests that Dee was in part recanting his spiritual dealings, perhaps to allay the rumours that were being voiced by other Fellows of the College at Manchester. Certainly Hickman was scrying for Dee again in the latter's last year, when the old man of eighty had returned to London (see TFR, pp. *32-*44).

Others

Dee's protestation to God in Sloane MS 3188 says that he had 'perceyued by some slight experience with two diuerse persons' that God had 'a speciall care' to reveal knowledge to Dee through his 'true Ministers Angelic and Spirituall' (Sloane MS 3188, 7b). This suggests that there was no extended period of scrying before the employment of Barnabas Saul, even though he appears to have had a special prayer for invoking the angels Raphael and Michael between 1569 and 1579 (Sloane MS 3188, 5a, 39-41). There are no definite

statements in Dee's writings as to the identity of these two individuals, but certain conjectures can be made.

Dee noted on 25 May 1581 that he had sight in a crystal (Diary) but this implies that he saw the vision himself, although this cannot be stated with any certainty. Even if a scryer was present, it was most likely to be Saul at this time. There is, however, a strong case for one Roger Cook having at some time acted as a scryer before Saul. In his Diary entry of 5 September 1581 Dee noted that Roger Cook 'who had byn with me from his 14 yeres of age till 28, of a melancholik nature, pycking and devising occasions of just cause to depart on the suddayn, about 4 of the clock in the afternone requested of me lycense to depart, wheruppon rose whott wordes between us; and he, imagining with hisself that he had the 12 of July deserved my great displeasure and finding himself barred from vew of my philosophicall dealing with Mr. Henrik, thought that he was utterly recest from intended goodnes toward him'. If Dee had first turned to scrying with a young boy, in the traditionally approved manner,² he might have used Cook in 1567. Cook was certainly an assistant in Dee's alchemical experiments (Diary, 28 December 1579), although not greatly trusted it seems (Diary, 5 September 1581). Cook was as troublesome to Dee as were Saul and Kelly, and the Diary entry of 12 July 1581 notes in Greek characters 'roger his incredible doggednes and ingratifulnes agains me to my face, almost redy to lay violent hands on me'. The unstable melancholy of Cook resembles that of Saul and Kelly and the humour was regarded as most suitable for such experiments as scrying.³

Another candidate is one William Emery, who was born in Danbury, Essex, on 14 July 1568. Dee was told by Adrian Gilbert and John Davis, who were later both conversant with the Actions with spirits,⁴

about 'some of Emery his most dishonest, hypocriticall, and devilish dealings and devises' against him (Diary, 18 October 1579). Since William Emery was then only eleven years old, this most probably refers to the boy's father. If Dee was pursuing the common practice of using a child as a scryer, then the father may have spread around reports of conjuring, after having once given his consent for the use of the boy. The charge of hypocrisy suggests as much.

Other candidates may be drawn from the names that Dee records in his Diary. On 3 April 1581 Dee went to one John Brown 'to see the manner of the doings' and he was engaged in 'philosophicall dealing' with a Mr. Henrick (Diary, 5 September 1581). A Robert Gardner had entered Dee's service on 29 September 1581, and after Saul had left declared 'a certain philosophicall secret, as he had termed it, of a spirituall creatuer' (Diary, 23 May 1582). While these three individuals would not appear by Dee's notes to have preceded Saul in any scrying experiments, it is possible that at an earlier time one of them had brought about Dee's 'slight experience'.

a) John Dee

1. The original in Dee's hand is now BM Cotton MS Vitellius. C.VII, art. 1, but it was partly burned after Ashmole had made a transcript (Ashmole MS 1788, art. 1). It was first printed in the Appendix to Johannis confratris et monachi Glastoniensis by Thomas Hearne (Oxford 1726), and is most recently to be found in Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee, edited by James Crossley, Chetham Society Publications, vol XXIV (Manchester 1851), pp. 1-45. All references to The Compendious Rehearsal (hereafter CR) are to this later edition.
2. Peter French's book has an extensive bibliography which lists the shorter studies of particular aspects of Dee's life and works even to the slightest reference, both in printed form and in manuscript, in addition to the standard larger works.
3. In the pedigree that Dee drew up for himself (BM Cotton Charter XIV, art. 1) the family was of Welsh origin and traceable to the ancient Welsh prince Roderick the Great. Dee also claimed a distant relationship with Queen Elizabeth herself.
4. See French, John Dee, p. 5, and I.R.F. Calder, 'John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1952), 2 vols, I, p. 15, for documentary evidence.
5. They are not to be found there now. It is possible that they always remained in Dee's library, while being 'left to the use of the Fellows and Schollers of Trinity College' (CR, p. 5), since in his list of damage done to his library in 1583, Dee records the loss of 'the paire of Gerardus Mercator his best Globes, the Theorick of the eighth spheare, and the Astronomer's staff' (CR, p. 32).
6. Dee lists many visitors, including the Duke of Mantua, Don Luys de la Cerda 'afterwardes Duke de Medina Coeli in Spaine', Sir William Pickering, Mathias Hacus, Mathematician to the King of Denmark, and Joannes Capito, Physician to the King of Denmark 'and a good mathematician also' (CR, pp. 6-7).
7. 'Very many of all estates and professions were desirous of my acquaintance and conference, as Orontius, Mizaldus, Petrus Mont aureus,..Turnebus, Straselius, Vicomercatus, Paschasius Hamelius, Petrus Ramus, Gulielmus Postellus, Fernelius, Jo. Magnionus, Johannes à Pena, &c.' (CR, p. 8).
8. Dee listed his printed and unprinted works in The Compendious Rehearsal (pp. 24-27) and also in A Letter Containing a Most Briefe Discourse Apologeticall, written in 1594-5 (Autobiographical Tracts, pp. 73-77).

9. See Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, 1553, V, 199, and CR, p. 31.
10. See W.R.B. Prideaux, 'Books from John Dee's Library', Notes and Queries, 9th Series, VIII (1901), pp. 137-138.
11. Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigiensis, 2 vols (Cambridge 1861, republished 1967), II, 505-6.
12. Anthony a Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, II, 542. Leicester later became the patron of Dee, in so far as Dee ever received any continuous patronage, and he owned a first edition of Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid's Elements of Geometrie (London 1570), which contained an important preface and many annotations by Dee. Leicester's copy was advertised for sale in 1977 and a description may be found in Catalogue 954, 'Science and Mathematics', of Bernard Quaritch Ltd.
13. The order was 'to make searche for oone John Dye', but this is generally accepted as referring to Dee (Acts of the Privy Council, 1554-1556, n.s., V, 137).
14. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1580, No. 34, p. 67.
15. See John Philpot, The Examinations and Writings of John Philpot, edited by Robert Eden, Parker Society (Cambridge 1842), pp. 69 & 80.
16. The original in Dee's hand is BM Cotton MS Vitellius. C.VII, art. 6, and there is a transcript by Ashmole to be found in Ashmole MS 1788, art. 8. The Supplication is printed in Autobiographical Tracts, pp. 46-47.
17. See BM Harleian MS 1879, arts 1, 5 & 6, and Ashmole MS 1142, II (Ashmole's transcript).
18. 'Being to her Majestie commended by the right honourable Earle of Penbroke, and the Lord Robert, after Earle of Leicester...her Majestie used these wordes unto the said Lordes, "Where my brother hath given him a crowne, I will give him a noble"' (CR, p. 12).
19. This philosophical and alchemical work was printed at Antwerp in 1564 and reprinted at Frankfurt in 1591. It has been printed with an introduction and translation by C.H. Josten in AMBIX, XII (1964), pp. 84-221. All references to Monas are to this edition.
20. Dee seems to have been involved personally with the treatment of the Marchioness, for he received a letter dated 24 December 1564 containing a treatise Ad cancrum curandum from Bartholomeus de Rekingken in Vienna (Ashmole MS 1788, fols 134-135).

21. Chancery Proceedings, Series II, Bundle 49, No. 44, cited by E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography: 1485-1583 (London 1930), p. 107.
22. In a survey of 1616 the house was already called 'ancient' (Smith, John Dee, p. 30).
23. He performed useful services in allaying fears aroused by the discovery of a wax image of the Queen, transfixed with a pin, in Lincoln's Inn (CR, pp. 21-22), and in pronouncing his judgement on the appearance of a new comet in 1577 which had 'unduly bred great feare and doubt in many of the Court' (CR, p. 21).
24. See especially Frances A. Yates, Theatre of the World (London and Chicago 1969).
25. Dee had augmented Robert Recorde's Grounde of Artes in 1561.
26. The manuscript copy is now Ashmole MS 1789, art. 4.
27. On the paradoxal compass see E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography: 1485-1583, pp. 95-96.
28. BM Cotton MS Vitellius. C.VII, art. 3. This MS is partly burned and parts of it are missing. A list of its contents is to be found in Ashmole MS 1788, art. 4.
29. John Dee, General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation (1577), facsimile edition, The English Experience No. 62 (Amsterdam and New York 1968), pp. 13-14 and 34-35.
30. Thomas Fulton, The Sovereignty of the Sea (Edinburgh 1911), p. 99.
31. See Commentary to 8b, 25.
32. Dee's Diary entry of 24 March 1577 reads: 'Alexander Simon the Ninivite came to me, and promised me his servise into Persia', although there is no record of Dee having gained any first-hand experience and knowledge of the Middle East and Orient.
33. Arthur Dee was to become an eminent physician and alchemist and his life is documented in Smith, John Dee, pp. 307-316, and in the Dictionary of National Biography.
34. In March 1579 Dee signed a letter with Thomas Gresham, Martin Frobisher and others to the Council of State desiring that those Adventurers who had not paid their contributions should be admonished to do so without delay (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1580, p. 621.)
35. See Sloane MS 3188, 7b, 38-40. A scryer is a person who sees visions in reflecting objects such as water and crystal.

36. Dee's Diary records Lasky's arrival as being on 1 May whereas it is recorded as the last day of April in Douce MS 363, fol. 125.
37. See TFR, pp. 23, 29 and 33.
38. Kelly had married in 1583, but the precise date is not known.
39. Lasky was suspected of plots against the King of Poland. See pp. 175-176 below.
40. Kesmark is probably the Kežmarok of modern Czechoslovakia.
41. The text is printed in TFR, p. 218.
42. Concerning the religious controversies in Pucci's life see the article in DNB.
43. In the Action of 30 April 1586 there is a reference to the house in which Dee was living which mentions 'Fr. Pucci his Chamber door' (TFR, p. 419).
44. Thomas Digges (d. 1595), the mathematician, who referred to Dee as his mathematical father ('mihi Parentem alterum Mathematicum') in his work Alae seu scalae mathematicae (1573), sig. A2r.
45. See C.H. Josten, 'An Unknown Chapter in the Life of John Dee', JWCI, XVIII (1965), pp. 223-257. The Nuncio was most pressing to make Dee's acquaintance, but when Dee did finally agree to meet him, he found the Nuncio's words 'sweetly hypocritical'.
46. This is now Třebon in Czechoslovakia, but for convenience I shall retain the Latin form.
47. Justification for obeying the commandment for the cross-matching could be found in St. Augustine's Confessions: 'when God commandeth anything which is against the custom or compact of any people, although it were never done there before, it must then be done...Again there are some things like to flagitious sins and heinous crimes, which yet are not sins, because they neither offend thee, our Lord and God, nor human society...For the appearance of the act is often different from the intention of him that doth it; and the precise circumstances of the time, which are hidden from us, must often vary. But when of a sudden thou commandest anything, how unlawful and unexpected soever—though thou hadst once forbidden it; though thou for some reason dost conceal the cause of thy commandment for a time; and though it prove to be against the custom of some particular commonwealth—yet who doubts but that it ought to be done' (The Confessions of St. Augustine, tr. Sir Tobie Matthew, revised by Dom Roger Huddleston (London and Glasgow 1957), Bk III, Chs 8 & 9, pp. 82-85).
48. Smith, John Dee, p. 188.

49. BM Cotton MS Appendix XLVI, fol. 218a.
50. On 4 July 1583 Kelly attempted to break with Dee rather than go abroad with Lasky, saying amongst other things: 'I cannot abide my wife, I love her not, nay I abhor her; and there in the house I am misliked, because I favour her no better' (TFR, p. 30).
51. See pp. 160-161 below.
52. This letter is BM Harleian MS 6986, fol. 45, and a photographic plate is to be found in French, John Dee, following p. 132.
53. Dee had entered into this contract with Kelly on 29 June 1583 (TFR, p. 28).
54. This was printed in London in 1599 and is to be found in Autobiographical Tracts, pp. 69-84.
55. See also Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1595-1597, p. 45.
56. See Diary entries for 19 March 1596, 15 April 1596 and 6 August 1597.
57. See Diary entries for 19 January 1598 to 9 February 1598.
58. 'This colledge of Manchester, is allmost become No Colledge, in any respect', letter to Dyer 8 September 1597, Harleian MS 249, art. 13, fol. 104b.
59. John Dee, To the King's Most Excellent Majestie (London 1604).
60. John Dee, To the Honorable Assemblie of the Commons in the Present Parliament (London 1604).
61. See Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 149a.
62. Aubrey, Lives, I, 210-215.

b) Edward Kelly

1. Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 137. Ashmole interpreted the horoscope as showing 'him a Man of cleere Understanding, quick Apprehension, an excellent Wit, and a great propensity to Philosophicall Studies' (Ashmole MS 972, being a copy of Theatrum Chemicum, p. 479). I.R.F. Calder notes that 'Jupiter is in the Medium Coelum indicating great worldly honour and position, but it is ill aspected suggesting misfortune and ultimate disaster' being 'moreover... conjoined with Mars, which unequivocally in this tenth house denotes a rash and hasty character, boastful,

presumptuous, stubbornly weak, one swayed by extravagant passions and generally unbalanced and treacherous' ('John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist', II, 466a).

2. Ashmole recorded that 'Mr. Lilly told me that John Evans informed him that he was acquainted with Kelly's sister in Worcester, that she shewed him some gold her brother had transmuted, and that Kelly was first an apothecary in Worcester' (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 58).
3. Anthony à Wood was informed that Kelly had studied for a time at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, but finding no such name in the matriculation register, assumed that he entered under the name of Talbot, three persons of that name being at Gloucester Hall in 1573 (Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, I, 639).
4. Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, I, 639. A writ was made against Kelly on a charge of false coinage, but considerably later, since he was informed of it by his brother Thomas on 5 June 1583 (see TFR, pp. 5-6). The charge was not sustained.
5. John Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments (1631), pp. 45-46. For the popular reputation of Dee and Kelly as necromancers through the following centuries, see French, John Dee, pp. 4-19.
6. See Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, I, 639, and French, John Dee, p. 113, n. 2.
7. Joan Cooper's mother lived in Chipping Norton, which is referred to as Joan's 'home' (TFR, p. 6).
8. There are stories that Kelly found the powder in Wales, and that he found it at Glastonbury (see Lenglet du Fresnoy, Histoire de la Philosophie Hermétique (Paris 1742), I, 306-313, and The Alchemical Writings of Edward Kelley, edited by A.E. Waite (London 1893, reprinted 1970), pp. xvi-xviii). Before receiving the hidden manuscripts, Ashmole recorded a story that the powder was obtained from an Italian (Ashmole MS 1790, fols 60-61), but the powder is only referred to in Sloane MS 3188 after 23 March 1583 and these accounts are discredited.
9. Smith, John Dee, p. 193.
10. See for instance Sloane MS 3188, fol. 65b.
11. For an example of one of the arguments between Kelly and Dee, see Sloane MS 3188, fol. 91a.
12. See Agrippa, Three Books of Occult Philosophy, translated by J[ames] F[rench] (London 1651), I, lx, pp. 132-133.
13. Halliwell's edition of the diary reads 'I was sent to E.K.', which is an incorrect transcription.

14. See pp. 175-176 below.
15. The Queen had asked to see Dee's 'glass so famous' on 10 March 1575, which Dee produced and explained 'to her Majestie's great contentment and delight' (CR, p. 17).
16. The actual title conferred upon Kelly was eques auratus and in February 1590, Kelly obtained a confirmation of his grant from England (Lansdowne MS 846, fol. 243). Dee added a marginal note to a prophecy of Kelly achieving greatness that 'this came to passe Anno 1589 when he was made Baron of Bohemia Anno 1590' (TFR, p. 32).
17. See Smith, John Dee, p. 203.
18. 'That warming Pann was of siluer, and the moity thereof was transmuted into Gold. It was the warming Pann of the Lord Willoughby then Embassador for Queen Elizabeth' (Ashmole MS 1446, fol 237b, being an annotation by Townesend to Ashmole's Theatrum Chemicum).
19. John Strype, Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion...in the Church of England, 7 vols (Oxford 1824), VI, 617-620.
20. See Strype, Annals, VII, 3-6.
21. Lansdowne MS 66, fol. 164.
22. The account is contained in a letter from a merchant to Edward Wotton (Strype, Annals, VI, 621-625) and in a letter from Thomas Webbe to Burghley (Lansdowne MS 68, fol. 210).
23. The merchant in his letter to Wotton postulates various other possible reasons for Kelly's indictment (Strype, Annals, VI, 621-625).
24. The Alchemical Writings of Edward Kelley, ed. A.E. Waite, p. 5. In this volume De lapide philosophorum is taken from the Hamburg edition of 1676 and Waite also ascribes to Kelly the two tracts entitled The Humid Path and The Theatre of Terrestrial Astronomy.
25. Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, I, 642-643.

c) Other Scryers

1. See Diary. Dee also noted that 'all Barthilmew's reports of sight and hering spirituall wer burnt; a copy of the first part, which was afterward found, was burnt before me and my wife' (Ashmole MS 488, sig. Ppp5v).
2. See pp. 79-84 below.

3. Agrippa, Occ. Phil., I, lx, pp. 132-133.
4. Adrian Gilbert's brother Humphrey and John Davis appear to have been engaged in certain experiments with spirits themselves (see BM Additional MS 36674, fols 58-62).

III

MAGIC AND SCRYING

a) Magic

The history of magic in the Renaissance is a vast and complex subject outside the scope of this thesis, but before proceeding to an account of the particular magic of Dee's Actions with spirits, some general outline of the principles of magical thought at the time must be given. Recent work has clearly demonstrated the diversity of opinion and practice among the various disciples of magic in the Renaissance,¹ and it is difficult to treat the subject in general without ignoring the inconsistencies and contradictions between the doctrines held by different persons and also in any particular doctrine itself. Furthermore the breadth of interest that was exhibited by Renaissance magi makes it difficult to determine the borders of magic for at times it was 'on the point of turning into art, science, practical psychology, or, above all, religion' on account of a 'real overlapping of the fields of all these activities' (Walker, p. 76). Certain principles were nevertheless common to a great number of magical doctrines and formed the tradition to which Dee was an heir.

Magic was not so much revived during the Renaissance as rehabilitated. Magic, witchcraft and sorcery of various kinds were as prevalent during the Middle Ages as during the Renaissance, but the Renaissance generated a new approach to the universe which saw the relationship of God and man as primarily intellectual rather than material. The principal force behind the spread of this approach was the translation of the Corpus Hermeticum begun in 1463 by Marsilio Ficino on the insistence of Cosimo de Medici.² Since the works in this collection were thought to precede the writings of Plato and perhaps even those of Moses, they were held in great esteem as being closer to the purest and earliest source of divine

wisdom.³ The translation of the texts to which Ficino gave the name Pimander helped to re-establish the magic in the already known Asclepius of Hermes Trismegistus and the spread of the Hermetic movement propagated not only a new attitude towards the Creation but also a magical tradition.

The Hermetic philosophy was largely anthropocentric in outlook. It redefined the relationship between God and man, giving man a place not simply as the image of God but as a potential god himself. In the Oration on The Dignity of Man Pico della Mirandola, who was greatly influenced by the Corpus Hermeticum, declared that man was truly the son of the Father and could grow to be like his Father through the powers given to him by God:

O supreme generosity of God the Father,
 O highest and most marvellous felicity of
 man! To him is granted to have whatever
 he chooses, to be whatever he wills.
 Beasts as soon as they are born (so says
 Lucilius) bring with them from their
 mother's womb all they will ever possess.
 Spiritual beings, either from the beginning
 or soon thereafter, become what they are to
 be for ever and ever. On man when he came
 to life the Father conferred the seeds of
 all kinds and the germs of every way of life.
 Whatever seeds each man cultivates will grow
 to maturity and bear in him their own fruit.
 If they be vegetative, he will be like a
 plant. If sensitive, he will become brutish.
 If rational, he will grow into a heavenly
 being. If intellectual, he will be an angel
 and the son of God. And if, happy in the lot
 of no created thing, he withdraws into the
 centre of his own unity, his spirit, made one
 with God, in the solitary darkness of God,
 who is set above all things, shall surpass
 them all.⁴

Man was no longer a creature of original sin, troubled by the wars between reason and passion, and wandering between the joys of heaven and the fires of hell. Man was instead a creature of God, imbued with the potential 'to be whatever he wills' and to rise above the world to a unity with God. While the Hermetic texts are frequently

inconsistent with each other and may not be regarded as a unified body, they all exhibit an intense piety, a piety which was essential for the man who sought the way to be 'made one with God'. The gnosis might be achieved by contemplating the universe as the divine creation of God or by rejecting the material world and elevating oneself above matter through asceticism. In both cases unity with God would be achieved through the divine mens in man.

This intellectual-spiritual approach to God accorded well with the changes brought about by the advancement of mathematics. If the universe were divine then its contemplation as a creation of God concerned measurement and structural harmony, as well as the spiritual apprehension of its qualities. Plotinus had argued that matter did not in fact possess qualities in itself, for they were imposed by the mind and recognised in the illumination of it by the mind. Magnitude and number were first imposed upon it, determining what other forms it might then receive.⁵ If the material world was evil, then the gnostic might contemplate the ideas in the mind of the creator from which matter sprung, and it was therefore necessary to measure the material in order to approach its Platonic Form.

The Hermetic philosophy did not give rise to the new emphasis upon quantity rather than quality, but was fruitfully coincident with it. Hermeticism was capable of coexisting in one mind with 'the Neoplatonic interpretation of Plato dominated by the passion for a fully articulated vision of the world as a structural entity.'⁶ The Hermetic way to God was through a gnostic contemplation of the universe. The pathway indicated by Renaissance Neoplatonism was mathematical. Since number operated in the world of the divine Forms as well as in the material world, a quantitative approach to the universe could itself lead to gnostic revelation, the contem-

plation of number being the way from the material to the immaterial. For the magician inspired by the Hermetic possibilities of rising above the natural world to a unity with God, mathematics would be the modus operandi, and such quantitative empiricism led 'not to the refutation but to the codification of magic.'⁷

The Hermetic treatises assumed an astrological universe in which the lower world was governed by the stars and the seven planets, while each celestial body was in turn governed by one or more daemons.⁸ Magic demanded a similar hierarchical universe so that effects might be wrought by the action of one body, spirit or daemon upon another. Generally the Renaissance magicians and philosophers made a threefold division of the universe in a hierarchical plane. Reuchlin divided it into the 'Inferior, Superior and Supream' worlds,⁹ while Agrippa favoured the 'Elementary, Celestiall, and Intellectuall'. Dee's division, to which I shall return, was into the Natural, the Supernatural and the Mathematical.¹⁰ The ultimate aim of philosophy and magic was defined by Agrippa in a way that shows the interdependency of the three worlds:

Seeing there is a three fold world, Elementary, Celestiall, and Intellectuall, and every inferior is governed by its superior, and receiveth the influence of the vertues thereof, so that the very original, and chief Worker of all doth by Angels, the Heavens, Stars, Elements, Animals, Plants, Metals, and Stones convey from himself the vertues of his Omnipotency upon us, for whose service he made, and created all these things: Wise men conceive it no way irrational that it should be possible for us to ascend by the same degrees through each World, to the same very originall World itself, the Maker of all things, and first Cause, from whence all things are, and proceed. (Occ. Phil. I, i, pp. 1-2).

In this hierarchical universe the planets held a very important place in respect of man and the earth, for they acted as intermediaries between God with his angels and the world of nature in which

man lived and breathed. The planets sent down their influences to the earth and imbued the world with certain of their characteristics through the 'occult' properties in matter. These occult qualities could not be seen, but engaged a sympathy between the heavens and the earth and between different objects upon the earth which could be put to use by the skilful operator. Thus a particular plant might have the occult properties of fire and the sun, and therefore have sympathies with all things solarian. Through such base objects the influences of the higher bodies could be attracted, by virtue of the sympathies between the occult properties of the objects and the influences, in the form of rays, of the planets. Similarly certain effects could be produced by letting the occult properties of one body act upon or in conjunction with the occult properties of another body, magic on this level working through 'uniting the vertues of things through the application of them one to the other, and to their inferior sutable subjects, joyning and knitting them together throughly by the powers, and vertues of the superior Bodies' (Occ. Phil., I, ii, p. 3). According to Agrippa such an operation was 'natural magic', since it operated primarily in the elemental world, although the influences of the stars and planets also played a part. It was very distinct from what he termed celestial magic, which involved dealing with the daemons, spirits, and intelligences who governed the stars and the planets, and ceremonial magic, which concerned religion and dealing with angels and devils.

The term 'natural magic' was used to mean different things by various authors. It could range from a purely astrological definition as with Ficino's music theory and orphic singing (see Walker, pp. 3-24), to a definition which covered all that was not sorcery

and was 'nothing else but the survey of the whole course of Nature'.¹¹ 'Natural magic' was the harnessing of planetary influences, which might act directly upon the imagination of the operator or might act independently of him. The effects might be upon animate or inanimate bodies, the planets themselves being regarded as either according to the occasion, and if upon an animate body, might be directed towards the operator or towards some other individual. The essential principle of such magic was that it worked through the force of the imagination, the vis imaginativa, through the cosmic and human spirit, effects being either purely psychological or psychosomatic. Depending so largely on planetary influences, natural magic was a threat to orthodox religion, since it did not of necessity acknowledge a divine cause. Within a Christian context, the tendency was either for 'natural magic' to be given a Christian significance that it did not presuppose, or for Christianity to be given a magical efficacy other than that which it already claimed, and exclusively at that.

Natural magic was consistent with the Hermetic philosophy, since the Hermetic texts supposed a universe of astrological influences, and because the influences were drawn down and directed through the vis imaginativa of the operator, man was again given an exalted position, the vis imaginativa linking him with the stars, and therefore by extension with God. Magic embracing the conjuring of daemons also appeared to be condoned in the Hermetic treatises¹² and while the difference between natural and daemonic magic was great in respect of philosophic grounds — the one only supposed planetary influences while the other supposed planetary daemons and spirits — there was no great difference in the principles of practice. Angels and daemons were substituted for the impersonal planetary

influences and 'would be attracted or compelled by the various forces and would then accomplish the effects, acting not only on the body and spirit but also on the higher parts of the soul' (Walker, p. 76). A talisman with particular occult properties, having been fashioned at the right time from the right material and with the correct inscription, might be used to draw down the influence of a certain planet upon the operator or into another object. Alternatively the talisman might be used to summon the aid, and if powerful enough the presence, of the daemon who governed a particular planet. In the latter case a more complicated ceremony might well be used but the principle of sympathetic attraction was the same, whether the attraction was through such objects as talismans and seals, through perfumes, through words, or through all together in some combination. Under certain circumstances the sympathetic attractions of the various objects and words might be used to control an evil spirit for the operator's benefit.

The similarity of basic ceremony in the two types of magic resulted in some confusion over the term 'natural', for the word implied that such magic was good:

There was for everyone, without exception, a good and a bad astrology, just as, for nearly everyone, there was a good and a bad magic. There was general agreement on the criteria for distinguishing the magics: bad magic was to do with the devil and demons; good magic was 'natural' — though one could of course argue endlessly about the proper application of these criteria. (Walker, pp. 54-55).

The Papal Nuncio and the Jesuits at Prague wanted Dee and Kelly to confess that they were dealing with evil spirits.¹³ Such magic was by all definitions bad. Dee and Kelly maintained that they dealt only with angels and with good spirits. There could be no charge against them unless the spirits could be proved to be evil, for

dealing with the ministers of God was both good and 'natural'. Daemonic magic did not fall into the trap of atheism or deism which was the logical consequence of natural magic. It was however a rival religion to the orthodox church. Adversaries of magic frequently argued the charge that while the operator might believe that he was only dealing with the spiritual creatures of God, he might nevertheless be deluded by evil spirits posing as good. There are examples in Dee's Actions to substantiate the argument.¹⁴

I have not treated natural magic and daemonic magic as being particularly distinct despite the claims of many of the natural magicians to dissociate themselves from daemonic practices. My reasons for conflating the two to some extent is that the natural magicians frequently tried to hide from themselves that their magic was sometimes really daemonic and because by the time that Dee began scrying Agrippa had successfully broken down many of the distinctions between the two. He had exposed the natural magic of Ficino as being essentially daemonic and had 'confused transitive and thaumaturgic effects with purely subjective and psychological effects' (see Walker, p. 96). In the third book of De occulta philosophia he constantly places Christian examples alongside pagan and magical ones, making little distinction between them. Agrippa's only real division was between dealing with good spirits and dealing with evil spirits, and even then there is evidence that he believed in the value of magic even of the most dangerous kind.¹⁵ Nevertheless despite Agrippa's syncretic compilation, natural magic did follow its own course among various disciples. Agrippa absorbed natural magic into his exposition of daemonic magic, but natural magicians did often manage to avoid infusing daemonic magic into their doctrines:

[The] tradition, as Ficino left it, comprises two kinds of magic, the natural, spiritual magic of [his De vita coelitus comparanda, the third book of de triplica vita (Florence 1489)], and the demonic magic, only hinted at in that work, but quite easily discoverable from his other writings. The tradition, therefore, was likely to grow in two divergent directions; which it did. The demonic magic, combined with mediaeval planetary magic, led to the overtly demonic, recklessly unorthodox magic of Agrippa and Paracelsus. The spiritual magic tended to dissolve into something else: music and poetry, as with La Boderie; orthodox Christianity, as with Giorgi; unorthodox Christianity, as with Persio. At the end of the 16th century the two strands of the tradition come together again in the planetary oratory of Paolini and the magic practised by Campanella. (Walker, p. 75)

The greatest influences upon Dee and Kelly appear to have been Agrippa and Reuchlin. Agrippa's De occulta philosophia and Reuchlin's De verbo mirifico and De arte cabalistica are referred to specifically in marginal notes in Sloane MS 3188 (11b & 12a). Much that the angels said concerning general theories, such as whether angels have voices, follow the theories expounded in De occulta philosophia (see pp. 117-118 below) and at another time Kelly declared that the spirits were false since their geographical descriptions could be found in the works of Agrippa (TFR, pp. 158-159).

Dee's earliest full-length publication, Propaedeumata aphoristica (1558) shows that Dee was deeply immersed in natural magic of an astrological kind. The work consists of 120 aphorisms explaining the structure of the universe in terms of harmony and dissonance, sympathy and antipathy, and circular rays that emanate from everything that exists. He declares that 'whatever is in the universe has order and harmony in relation to everything else',¹⁶ and concludes that the world may be likened to a lyre.¹⁷ He attaches great importance to the vis imaginativa and ends the work with an appeal to the

authority of Hermes Trismegistus.¹⁸ The magic of Propaedeumata aphoristica involves no daemons. The stars are impersonal, and any evil resulting from their influences is a result of man's already corrupt nature.¹⁹

Like Reuchlin and Agrippa, Dee divided the universe into three worlds, but rather less simply. Dee believed that the universe consisted of the supernatural, which was 'immaterial, simple indiuisable, incorruptible, and vnchangeable', the natural, which was 'materiall, compounded, diuisible, corruptible, and chaungeable', and 'Thynges Mathematicall', which 'beyng (in a maner) middle, between thinges supernaturall and naturall: are not so absolute and excellent, as thinges supernaturall: Nor yet so base and grosse, as things naturall: But are things immateriall: and neuerthelesse, by materiall things hable to be signified' (Preface, sig. 4v). The importance of mathematics for understanding divine things was by then growing to be a common dictum. Nicolaus of Cusa (1401-1464) declared that number was always a pathway to truth among Platonists and recalled the statement of Boethius that nothing divine could be known without the aid of mathematics.²⁰ In his Preface Dee quoted the eleventh of Pico della Mirandola's Conclusiones that 'by Numbers, a way is had, to the searchyng out, and vnderstandyng of euery thyng, hable to be knowen' and expressed the desire that 'those Conclusions were red diligently, and perceiued of such, as are earnest Obseruers and Considerers of the constant law of numbers' (Preface, sig. *jr). Agrippa stated quite adamantly that

the Doctrines of Mathematicks are so necessary to, and have such an affinity with Magick, that they that do profess it without them, are quite out of the way, and labour in vain, and shall in no wise obtain their desired effect. For whatsoever things are, and are done in these inferior natural vertues, are all done, and governed by

number, weight, measure, harmony, motion and light. (Occ. Phil., II, i, p. 167)

The origin of this emphasis upon mathematics in magic and things divine was the Platonic and Pythagorean conclusion that number and the proportion of numbers was 'the principall pattern in the mind of the Creator.'²¹ Such number was 'a rationall, and formall number, not of a materiall, sensible, or vocall, the number of Merchants buying, and selling' (Occ. Phil., II, i, p. 171)

Dee further argued that number had a trinitarian state:

One, in the Creator: an other in euery Creature (in respect of his complete constitution:) and the third, in Spirituall and Angelicall Myndes, and in the Soule of man. In the first and third state, Number, is termed Number Numbryng. But in all Creatures, otherwise, Number, is termed Number Numbred. And in our Soule, Number beareth such a swaye, and hath such an affinitie therewith: that some of the old Philosophers [e.g. Pythagoras] taught, Mans Soule, to be a Number mouing it selfe. (Preface, sig. *jv)

Through his numbering, God 'produced orderly and distinctly all thinges' and his 'Continuall Numbryng, of all thinges, is the Conseruation of them in being'. Consequently 'where and when he shall lacke an Vnit: there and then, that particular thyng shalbe Discreated' (Preface, sig. *jv). It was through the contemplation of number that man could achieve a gnosis leading to unity with the Creator:

By Numbers...we may both winde and draw our selues into the inward and deepe search and vew, of all creatures distinct vertues, natures, properties, and Formes: And also, farder, arise, clime, ascend, and mount vp (with Speculative winges) in spirit, to behold in the Glas of Creation, the Forme of Formes, the Exemplar Number of all thinges Numerable: both visible and inuisible: mortall and immortall, Corporall and Spirituall. (Preface, sigs. *jr-*jv)

Dee's conception of number arose from the tradition of numerological exegesis of the Bible, leading from Philo through the Civitas Dei of

St. Augustine, and the more abstractly systematic and philosophical tradition leading from Pythagoras through such writers as Nichomachus of Gerasa, Martinus Capella, and Rabanus.²² A syncretic approach to the two traditions was characteristic of Renaissance numerological thinking as the Hebrew and Greek traditions were conflated.²³ The ahistorical assumption that Plato was indebted to Moses led the Renaissance to believe that a single tradition might be traced in all preceding thought.

Yet despite Dee's acceptance and propagation of the doctrines of natural magic and a combined exegetical and philosophical tradition of conceiving the Creation in terms of formal number, the art of scrying which he practised was not based upon any tradition of natural magic nor upon a mathematical conception of the universe. The Actions do display some of the principles of natural magic, particularly with regard to the construction of some of the magical tools in respect of suitable material and time; they also exhibit a regard for the exegetical and arithmological traditions of numerology, as when the Book of Enoch is written in forty days and it is declared that 'by six and seven' all things are done (Sloane MS 3188, 54a, 32). Yet the calling of angels into a crystal belongs not to an intellectual but rather to a popular tradition of magic. It was the magic of the vagrant and the charlatan rather than the magic of Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. It did not lead to gnosis dependent upon contemplation of the universe, but embodied a direct revelation by the ministers of God independent of any gnostic achievement. The visions were seen by the man who was frequently rebuked as a sinner and not by the man whose spiritual preparations should have rendered him the more recipient to the appearance of angels of God.

Dee diverged sharply from the magic that we might have expected from him. He involved himself in magic of a different sort to that

he had himself expounded in his earlier Propaedeumata aphoristica and differed in method from the daemonic magic catalogued by Agrippa. Although Agrippa mentions various forms of divination, he wastes no more than a few words on scrying and does not refer to the use of a crystal at all. Dee's involvement in scrying may be explained by the fact that it appeared to be successful; he had come across a method of receiving information from God's ministers and he was not going to let such a chance of learning the secrets of the universe slip away from him. It may be that the very fact that the spirits who appeared and were named during the Actions were hitherto unknown convinced him that the divine truth of the Creation was indeed being revealed to him. That many of the explanations of the construction of the universe may have followed his expectations, being in line with Neoplatonic thought, may have appeared as confirmation of this. Yet though the contents of the Actions with the spirits are firmly in accord with Renaissance doctrines, the method which Dee used to obtain divine revelation had changed little since the Middle Ages.

b) Scrying

Scrying may be defined as 'the faculty of seeing visions in a smooth surface or clear deep, or both.'²⁴ The earliest methods of scrying concentrated upon aspects of hydromancy, the seeing of visions in water, usually contained in a vessel of some kind. Such a method had apparent Biblical authority, for after concealing his silver cup in Benjamin's sack of corn, Joseph said to his steward:

Up, follow after the men; and when thou
dost overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore
have ye rewarded evil for good? Is not this
it in which my lord drinketh, and whereby
indeed he divineth? (Genesis XLIV, 4-5)

This particular method seems to have declined in popularity during the sixteenth century in favour of mirrors and crystals, if the frequency of reference in magical works of the period is any guide, although it did not disappear entirely. Dee possessed a mirror of black obsidian and several crystals which he entitled 'shew-stones'.²⁵

The art of scrying with mirrors (catoptromancy) probably has rather different origins from divination with crystals (crystallo-mancy) although the two methods are frequently grouped together in manuscript instructions for calling spirits.²⁶ A major difference between the two methods is that invocations for crystals always summon angels or spirits to give the desired information, whereas accounts of catoptromancy do not always contain the appearance of such creatures. A vision of the future or some distant place does not necessarily require the presence of a spirit, even though a spiritual creature (good or evil) may be the original inspirator. The rituals for conjuring angels and spirits rarely appear in detail in the printed books of the period but such works of ceremonial magic as The Key of Solomon were circulated in manuscript.²⁷ The extent of the manuscript material suggests that scrying was widespread, but in many cases the manuscripts are simply copies of standard magical works and possession of a copy does not necessarily argue practice.

While the origins of catoptromancy are untraceable with any certainty, the popularity of the method may owe something to the legend of the magical tower. The legend is that in a certain town a magician erected a tower which had many extraordinary properties, one of which was a mirror which shone over the area and warned the inhabitants of the approach of any invading army. The legend exists in early Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Hebrew versions as well as

Greek, Latin and most modern European languages. It is perhaps best known as one of the tales in the collection entitled The Seven Sages.²⁸ From this legend perhaps arose the equally popular stories concerning Roger Bacon's glass prospective. Bacon's works show no evidence of his having attempted the practice of scrying, but he was well versed in the science of optics (as was Dee after him) and the apparent magical properties of shaped mirrors and lenses may have caused the legend to grow. It is fundamental to the plot of Greene's The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon and Frier Bongay (1594) and in the seventeenth-century chap-book, The Famous History of Fryer Bacon (1627), the glass is described as being:

of that excellent nature, that any man might behold any thing that he desired to see, within the compass of fifty miles round about him: With this glasse he had pleased divers kinds of people: for fathers did oftentimes desire to see (thereby) how their children did, and children how their parents did; one friend how another did, and one enemy (sometimes) how his enemy did: so that from far they would come to see this wonderfull glasse.²⁹

It is possible that the legend of Bacon's glass derives from experiments with heliographs,³⁰ but the antiquity of catoptromancy caused his optical experiments to be misinterpreted. The reputation to which Bacon became heir may have furthered the practice of catoptromancy as others tried to discover the secret of the glass prospective.

The majority of references to magical mirrors occur in literature and are based upon the Bacon legend. In Chaucer's 'Squire's Tale' the knight who visits King Cambyuskan has just such a glass:

This mirour eek, that I have in myn hond,
Hath swich a myght that men may in it see
Whan ther shal fallen any adversitee
Unto your regne or to youreelf also,
And openly who is youre freend or foo.
And over al this, if any lady bright
Hath set hire herte on any maner wight,

If he be fals, she shal his tresoun see,
 His newe love, and al his subtitlee,
 So openly that ther shall no thyng hyde.³¹

Just such a mirror was lost in the Dutch tales about Reynard the Fox, which Caxton translated in 1481:

The glasse...was of such virtue that men might see therein all that was done within a mile, of men, of beasts, and of all thing that men would desire to wit and know. And what man looked in the glass, had he any disease, pricking or motes, smart or pearls in his eyes, he should be anon healed of it. Such great virtue has the glass.³²

A third example is to be found in Spenser's Faerie Queene. Britomart enters her father's closet and discovers a mirror into which she looks, but instead of seeing her own reflection she observes the picture of a handsome knight. It is no ordinary mirror, for it had been given to her father by Merlin the magician:

It vertue had, to shew in perfect sight,
 What euer thing was in the world contaynd,
 Betwixt the lowest earth and heauens hight,
 So that it to the looker appertaynd;
 What euer foe had wrought, or frend had faynd,
 Therein discouered was, ne ought mote pas,
 Ne ought in secret from the same remaynd;
 For thy it round and hollow shaped was,
 Like to the world it selfe, and seem'd a world
 of glas.³³

Shakespeare also makes use of the legend of the magician's mirror. It is in a mirror that Macbeth sees the sons of Banquo who will be future kings of Scotland and Angelo compares his revival of the laws of Vienna with the magician's art in Measure for Measure. He says the law is now awake and

Takes note of what is done, and like a Prophet
 Lookes in a glasse that shewes what future euile
 Either now, or by remissenesse, new conceiu'd
 And so in progresse to be hatch'd, and borne,
 Are now to haue no successiue degrees,
 But here they liue to end.³⁴

There is no shortage in literature of references to scrying with mirrors, many being a consequence of Bacon's unearned reputation as

a conjurer, but first-hand accounts of the practice are rare, since it could and did lead to trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities.

The definition of catoptromancy given by Jules César Boulenger in Opusculorum systema (Lyons 1621) provides a little information on the practice:

CATOPTROMANTIA dicitur, cū Speculum in peluim aquae plenam mittunt, et puerum integrum, aut mulierem pregnantem, quae nondum nouem mensem attigerit, adhibent, vt in speculo ea cernant, de quibus inquirunt. Ioannes Salisberiensis lib.1. cap.12. Specularios vocant, qui in corporibus laeuigatis, et tersis, vt sunt, lucidi enses, pelues, cyathi, speculorumque diuersa genera diuinantes, curiosis consultationibus satisfaciunt.³⁵

A similar definition by Martino Delrio provides an historical example:

Κατοπτρομαντεία, quae rerum quaesitarum figuras in speculis exhibet politis: in vsu fuit D. Iuliano Imp. qui imperium emit, de quo ista Spartianus: fuit praeterea in Iuliano haec amentia, vt per Magos plerāque faceret, quibus putaret vel odium populi deliniri, vel militum arma compesci. Nam et quasdam non conuenientes Romanis sacris hostias immolauerunt, et carmina prophana incantauerunt, et ea quae ad speculum dicunt fieri, in quo pueri, praeligatis oculis incantando, vertice respicere dicuntur, Iulianus fecit. Tūcque puer vidisse dicitur, et aduentum Seueri, et Iuliani decessionem.³⁶

One full record of the practice is contained in Les dialogues (Anvers 1574) by Jacques Tahureau, although its veracity is open to question. Yet even if the account is fictional, it is nevertheless sufficiently close to the general circumstances of other forms of scrying for it to be taken as a typical example. Tahureau reports that he went with a soldier friend to see a supposed magician:

Il vint tirer tout doucemēt de sa bourse (cōme si c'eust esté quelque precieux ioyau) vn mirouër tout brouillé et barbouillé de carac-

teres, auquel estoit magistralement depeint ce grād mot Tetragrāmaton, et aux quatre coins arriere pēinte de plusieurs croix et figures de planettes....ce magnifique Necromant ne laissoit point de continuer tousieurs ses coups, et extoller de plus en plus la grande et incomparable vertu de son mirouër, m'assuerat qu'il estoit fait de la vraye forme et maniere qu'estoit celuy de Salomon.

The magician had fasted for three days, except for bread and roots, had abstained from female company, and had both bathed and purified himself. After many chants and invocations he asked Tahureau if there was anyone living or dead whom he would like to see:

Et adonc non point pour aucune foy que i'adioutasse à ces bourdes et menteries, mais pour ne me manifester point si soudain mepriseur de sa folie, pour voir aussi quelle en seroit l'issue, ie luy nommay vne personne qu'il cognoissoit bien. Cela fait, il se signa d'une infinité de croix, puis ayāt fait vn cerne nous entrasmes dedans, et apres auoir tenu son mirouër assez long temps à l'opposite du Soleil, murmuré et gromelé entre ses dens certains mots, ietté quelques siflemens en l'air, se contretournāt, comme agité de quelque fureur deuers chascune des quatre parties du monde, Orient, Occident, Midi, et Septentrion, il me demanda si ie ne voyois rien dedans le mirouër: Ie luy respōdi qu'il disoit vray, et que ie ne voyois rien, fors que la representation de nos deux faces. Voyla vn cas estrange, ce disoit mon Philosophe cōtrefaisant du melācolique, il faut bien qu'il y ait de la faute de votre costé. Car quant est de moi ie le voy aussi visiblement, et autant au naturel cōme si ie parlois à luy, ie le voy comme il regarde dedans vn liure: Ha (ce me dit il lors soupirant à la Tuscanne) ie croy que vous n'auez pas vraye foy.³⁷

Characteristic of this and other methods of scrying are the purification, fasting and invocations. The attempt to capture solarian influences through holding the mirror in the sun's rays may be partially influenced by Ficino's daemonic and particularly solarian magic,³⁸ but the account given by Tahureau shows a much diluted version that is just as likely to be indebted to ancient sun worship or mere charlatanism. No daemons or angels appear and

this is consistent with most records of catoptromancy; it is the mirror itself which possesses the magical qualities, the visions appearing directly in the mirror.

The use of crystals in scrying, however, nearly always involves the invocation of angels and spirits to appear in the crystal and to answer questions, which takes this method of divination somewhat outside the limits of natural magic as it was generally defined. Jules Boulenger does not mention this aspect of crystallogomancy, merely adding after his description of catoptromancy: 'huc pertinet Crystallomantea, quam in cristalli frustis exercent. Ea frusta in cylindri, obeli, aut globi formam vt plerumque figurantur' (p.200).³⁹ Martino Delrio does refer to daemonic help in his description of an example of scrying with the aid of a crystal. Having first defined catoptromancy, he continues:

Non dissimilis praecedenti, Χρυσάλλομαντεία
nisi quod haec in cristalli frustis fiat annulo
inclusis, vel vasculo alteri, vel etiam nudis,
et in cylindrum aut obelum conformatis: quibus
etiam fingit se daemon inhabitare. Quēdam
Noribergae anno 1550, ferunt in cristallo
thesaurus vidisse, à daemone ostentatos:
quos cū postea quodam ante urbem loco
effosso quaereret, adhibitio familiari vno
spectatore, et iam in specu arcam vidissent,
atque ad eam cubantem atrum canem; magus
specum ingreditur arcam aperturus, canemque
abactus, sed Cerberi offam secum non
attulerat itaque ille cacumen speluncae
quassavit, et miserum ruinâ obruit; qua
et specus terra oppleta.⁴⁰

Crystallomancy was frequently used for the location of buried treasure and the recovery of stolen goods and one of the earliest records in England of crystallogomancy, the confession of one William Byg, alias Lech, made at Wombwell in Yorkshire on 22 August 1467, may be regarded as typical of the practice. Charged with heresy, Byg made a full confession to William Poteman, the vicar-general of the

Archbishop of York, of which the following is an extract:

Et dicit interrogatus quod cencies, a tempore quo ipse primo pervenit ad villam de Wombewell, ad reducendum bona furtive subtracta, artem quae sequitur occupavit, viz., primo juvenem quemdam annorum etatis citra xij usitavit statuere super scabellum coram ipso Willelmo, et in manu pueri sive juvenis hujusmodi posuit, ut dicit, unum lapidem cristallum, ipsum cogendo dicere Pater Noster, Ave et Credo, secundum informationem istius jurati, et tunc verba proferre subsequencia; Domine Jhesu Christe, mitte nobis tres angelos ex parte dextera qui dicant aut demonstrent nobis veritatem de omnibus hiis de quibus nos interrogabimus. Et tunc, ut dicit, fecit juvenem hujusmodi prospicere in lapidem, et petiit ab eo quid viderit, et si aliquid viderit, juvenis retulit ipsi jurato, et quandoque ut dicit, juvenis hujusmodi vidit in lapide praedicto bona subtracta et quandoque subtractores bonorum in eodem lapide, et quandoque duos angelos, et nunquam ultra. Et si primo viderit angelos apparentes, tunc verbis sequentibus usus est ipse juratus eisdem dicere; Domini Angeli, ego precipio vobis per Dominum et omnia sua nomina sancta, et per virginitatem, gratuite dicatis nobis veritatem et nullam falsitatem de omnibus hiis de quibus nos interrogabimus, et aperte sine dampno meo et omnium presencium. Et tunc, ut dicit, fecit hujusmodi juvenem ipsos angelos sive angelum interrogare, sub hiis verbis; Say me trewe, chylde, what man, what woman, or what childe hase stolne yis thyng, and shewe me thing in his hand; et tunc usus est specificare subtracta. Et tunc, ut dicit, juvenis ipse clare prospiciebat in lapide hujusmodi cristallino subtractores bonorum ac ipsa bona subtracta. Et si juvenis hujusmodi prius noverit personas hujusmodi subtrahentes, voluerit specificare nomina eorundem, sin autem voluit per manum suam designare in qua patria et qua parte ejusdem subtractores hujusmodi moram trahebant. Sed pro majori parte, ut dicit, ipsi qui aliqua bona habuerunt subtracta juvenem secum adduxerunt qui noverit partes suspectas in hac parte. Et ulterius dicit quod (si) juvenis hujusmodi post primam conjuracionem, nichil [sic] in lapide prospex(er)it, itaverit ipse, (viz. ipse juratus) ipsam conjuracionem, dicentes; Domine Jhesu Christe mitte nobis tres angelos, etc. Et dicit, quod habuit ipse juratus firmam fidem de sciendo de hujusmodi bonis subtractis, si angelus vel angeli apparuerit vel apparuerint et juvenis hujusmodi loqueretur. Et dicit, quod vigesies juvenes hujusmodi nullam apparenciam in lapide viderunt, nec ipse juratus aliquo tempore.⁴¹

Although this confession before Poteman was made on 22 August 1467, Byg's full submission was not made before 23 March in the following year, when he received his sentence. The charge was very grave, particularly since at the end of the confession Byg admitted that the angels were evil spirits, but the sentence was surprisingly lenient. He was ordered to walk at the head of a procession in the Cathedral of York, bearing a lighted torch in his right hand and a rod to which his books were tied in his left. Affixed to his head was a paper with the words 'Ecce sortilegus' and on his chest and back were similar papers inscribed 'Invocator Spirituum'. The title of 'sortilegus' was affixed to his shoulders and he was ordered to make a full recantation and burn his books. The punishment was repeated in the parish churches of Pontefract, Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham. The lapse of time between the confession and the sentence may have been due to the fact that he said that he had left his books in Greenwich shortly after the death of the Duke of Gloucester and the ecclesiastical authorities would have been anxious to recover them so that they could be destroyed. The leniency of the punishment may have been a result of Byg's implicating several persons of rank in the practice:

Et dicit, quod circiter festum Sancti Andreae ultimo preteritum venerunt ad istum juratum usque Wombewell quidam Bisshop et Pagett de Derthington, et alii viri quorum nomina ignorat ipse juratus de presenti, et nunciaverunt eidem jurato qualiter duo calices ab ecclesia de Derthington subtractae fuerunt, desiderantes eum, quatenus vellet, eis suum auxilium in hac parte pro recuperacione eorundem exhibere. Quorum votis applaudit ipse juratus, ut dicit, et tunc habuerunt, ut dicit, ipsum juratum ad quemlibet honestum virum nomine Fitzwilliam armigerum, et ab inde usque Darthington cariarunt, et in presencia ejusdem Fitzwilliam, necnon cujusdam Scurdvill et aliorum quamplurium, produxerunt predicti Bisshop et Pagett duos pueros, et eos sedere fecerunt super ij herpicas, et artem suam predictam in eis exercuit

predictus juratus, ut dicit, et alter ipsorum
 puerorum, ut dicit, vidit in lapide predicto
 quemdam virum, sed quem nescit, ut dicit
 habentem calicem argenteum in manibus suis, et
 aliter, ut dicit, diffamavit nunquam ipse juratus
 vicarium de Darthyngton seu aliquem alium super
 premissis.⁴²

The Archbishop, being of Neville blood,⁴³ would not want to lay
 his hands upon a Fitzwilliam.

Less fortunate than Byg would have been the priest arrested
 by the Abbot of Abbingdon sometime between 1534 and 1540, when
 Thomas Cromwell was secretary. In a letter to Cromwell the Abbot
 requested instructions for dealing with the recalcitrant priest:

Right honorable and my very singuler good
 Maister, in my mooste humble wyse I comende me
 vnto you. It shall please your Maistership to be
 advertesed that my Officers have taken here a
 Preyste, a suspecte parson, and with hym certeyn
 bokes of conjuracions, in the whiche ys conteyned
 many conclusions of that worke; as fyndyng out of
 tresure hydde, consecratyng of ryngs with stones
 in theym, and consecratyng of a cristal stone
 wheryn a chylde shall looke, and se many thyngs.
 Ther ys also many fygors in hyt whiche haue dyuers
 thyngs in theym, and amongs all, one the whiche
 hath a swerde crossed ouer with a septor. I haue
 sente yo^r Maistership the boke by the berer herof,
 besechyng yo^r Maistership to send me your myende
 what I shall do with the parson. Whether I shall
 sende hym to Oxford Castell or Walyngford Castell,
 or to any other place that you wyll assigne. Yf I
 shall so do, I beseche yo^r Maistership to send some
 comāundement in wrytyng to the Shreyffe or hys
 Officers that they wyll reseve hym. I beseche you
 to be my good Maister as you haue before tyme byn.
 And so Jehu haue you in hys blyssed kepyng. Wretyn
 at Abbendon, the vjth day of October, at your
 Maisterships comāundement, with my seruyce.

THOMAS, Abbas Abendonensis Monasterij.⁴⁴

In these accounts there is no mention of the summoning of angels
 or spirits for any other purpose than the recovery of buried treas-
 ure and stolen property. Most scrying with the aid of crystals
 appears to have been solely for the purpose of locating concealed
 objects and not for direct contact with the supernatural world.

Yet there is no doubt that it had a wide distribution, since the Statute against conjuration and witchcraft of 1541-42 expressly prohibited the practice. Although the use of crystals is not mentioned, it is clear that the act was partly intended for the suppression of such scrying. It begins:

Where dyuerse and sondry persones unlaufully haue deuised and practised inuocacions and coniuracions of spirites, pretendynge by suche meanes to vnderstande and gette knowledge for theyr owne lucre, in what place treasure of gold and syluer shoulde or moughte be founde or had in the earth or other secrete places, and allso haue vsed and occupied witchcraftes inchauntementes and sorceries, to the destruction of theyr neyghbours persons and goodes....⁴⁵

The penalty imposed for such offences was death and forfeiture of all goods.

In 1549 Sir Thomas Smith examined a certain William Wicherly upon accusation of conjuring up spirits. Part of Wicherly's deposition concerns the use of a crystal, and gives greater detail of the results than do most confessions:

Item, he saith that about ten years past he used a circule called Circulus Salamonis, at a place called Pembsam in Sussex, to calle up Baro, whom he taketh an orientalle or septentrionalle spirit. Where was also one Robert Bayly the scryer of the cristalle stone, syr John Anderson the magister operator, syr John Hickley, and Thomas Goslyng, in which their practise they had sworde, ring, and hally-water. Where they were frustrated, for Baro did not appere, nor other vision of spirit, but there was a terrible wynde and tempest for the tyme of the circulation. And sithens that tyme he used no consecrat cyrcule, but hath used the cristalle to invoke the spirit called Scariot, which he called dyvers tymes into the cristall, to have knowledge of thyngs stolne, which spirit hath geuen hym knowledge an C. tymes, and thereby men have been restored to their goodes.

And this practise by the cristalle he hath at the commaundement of my lord protector executed in the presence of mr. Thynne, mr. Whalley, mr. George Blage and mr. Challoner, and one Weldon.

And by this meane my lord protector's plate was founde, where this deponent told his grace that it was hidd.⁴⁶

Wicherly attempted to call particular spirits into the crystal, rather than just invoking any supernatural creature. Wicherly's experiments show a more methodic approach to the art in that he is clearly following a precise ritual to invoke a particular spirit. Wicherly implicated others in the confessions of his own dealings, and also named other scryers:

Item, he knoweth that one Lowth, in Flete-strete, a broderer, useth the cristall stone, and goeth about daily to dygge for treasure.

Thomas Malfrey of Goldstone beside Yarmouth, and a woman besides Stoke Clare, whose name he knoweth not, are skryers of the glasse....

Maier, a preest, and now say-master of the mynt at Durham house, hath conjured for treasure and their stolne goods.

Sir John Lloyd, a preest, that somtyme dwelt at Godstone besides Croydon, hath used it likewise. (p. 334)

The main purposes of crystallomancy in these cases are to discover hidden treasure and to retrieve stolen articles.

The art of scrying appealed to all sections of the community it seems. A manuscript book that belonged to Dr. Caius, the founder of Caius College, contains long extracts from Agrippa's De occulta philosophia, Abano's Elementa magica and various conjurations. One of these is 'pro cristallo: aut Vrinali: aut speculo', and requests visionary help:

In the name of the father + and of the son, and of the holye ghost + amen, I pray the heavenly father, as thou art the maker of heavne and the earthe, and of all thinges therin, contained, and not onlye hast made them, but allso doist worke besides ther creation wonderfullye in them; asweell in angels thye celestiall spirites, as also in men, foule, fishe, and beste, as in other sensibell thinges, as in wodes, trese, water, stones, gresse, and herbes, bye the whiche ther operation, we are moved to prayse thye holye name: and to saye, holye god and

heavnelve father, make me now to perceive and
understande, thye mervilous workes, in this
clere and puer cristall.⁴⁷

Later in the manuscript there is 'a notable Journal of an experimental Magician' which contains the records of scrying experiments between 24 February and 22 March 1567. These experiments involved John Davis as the scryer and H.G. as operator. Humphrey Gilbert was in England during 1567 and it seems most likely that the initials stand for his name, particularly since John Davis is probably the same John Davis who with Adrian Gilbert received instruction from Dee's angelic experiments.⁴⁸ The manuscript also contains an invocation 'to have a spirit in a glasse to tell all things' (fol.66a).

Anonymity seems to have been largely preserved by keeping the papers secret. John Davis does not hide his identity in the manuscript cited above, probably because he felt that he was acting within a Christian framework, much as Dee did. The magic that he was performing was good magic, for he was calling angels and not devils. There could be no wrong in calling upon God's creatures. The principal dangers lay in the suspicions and slanders of those who did not understand the nature of the experiments. Dee's life was a continual battle against the rumours of the ignorant who failed to perceive what he believed to be the Christian nature of his experiments and the good that must ensue. In private papers the facts were faithfully recorded as Dee's MSS prove. Although Simon Forman is something of a peculiarity of the time, his diary also demonstrates the openness of personal writings on the subject together with the need to prevent public knowledge. He summed up 1584 as 'a reasonable, good, and quiet yere; but I had certain braulles and sclaunders fell out against me aboute the detecting of one that had stollen certain thinges, wherby I was like to have bin spoiled'.⁴⁹

It is unlikely that Forman used a crystal for this episode since it is not until 1588 that he notes that he 'began to practise necromancy and to calle aungells and spirits' (p.19), but other methods of tracing stolen goods were equally suspiciously regarded. Catoptromancy may well have been the basis of his earlier experiment in the detection of a thief.

Not all experiments were particularly successful. At the end of Ashmole's copy of Dee's actions between 1581 and 1583 there are bound in some papers dealing with Actions held between 1585 and 1586 with unknown participants.⁵⁰ The experiment seems to have got out of control since no angels appeared but noises were heard and objects were inexplicably precipitated around the room. In general however, records of actual practices are fewer than copies of instructions and invocations. SloaneMS 3848 contains instructions for conducting 'an experyment approved and unknowne of Ascaryell to see most excellent and certainlye in a christall stonne what secretts thow wilt'. Although the experiment is 'approved' there is no evidence in the manuscript of it being put into practice. The experiment is in this case dependent upon solarian influences, much like the mirror in Tahureau's account of catoptromancy:

First take a christall stonne or a glasse, the greater the better so that it be fayre and cleare, without any ragges cracks or holes broken within and thou must have a thonge of harts skinn, to wrappe thy stonne in so that thy stonne may be well seene in the midst of the bindinge, and ever when thou dost wrappe the stonne about with the thonge say thus In nomine sanctae trinitatis et dietatis hanc gemmam tecondo: Then holde the christall stonne which is so dight in thy right hande against the .☉. [sun] which must be done in the heate of the .☉. at noone when the .☉. is in the highest and hottest and soe call him [Ascaryell] in such likenes as thou wilt by the conjuration followinge and he will come and shew thee what thou wilt in all countryes of all thinges whatsoever

thou wilt aske him and thou shalt commaund him
to bringe his fellowes with him.⁵¹

The special conjuration then follows. According to Ashmole, Sloane MS 3851 is in 'the hand writing of one Mr. Arthur Gauntlet, who professed Phisick and lived about Graies Inn Lane' (fol. 2b). After a transcript of Arbatel de Magia there follows a number of invocations for making angels appear in crystals or mirrors. From the authoritative manner of the instructions it is probable that this is a copy of a compendium of scrying of some sort, most likely circulated in manuscript. The invocation 'to call Three Heavenly Angells into a Christall Stone or looking Glasse to the visible sight of A Child' bears many similarities with William Byg's confessed method and suggests that Byg may have followed a standard work upon the subject:

Make a Crosse on the forehead of the Child
with the Thumb of thy right Hand Saying
In nomine Patris filii et Spiritus Sanctus Amen.
Then with a new Penn wright on the midst of the
Stone Or Glasse with Oyle Ollive this name Hermely.
Then sett the Child betweene thy leggs Thou sitting
in the Chaire And lett him say after thee. The
Lords Prayer The Beleefe and These names following
+ On + Ell + Eloy + Eley + Messias + Sother +
Emanuell + Sabaoth + In the name of the Father +
And of the Sonne + And of the Holy Ghost + Amen ~:
Then say to thy self this Prayer following . ~ .
O Lord Jesus Christ King of Glory by vertue of
those whome they call Hermely and by thy power
and mercy Send unto us Three of thy good Angells
from thy right hand of Glory Into the middest Of
this Cristall Stone (or Glasse) To the visible
Sight of this Childe maide and virgin lett them
make true answers True Judgment and true appear-
ance Revealing vnto us all things doubtfull and
unsertaine [sic] without all falshoode fraude or
deseipt [sic] Graunt this Sweete Jesheu I most
humblie pray and beseech thee Amen. (fol. 40b)

The use of a child, the recital of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, the request for three angels from God's right hand, and the request for true answers all appear in Byg's confession. We may therefore presume that there was an established method of scrying and an

established ritual of invocation. Such instructions were probably circulated in manuscript along with other magical works. Magical rituals display an enormous variety, however, and although many examples of scrying experiments do not have such corroborative evidence of defined ritual as that above, they must not on that account be regarded as divergent from a principal method. Sloane MS 3851 contains many different forms of invocations for spirits to appear in a crystal and they are all set forth as equally valid alternatives.

The practice of scrying seems to have been as popular in the seventeenth century as in the sixteenth. Richard Napier, a former pupil of Simon Forman, was a practitioner of crystallo-mancy according to John Aubrey,⁵² and many noteworthy persons had experience of visions in reflective objects. Aubrey notes that he was reliably informed by James Harrington, the author of Oceana, that 'the Earl of Denbigh then Ambassador at Venice did tell him, that one did shew him there several times in a Glass, things past, and to come'. Sir Marmaduke Langdale also experienced a prophetic vision in a glass belonging to a magus and Sir Edward Harley possessed a beryl or crystal inscribed with angels' names that an unidentified minister and later a miller had once used.⁵³ Aubrey notes a few other examples that had come to his attention. A further example is to be found in William Lilly's autobiography:

I was very familiar with one Sarah Skelhorn, who had been Speculatrix unto one Arthur Gauntlet about Gray's-Inn-Lane, a very lewd fellow, professing physick. This Sarah had a perfect sight, and indeed the best eyes for that purpose I ever yet did see. Gauntlet's books, after he was dead, were sold, after I had perused them, to my scholar Humphreys: there were rare notions in them. This Sarah lived a long time, even until her death, with one Mrs. Stockman in the Isle of Purbeck, and died about sixteen years since.

Her mistress one time being desirous to accompany her mother, the Lady Beconsfield, unto London, who lived twelve miles from her habitation, caused Sarah to inspect her crystal, to see if she, viz. her mother, was gone, yea or not: the angels appeared, and shewed her mother opening a trunk, and taking out a red waistcoat, whereby she perceived she was not gone. Next day she went to her mother's and there, as she entered the chamber, she was opening a trunk, and had a red waistcoat in her hand. Sarah told me oft, the angels would for some years follow her, and appear in every room of the house, until she was weary of them.

This Sarah Skelhorn, her call unto the crystal began,

'Oh ye good angels, only and only,' &c

Ellen Evans, daughter of my tutor Evans, her call unto the crystal was this:

'O Micol, O tu Micol, regina pigmeorum veni,
&c.' 54

Three points of particular interest arise from this account. Sarah Skelhorn's crystal acted in the same manner as the glass prospective of the Bacon legend in that it showed the future, whereas in other accounts of scrying for the recovery of stolen goods, the crystal shows the present whereabouts of the property. The angels also appeared outside of the crystal, as indeed they are recorded as doing in Dee's experiments.⁵⁵ Ellen Evans invoked the Queen of the Fairies as opposed to angels of God or other spirits, but then Lilly's accounts generally fail to distinguish between fairies and other spirits, since he regards them all as belonging to the world of the supernatural.

Lilly remarks that the summoning of spirits is an art that not all can master. He says that 'very many have failed just at that present when they [the angels] are ready to manifest themselves' (p. 230) and gives an example:

Sir Robert Holborn, Knight, brought once unto me Gladwell of Suffolk, who had formerly had sight and conference with Uriel and Raphael, but lost them both by carelessness; so that neither of them both would but rarely appear, and then presently be gone, resolving nothing.

He would have given me two hundred pounds to have assisted him for their recovery, but I am no such man. Those glorious creatures, if well commanded, and well observed, do teach the master any thing he desires; Amant secreta, fugiunt aperta. (p.231)

Lilly notes of this Gladwell of Suffolk that 'Mr. Gilbert Wakering gave him his berril when he died; it was of the largeness of a good big orange, set in silver, with a cross on the top, and another on the handle; and round about engraved the names of these angels, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel' (p.231).

Lilly notes that 'neatness and cleanliness in apparel, a strict diet, and upright life, fervent prayers unto God, conduce much to the assistance of those who are curious these ways' (p.232). This is frequently emphasised in accounts of scrying as being a very necessary requirement. As with all magic, preparation of the body, mind and soul is required.

From all the accounts we may build up a general picture of scrying. Catoptromancy may use a young boy or pregnant woman as the medium and can involve incantations and purification ceremonies, but most often it is simply a question of looking into a mirror, for the mirror itself has magical properties. Crystallomancy usually invokes angelic aid and begins with purification of the operators, prayers to God and his angels, fasting and abstinence. In most cases a young boy is used as the medium, but even when an older person is used, it is not customary for the operator to see any visions himself. Lilly's account of Sarah Skelhorn's activities is unusual in this respect and more closely resembles modern practice, although modern crystallomancy does not generally include the appearance of angelic informants. The principal use of crystallomancy in the sixteenth century was for the recovery of stolen goods

and for the location of buried treasure. Some more learned operators like Dee sought more than that however. They were not concerned with making a living from the art, but with gaining supercelestial knowledge. Through the visions of angels in the crystal they sought to know what was hidden from mankind but revealed to the angels. Scrying for buried treasure did form a minor part of Dee's practice, but his main purpose did not rest on such a mundane level. Dee's use of the crystal far exceeded the limits of common practice and holds a singular place in the history of scrying.

1. See Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, 6 vols (New York 1929-1958), Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (Berkeley and London 1972), D. P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella (London 1958) and Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London and Chicago 1964). I am particularly indebted for much of what follows to the study by D. P. Walker.
2. The work was completed before Cosimo died in 1464. What Ficino translated was only the fourteen tracts to which he gave the title Pimander, although his contemporaries used this title to designate the whole Corpus Hermeticum (see Yates, Giordano Bruno, pp. 12-14).
3. They were correctly dated as having been written in the second and third centuries AD by Isaac Casaubon (the father of Meric Casaubon) in 1614.
4. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Oration on the Dignity of Man (written c. 1486), translated by Elizabeth Livermore Forbes, in The Renaissance Philosophy of Man, edited by Ernst Cassirer et al. (London and Chicago 1967), pp. 223-254, p. 225.
5. See I.R.F. Calder, 'John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist', I, 141-148 for particular discussion of this point in relation to Dee.
6. Calder, I, 126.
7. Ernst Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy, translated by Mario Domandi (Oxford 1963), p. 152.
8. I use the word 'daemon' rather than 'demon' to avoid the presupposed connection with evil implied by the latter term. A daemon may be good, evil, or impartial.
9. Johannes Reuchlin, E Cabala, printed in Sir Thomas Stanley's History of Philosophy (London 1656), p. 571 ff.
10. John Dee, 'Mathematicall Preface' to The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara, translated by Sir Henry Billingsley (London 1570), sig. 4v. Hereafter I shall abbreviate this to Preface.
11. Gianbattista della Porta, Natural Magick (1658), edited by Derek J. Price (New York 1957), Bk I, ch. ii, p. 2.
12. The Asclepius stated that daemons might be drawn down to inhabit and animate statues and in the Pimander the thirty-six decans, originally Egyptian sidereal gods, rule over the Zodiac according to divisions of ten degrees, while the 'governors' of the seven planets are represented as being especially powerful.

13. See Josten, 'An Unknown Chapter', pp. 229-237.
14. In the Action of 10 March 1582 'an Illuding Spirit' suddenly takes the place of Uriel without Dee and Kelly realising, the discovery being made much later (Sloane MS 3188, 9b and 96b).
15. See Walker, p. 91 and Thorndike V, 127-138.
16. John Dee, Propaedeumata aphoristica (London 1558), Aphorism IX, sig. Alv.
17. Propaedeumata aphoristica, Aphorism XII, sig. A2r.
18. Propaedeumata aphoristica, Aphorism CXIX, sig. F2v
19. Propaedeumata aphoristica, Aphorism CXII, sig. E4r.
20. Nicolai de Cusa, De docta ignorantia, edited by Ernestus Hoffman and Raymundus Klibunsky (Lipsiae 1932), p. 23.
21. Agrippa, Occ. Phil. II, i, p. 170, and Dee, Preface, sig. *jr.
22. On these two traditions see Christopher Butler, Number Symbolism (London 1970), pp. 22-44.
23. See Butler, Number Symbolism, pp. 47-77.
24. Theodore Besterman, Crystalgazing: A Study in the History, Distribution, Theory and Practice of Skrying (London 1924), p. 2.
25. See below pp. 137-141.
26. See for instance Bodleian, Rawlinson MS D 252, and BM Sloane MSS 1317, 3848 and 3851.
27. There are many magical works which bear the name of Solomon. The oldest version of the Key or Clavicle of Solomon is a sixteenth-century Latin copy translated from Hebrew by Isau Abbraha. This is now BM Additional MS 10,687. Copies of The Clavicle of Solomon are contained in Sloane MSS 2731, 3091, 3648, 3805, 3825 and 3847, dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A fourteenth-century MS of Opus de arte magica of Solomon is in Sloane MS 3854.
28. For an account of the various versions see the introduction to Le Roman des Sept Sages, edited by H. A. Keller (Tübingen 1836).
29. The Famous History of Fryer Bacon, Early English Prose Romances III (London 1858), p. 147, edition limited to 500 copies.

30. The Sunday Telegraph of 25 June 1978 contains a short article by Gabriel Ronay about Dee's use of a heliograph which I have unfortunately been unable to verify. Ronay cites the Austrian chronicle Annales Ferdinandi as his source and states that Dee used the moon as the light source and 'sold the moonbeam telegraph to Hapsburg Emperor Rudolf II during his stay in Prague in 1584', although no such fact is recorded in Dee's own writings. Ronay relates the story as follows:

'On March 29th, 1598, a Hungarian Commando Unit blew up the gates of the fortress of Győr, Western Hungary. After five hours of battle, the town was recovered from the Turks. An officer called Hans Christoph Boheimß was despatched immediately on horseback to take the news of the victory post-haste to Emperor Rudolf.

It took him more than two days to reach Prague. The exhausted officer had to be helped out of his saddle and carried to the emperor to make his report. But the Emperor would not let him speak. To his amazement, a courtier recounted every detail of the battle.

He was then told that the news had reached the Emperor through the "moonbeam telegraph invented by the Englishman John Dee". According to the chronicle, sometime before the battle ten relay stations had been constructed between Győr and Prague at intervals of 40 kilometres. With the help of these, the news of the victory had been flashed to Prague'.

Even allowing for some sensationalism, the story is hard to believe. It seems most odd that the messenger should not know that his own side was operating a heliograph system and the 40 kilometre interval does seem very large, even assuming that the light source was the sun and not the moon. Some evidence that there might be at least some grain of truth in the story came in the form of a letter to the Sunday Telegraph the following week, however. A Mr. Laurence Moore, who had once been a Signal Corporal in the Imperial Camel Corps in the Hejaz and had used the moon as a light source for a heliograph, wrote:

'A heliograph used at night reflected a most beautiful light of the desert moon and was more effective than our Morse lamp of the time (Begbie, superseded by the Aldis).

The standard 5-inch heliograph in clear sunlight could be read with [a] telescope 40 miles away if both stations were at sufficient altitude; but the "Lunagraph" was limited to something less than 10 miles. There was a 9-inch helio mirror with a greater range but I never operated one'.

It is then possible that a heliograph might have been used but the problem remains as to what kind of code system might have been used to convey the message. I suspect that behind the whole story lies simply the glass that Dee gave to Lord Rosenberg which then came into Rudolf's hands

in 1588 and not 1584 (see below p. 140) and that Dee may have at some time experimented with the sending of extremely simple messages (e.g. a repeated series of flashes indicating an expected result had taken place) using both sunlight and moonlight. Popular gossip then put the two together and transferred them to good use as national propaganda.

31. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, edited by F. N. Robinson, second edition (London 1970), p. 129, 'Squire's Tale', lines 132-141.
32. The History of Reynard the Fox, edited by Donald B. Sands (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1960), pp. 144-145.
33. The Works of Edmund Spenser, edited by E. Greenlaw, C. G. Osgood, F. M. Padelford and R. Heffner, variorum edition, 11 vols (Baltimore 1932-57, reprinted 1958-66), III, 24 (Bk III, canto ii, st. 19).
34. The First Folio of Shakespeare prepared by Charlton Hinman (New York 1968), Measure for Measure lines 849-854.
35. Jules César Boulenger, Opusculorum systema, 2 tomes (Lyons 1621), Tome 1, Bk iii, ch. 7, pp. 199-200:
'It is called catoptromantia when a mirror is placed in a basin full of water and a pure boy or a pregnant woman, who has not yet reached her ninth month, is used to perceive in the mirror things that are requested. In Book I Chapter 12 [of Polycraticus] John of Salisbury gives the name of Specularii to those who give answers through curious consultations in polished and clean bodies, such as bright swords, basins, ladles and various kinds of mirror suitable for augury'. From Specularios to the end is a direct quotation from Polycraticus, I, 12.
36. Martino Delrio, Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex (Lyons 1608), p. 283: 'Catoptromantia [is the art] which displays visions of things that are asked for in polished mirrors. The art was used by the Emperor D[idius] Julianus, who bought the empire and Spartianus writes: "Julianus, furthermore, was mad enough to perform a number of rites with the aid of magicians, such as were calculated either to lessen the hate of the people or to restrain the arms of the soldiers. For the magicians sacrificed certain victims that are foreign to the Roman ritual and chanted unholy songs, while Julianus performed rites, which took place, so we are told, before a mirror, into which boys are said to gaze, after bandages have been bound over their eyes and charms muttered over their heads. And in this performance one lad, it is said, saw the arrival of Severus and the retirement of Julianus"'. The passage in double quotation marks is from Scriptores historiae Augustae and I have used the Loeb translation by David Magie, 3 vols

(Cambridge, Mass. 1960), I, 365. According to Dio, lxxiii, 16, 5, the foreign rites involved the sacrifice of children.

37. Jacques Tahureau, Les Dialogues (Anvers 1574), pp. 228-229: 'He had drawn from his purse very gently (as if it had been some precious jewel) a mirror that was scribbled over with a confusion of characters and on which there was magisterially drawn this great word Tetragrammaton. The four corners on the back were painted with several crosses and the signs of the planets... This magnificent necromancer did not cease to keep up his attack, and extolling more and more the great and incomparable virtue of his mirror, assured me that it was made in the true form and manner of that which Solomon had possessed'... 'And then, not from any belief that I attached to these tales and lies, but rather so as not to show myself so suddenly as scorning his foolishness, and also to see what the outcome would be, I named to him a person that he knew well. When that had been done, he crossed himself an infinite number of times and made a circle into which we stepped. Then after holding his mirror in the sun's rays for quite a long time, murmuring and muttering certain words between his teeth, he whistled a few times while turning around, as if driven by some passion, towards the four corners of the world, East, West, South and North. Then he asked me whether I did not see anything in the mirror. I replied to him that he was quite correct and that I did not see anything, except the image of our two faces. "That's strange," said my philosopher, putting on a melancholy expression. "It must be that there is something wrong with you, for as for myself, I see him as clearly and just as naturally as if I were talking to him. I see him reading a book. Ah," he said to me then, sighing to the Tuscan, "I believe that you have no real faith"'.
 38. See D. P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella, pp. 40-57.
 39. 'To this field [of divination] there also belongs crystallomancy, which is when they practise [the art] with pieces of crystal. These pieces [of crystal] are shaped into cylinders, obelisks, or (as they are most commonly) spheres'.
 40. 'Not dissimilar from the above is crystallomanteia, except that in this case it is practised with pieces of crystal clasped in rings, in a small vase, or even unadorned and shaped like a cylinder or obelisk. In these a demon claims to live. A certain person of Nuremberg is said to have seen treasures shown by a demon in a crystal in 1550. When he sought them afterwards at a certain spot dug out in front of the city, he and a friend he had summoned to be a witness saw a chest in a cave with a black dog lying down in front of it. The magician entered the cave and was going to drive away the dog and open the chest, but he had not brought a sop for Cerberus. The dog shook the top of

the cave and overwhelmed the wretched man in ruin, also filling the cave with earth' (I, 365).

41. J. Raine, 'Divination in the Fifteenth Century by Aid of a Magical Crystal', The Archaeological Journal, XIII (1856), 372-374, pp. 373-374:
'The accused says that a hundred times, from his first coming to the town of Wombwell, he practised the following art for the recovery of goods that had been secretly stolen: first he placed a certain youth of less than twelve years of age on a stool in the presence of the said William and placed a crystal stone in the hand of the said boy or youth, making him say the Pater Noster, Ave and Credo. Then, according to the information of the accused, the boy was made to say the following words: "Lord Jesus Christ, send to us three angels from thy right hand to tell or show us the truth of all that we shall ask." Then, according to the accused, he made the said boy look into the stone and asked him what he saw, and if he did see anything, to tell the accused. He says that sometimes the boy saw in the foresaid stone the stolen goods, sometimes the thieves themselves, sometimes one angel and sometimes two angels, but never more than that number. If at first the boy saw angels appear, the accused would say the following words to them: "Ministering angels, I command you by the Lord God, by all his holy names, and by the Virgin Mary, freely to tell us the truth and no lies about anything that we shall ask, openly and without danger to myself and all present." Then using these words he made the said boy question the angels or angel: "Say me trewe... his hand." Then he would specify the missing property. The accused says that the boy would then see clearly in the said stone the thieves and the stolen goods themselves. If the boy already knew the said thieves, he would give their names, or if he did not, he would demonstrate with his hand in what country and in what part of the same they were staying. But for the most part, says the accused, those who had lost any goods brought with them a boy who knew the parties under suspicion in the case. Furthermore he says that if the said boy saw nothing in the stone after the first conjuration, he (the accused) would repeat the same conjuration, saying: "Lord...etc." He says that he had a firm faith that the stolen goods would be discovered if an angel or angels appeared and the boy spoke. He says that twenty times boys like this had seen nothing appear in the stone and that he himself never saw anything at this time.'
42. 'He says that about the time of the Feast of St. Andrew last there came to the accused in Wombwell a certain Bishop and Paget from Derthington, together with other men whose names he does not at present know. They told the accused how two goblets had been stolen from the church at Derthington and requested him, in so far as he would, to lend his help in respect of their recovery. The accused agreed to their wishes and they took him to a certain

- honest man called Fitzwilliam, a gentleman. From there they went to Derthington and in the presence of that same Fitzwilliam, together with a certain Scurdville and others, the foresaid Bishop and Paget produced two boys and seated them on two wicker stools. The accused practised the said art in them and one of the boys saw in the foresaid stone a certain man, whom he did not know, holding the silver cup in his hands. Otherwise, as the accused says, he never maligned the vicar of Derthington or anyone else concerning what had been alleged in the foresaid matter'.
43. Geoffrey Neville was Archbishop of York between 1465 and 1476.
 44. Original Letters Illustrative of English History, edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 3rd Series, 4 vols (London 1846), III, 41-42, Letter CCLXVIII.
 45. The Second Volume Conteynyng those Statutes whiche haue ben made in the Tyme of the Most Victorious Reigne of Kyng Henrie the Eight (London 1543), Anno XXXIII, ch. vii, sigs B5v-B6r, 'An act against coniuracions, witchcraftes, sorcery, and enchauntmentes'.
 46. Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, edited by John Gough Nichols, Camden Society (London 1859), pp. 332-333.
 47. BM Additional MS 36674, fols 40a-40b.
 48. Gilbert became for a while a participant in the Actions, but Davis did not; both were heavily involved in the plans to find a North-West passage, however, and Dee's interpretation of an angelic command that Gilbert should 'cary the name of Jesus among the Infidells' would embrace Davis as well (Sloane MS 3188, 65a). Davis is further referred to at fol. 67a.
 49. The Autobiography and Personal Diary of Dr. Simon Forman, edited by James Orchard Halliwell (London 1849), p. 17, edition limited to 150 copies.
 50. Sloane MS 3677, fols 173a-175b.
 51. Sloane MS 3848, fol. 148. The complete ritual continues until fol. 151a.
 52. John Aubrey, Three Prose Works, edited by John Buchanan-Brown (Fontwell 1972), pp. 101-102.
 53. Aubrey, Three Prose Works, p. 99.
 54. William Lilly's History of his Life and Times, published from the original MS, London, 1715 (London 1822), pp. 228-229.
 55. See TFR, p. 1.

IV

FRAUD AND CRYPTOGRAPHY

The unusual nature of Dee's scrying experiments does not remove the doubt that attaches itself to all methods of divination: the doubt as to whether the divinatory practice is a fraudulent exercise or a genuine inspiration. It is clear from the evidence contained in the previous chapter that whether spirits really appeared in the crystals or not, many people, including those who condemned the practice, believed that they did, although this itself is only proof of the belief and not of the fact of spiritual appearance. Until the recent rehabilitation of Dee, largely on account of the researches into Renaissance occult philosophy by Frances Yates, Dee's Actions with spirits aroused interest largely because of the doubt surrounding the authenticity of the events described. The central controversies were whether Dee was indeed dealing with angels or dealing with devils, and whether he was the perpetrator or the victim of a long-lasting fraud. While major interest in the Actions now centres upon Dee's position in relation to Renaissance scientific and occult thought, the question of the authenticity of the events is nonetheless pertinent. A judgement must be made. In reaching that judgement the conclusions of two prominent men deserve examination: Meric Casaubon, who believed Dee was deluded by devils, and Robert Hooke, who thought that the Actions were cryptographical.

When Meric Casaubon undertook the publication of most of the records of Dee's angelic dealings then in the Cotton library, his purpose was 'not to satisfie curiosity, but to do good, and promote Religion' (TFR, 'Preface' sig. Alr). The publication in 1659 was controversial and although the Archbishop of Armagh was attested to have declared that 'it was an excellent Booke to convince Atheists',¹ Casaubon recorded that 'the Booke was stopt at the Press, and in ques-

tion at the Councill Table, [and] if the Protector had lived it had not been printed'.² Casaubon was himself under some suspicion of atheism on account of an earlier attempt to prove that all divine inspiration was only 'imposture or melancholy, and depraved phantasie, arising from natural causes',³ and the publication of A True and Faithful Relation helped to refute the charge of atheism, while nevertheless demonstrating that supposedly divine inspiration was, at least in the case of Dee, diabolic deception. Casaubon was under no doubt that Dee and Kelly did raise spirits. After citing many classical authors he concluded that 'upon due consideration of the premises', he could in no way satisfy himself 'how any Learned man, sober and rational, can entertain such an opinion (simply and seriously) That there be no Divels nor Spirits' (TFR, 'Preface' sig.C1v). It was in the nature of the spirits that he considered Dee to be deluded, mistaking 'false lying Spirits for Angels of light' (TFR, 'Preface' sig. D1v). For this Dee's pride was principally to blame (TFR, 'Preface' sig. D4v).

While Casaubon believed that Dee dealt with the spirits in all simplicity and sincerity (TFR, 'Preface' sig. D2v), he was equally convinced that Kelly was fully aware of the nature of the spirits raised:

For certain it is by this whole story [i.e. TFR], from the beginning to the end of it, that Kelley was a great Conjuror, one that daily conversed by such art as is used by ordinary Magicians, with evil Spirits, and knew them to be so. Yet I would suppose that he was one of the best sort of Magicians, that dealt with Spirits by a kind of Command (as is well known some do) and not by any Compact or agreement. (TFR, 'Preface' sig.D3r)

Dee's pride was again responsible for his refusal to believe Kelly's repeated admissions that the spirits they were dealing with were evil (TFR, 'Preface' sig. E1v). Casaubon acknowledged that Kelly might

have defrauded Dee, even mechanically faking apparitions, but thought the evidence to be too weighty to concede in this case that there might be no substance in the Actions (TFR, 'Preface' sig.A2v). Eleven years after the publication of TFR he was even more convinced that the Actions recorded the true raising of spirits:

But then those supernatural effects and operations by Witches and Magicians, which are daily seen, (though not acknowledged by all men, I confess, but upon what account, hath been enquired and fully discoursed by us elsewhere [i.e. TFR): though liable to such imposture, it is confessed (and what is not in this world) yet many of them so certain and so well attested as nothing can be more: whereof we have given many pregnant instances in the same book:) can he that beleeves them, and knows how to make a difference, between the power of created Spirits, and an Eternal God the Creator of all things; think any thing impossible to God?⁴

A contemporary noted his own opinions in the copy of TFR that Shippen collated and annotated, these cautiously following the judgement given by Casaubon in the 'Preface' to the work:

To Believe all this was mere Melancholy and Enthusiasme in Dr. Dee that continued so many years in him I thinke is an Assertion too bold for any Man to offer Or to believe that Either Bartholomew [Hickman], his son Arthur who did pretend to see did Abuse him I thinke is more then any one will say. For E:K no doubt he was a very Rascall but whether he was alwayes an Impostor and pretended to see that he did not and Hear also and so long together is very Difficult to believe.⁵

The same writer also noted that Meric Casaubon was 'a very learned and Pious Man but most lamentably troubled with Hypochondriac Melancholy'. The principal controversies raised by the book as to whether the spirits were real or imaginary, evil or good, became part of the larger controversy concerning the nature of the divine inspiration that was claimed by the Puritans. Casaubon himself admitted in a letter that the 'maine designe of this worke was to set out to view of all men: the condition of those...under pretended colour of

inspiration, and speciall guidance of the Spirit: and it is probable, that many were really deluded'.⁶ Casaubon's attitude towards and conclusions upon the Actions with spirits were therefore prejudiced by a priori considerations.

Robert Hooke (1635-1703) saw an entirely different significance in the spirits summoned during the Actions. Hooke accepted the theory that the Steganographia of Abbot Trithemius of Spanheim, which described operations with angels and spirits, was really a treatise upon cryptography, the spirits offering through their names, descriptions and functions a means of encoding any message.⁷ Hooke sought a comparison between Steganographia, which Dee had himself regarded as a book of extreme importance,⁸ and the Actions contained in TFR. Whether Hooke ever did read the paper he prepared on the subject, being 'not positive, but rather as Queries to be resolved by such as have better Abilities and Opportunities to solve them', before the Royal Society is uncertain, but it was evidently his intention to do so, for he felt obliged to defend the possible 'Unfitness of the Subject for the Consideration of this Society'.⁹ Hooke's thesis was 'that the greatest part of the said Book [TFR], especially all that which relates to the Spirits and Apparitions, together with the Names, Speeches, Shews, Noises, Clothing, Actions, and the Prayers and Doxologies, &c. are all Cryptography; and that some Parts also of that which seems to be a Journal of his Voyage and Travels into several Parts of Germany, are also Cryptographical' (p. 206). Hooke never proceeded any further with this theory, which was later taken up by Adam Clarke (1762?-1832), although he likewise failed to prove any substance to the theory.¹⁰ More recently the cryptographic theory has been suggested by Richard Deacon, but it is based upon evidence which is to my mind of doubtful authenticity and

which, even if accepted, does not presuppose that the whole series of Actions simply consisted of coded messages.¹¹

There are numerous reasons for rejecting any theory that the Actions are cryptographic in nature. Dee's desire for celestial information, divine revelation, a universal religion and the advent of a new age was the principal cause of his becoming involved with scrying in the first place (see Chapter VI). Furthermore there is no substantial motive for Dee and Kelly to produce such a lengthy fraud as seven years of near continuous reports 'encoded' in such a dangerous form as that of Actions with spirits. Although Dee was evidently employed upon state business abroad in 1571 (CR, p.12), there are no records of Actions extant from that time, even if such ever existed. The Actions began at Mortlake when Dee was a short river ride from the Court. Such information as he might have to deliver could be given by word of mouth. Even when he was on the Continent, he wrote a letter to Burghley concerning the treachery of the Jesuit Parkins in plain language.¹² The only likely recipients of coded messages would be Burghley and Walsingham and there are no records of Dee's Actions to be found amongst their collected papers. Furthermore, if the information was such that an elaborate code was required, it would have been strange for Dee to keep copies of his own all together, lest they should fall into the wrong hands.

There are some examples of codes in the course of the Actions but they are extremely simple. One involves the rearrangement of a passage according to a sequence of numbers¹³ and another involves drawing letters from a square according to a prescribed pattern (see Sloane MS 3191, fols 53b-56a). The simplest merely substitutes an original alphabet and Dee is able to solve this code very quickly when he is presented with it by Kelly (see Sloane MS 3188, 87a-88a).

These examples are well below the standard that was in use in state affairs at the time.¹⁴ Furthermore the diversity of the contents of the Actions, ranging in Sloane MS 3188 alone from the description of a system of forty-nine spiritual governors to lengthy passages in the alleged language of the angels, is itself an argument against any consistent cryptography. Such diversity makes the possibility of any single solution improbable.

In general, it can be said that any cipher system, or any method which claims to follow valid cryptographic procedures, must yield unique solutions. If in any system two different investigators applying the same key or keys to the same basic material get inconsistent answers, the system is self-refuting. In other words, it can be used to show its own invalidity.¹⁵

The diversity of material might of course indicate a diversity of ciphers, perhaps even that the Actions constitute a treatise upon cryptography, but in the light of Dee's commitment to the ideals expressed in the Actions and of the fact that they demonstrate the evolution of a magical system based upon angelic hierarchies, such cryptographic considerations may be safely dismissed.

The rejection of Hooke's theory does not presume that the scrying was not in some way fraudulent. Hooke astutely noted that there might have been some application of scientific knowledge, particularly the branches of

Chymistry, or Mathematicks, or Astrology, or Mechanicks, all which I find by his Writings he [Dee] was well versed in, and especially in the Business of Opticks, and Perspective and Mechanical Contrivances; an effect of which I conceive his Chrystal, or Angelical Stone, or Chrystallum sacratum, as he terms it, to have been, for that it was of a considerable bigness, and was placed upon a Pedestal, or Table, which he calls a Holy Table, which might contain the Apparatus to make Apparitions, when he had a mind to be seen in it, as likewise to produce Noises and Voices, if there were occasion. All which might be done by Art, as has been shewn, both formerly by Roger Bacon, and of late by the Echoing Head. (p. 206)

The skill required to produce images such that the unlearned might

believe supernatural methods were being employed was known to many who studied nature and the sciences at that time. Gianbattista della Porta gave various instructions for making 'an Image seem to hang in the Air' using concave mirrors:

This will be more wonderful with the segment of a circle, for it [the image] will appear farther from the Glass. If you be without the point of Inversion, you shall see your head downwards. That with fixed eyes, and not winking at all, you may behold the point, until it comes to your very sight ...the neerer you are to the Centre, the greater will it be, that you will think to touch it with your hands: and if it be a great Glass, you cannot but wonder; for if any man run at the Glass with a drawn sword, another man will seem to meet him, and to run through his hand. If you shew a Candle, you will think a Candle is pendulous lighted in the Air.¹⁶

Della Porta noted other experiments of a similar nature using both plain and concave mirrors and also described the operation of a rudimentary camera obscura, the pinhole camera:

You must shut all the Chamber windows, and it will do well to shut up all holes besides, lest any light breaking in should spoil all. Onely make one hole, that shall be a hands breadth and length; above this fit a little leaden or brass Table, and glew it, so thick as a paper; open a round hole in the middle of it, as great as your little finger: over against this, let there be white walls of paper, or white clothes, so shall you see all that is done without in the Sun, and those that walk in the streets, like to Antipodes, and what is right will be the left, and all things changed; and the farther they are off from the hole, the greater they will appear. (Bk. XVII, Ch.vi, p. 363)

He further suggested that scenes might be acted outside the chamber to provide animated displays of 'Huntings, Banquets, Armies of Enemies, Plays, and all things else that one desireth' and confessed that he had often presented such spectacles to his friends, the result being so convincing that it was often difficult to persuade them that no supernatural art was involved (Bk. XVII, Ch. vi, pp.364-5).

While such knowledge was not widely disseminated early in the century, the principles of optical science were known to many of the more learned men in Europe and particularly those who included

astronomy in their field of study. The simpler experiments such as that of the elementary camera obscura were apparently common knowledge among Renaissance 'scientists' for Agrippa wrote that 'it is well known, if in a dark place where there is no light but by the coming in of a beam of the Sun somewhere through a little hole, a white paper, or plain Looking-glass be set up against that light, that there may be seen upon them, whatsoever things are done without, being shined upon by the Sun' (Occ. Phil. I, vi, p. 16). Dee himself wrote a treatise upon burning-glasses in 1557¹⁷ and he was described by William Bourne as expert in the science of optics.¹⁸ Dee included a description of the art of perspective which 'demonstrateth the maner, and properties, of all Radiations Direct, Broken, and Reflected' in his 'Preface' to Euclid's Elements (sig. Blr) and evidently possessed a concave mirror of some sort:

if you, being (alone) nere a certaine glasse, and proffer, with dagger or sword, to foyne at the glasse, you shall suddenly be moued to giue backe (in maner) by reason of an Image, appearing in the ayre, betwene you and the glasse, with like hand, sword or dagger, and with like quicknes, foyning at your very eye, likewise as you do at the Glasse. Straunge, this is, to heare of: but more meruailous to behold, then these my wordes can signifie. And neuerthesse by demonstration Opticall, the order and cause thereof, is certified: even so, as the effect is consequent. Yea, thus much more, dare I take vpon me, toward the satisfying of the noble courrage, that longeth ardently for the wisdom of Causes Naturall: as to let him vnderstand that, in London, he may with his owne eyes, have profe of that, which I haue sayd herein. A Gentleman [i.e. Dee], (which, for his good seruice, done to his Countrey, is famous and honorable: and for skill in the Mathematicall Sciences, and Languages, is the Od [old?] man of this land. &c.) euen he, is hable: and (I am sure) will, very willingly, let the Glasse, and profe be sene. (Preface, sig. Blv)

This glass was probably that which the Queen requested to see when she arrived at Dee's home on the day that his first wife was buried and the properties of which she was pleased to understand (CR, p.17). Dee was also acquainted with the use of empty vessels in the ancient

theatre as amplifiers of sound, although it is unclear precisely how they worked.¹⁹ Dee quotes and translates part of the De architectura of Vitruvius in his Preface, recalling

the Brasen Vessels, which in Theatres, are placed by Mathematicall order, in ambries, vnder the steppes: and the diuersities of the soundes...are ordred according to Musically Symphonies and Harmonies: being distributed in the Circuities, by Dietessaron, Diapente, and Diapason. That the conuenient voyce, of the players sound, when it came to these preparations, made in order, there being increased: with the increasing, might come more cleare and pleasant, to the eares of the lokers on. (Preface, sig.d3v)

Dee was conversant with the principles of harmony and resonance and therefore with the principles of rudimentary amplification of sound. He certainly had the knowledge to produce a complicated optical illusion. The Actions first took place in his 'study' at Mortlake and he was preparing a special chamber in which to hold them (Sloane MS 3188, 103b, 27). All the circumstances were suitable for him to deceive an unwitting scryer that spirits were appearing and talking. There is however no evidence that he did so and no motive whatsoever. The Actions were themselves theologically dangerous enough with Dee believing in them sincerely. To produce such happenings as a deception would have put Dee in unnecessary danger — Kelly had admitted that his first visit was to trap Dee (Sloane MS 3188, 9a) — and there could be no profit in deceiving a scryer, especially one who was later persuaded to remain only by the offer of a stipend of fifty pounds a year.

If any deception was practised it was by Kelly upon Dee. Dee claimed that he was never able to see the spirits that appeared to Saul and Kelly. There were times when Dee heard odd sounds, such as a spirit stroking a book (TFR, p. 31), and he once recorded: 'I fele: and (by a great thundring noyce, thumming...in myne eares) I perceyue the presence of some spiritual creature abowt me' (Sloane MS 3188, 51b).

When Kelly repeated long passages of the angelic language it was as if he were taken by the spirit of God, for Dee recorded that 'there appeared fire to be thrown oute of the stone, vppon E K' (Sloane MS 3188, 71a), and then later 'the fire cam from E K his eyes, and went into the stone againe' after which Kelly 'could not perceyue, or read one worde' (Sloane MS 3188, 72b). It is not absolutely certain that Dee witnessed this fire, for Kelly might have described it to him, but the manner in which Dee records the experience suggests that it was something that he himself saw. He recorded later that while his child Rowland was sick, he saw some flashes of fire that 'did not lighten abroad' on 18 July 1584 (TFR, p. 210). What he meant by fire is not certain, however, for he might have been referring in fact to flashes of light and the fire in Kelly's eyes might really be light in his eyes, such as might be caused by some intense passion or semi-hypnotic state. There are certain obvious times when Kelly may have perpetrated a fraud upon Dee, such as when he returned from the Cotswolds with a scroll in strange characters, which Dee managed to decipher without too much trouble, Kelly claiming that he had been led to the discovery of the scroll by a 'spiritual creature' (Sloane MS 3188, 61a). During an Action of 29 April 1583 they were given instructions to make a seal and afterwards Kelly went to his room with a book that had been left by Adrian Gilbert. When he opened the book he 'found' a different version of the seal written in his own hand on one of the blank pages at the end of the book (see Sloane MS 3188, 98a-99a). He claimed to have no idea how the writing got there.

All the Actions may have been fraudulent, but again it is difficult to find sufficient motive. Although Dee undoubtedly looked after Kelly's immediate needs, the contract for the stipend of fifty

pounds was not made until 29 June 1583, some two years after Kelly had first acted as Dee's scryer. Furthermore the Actions were often performed with Kelly seated in front of the table on which stood the crystal stone and Dee either recording the Actions at a nearby table or seated on the other side of the table facing Kelly (see Sloane MS 3188, 47b and 48b). Kelly would have had little chance to keep any papers by him without their being discovered by Dee. The angelic system which he expounded was not simple and it is remarkable that there are not a great number of inconsistencies, since it must have been contained in his head, either consciously or unconsciously. If as Frances Yates claims 'Kelly was a fraud who deluded his pious master',²⁰ he was not only 'well-versed in Renaissance magic', but also possessed a most remarkable memory.²¹

Having rejected any chance of deceit upon the part of Dee, we must conclude that either Kelly saw nothing and successfully gulled Dee for the best part of seven years, or that he did indeed see angels and spirits, or that the visions were products of his own imagination. Casaubon argued that 'a very little distemper of the brain, scarce discernable unto any, but those that are well versed in the study of Natural causes, is enough to represent Spirits, Angels and Divels, Sights and Stories of Heaven and Hell to the fancy', but nevertheless believed that Kelly saw genuine spirits (TFR, 'Preface' sig. A2v). While I am not at all qualified in the sciences of psychology and parapsychology, I would venture that Kelly's visions were the product of a 'distemper of the brain'. He complained at times of pains in his body, and particularly in his head, caused by the sights and sounds of the Actions. On 29 March 1583 before seeing the angel Raphael he felt 'a thing (immediately) creeping within his hed, and in that pang becam all in a sweat'. He 'remayned much

misliking the moving and creeping of the thing in his hed' but 'at a quarter of an howre end it cam to one place: and so ceased somewhat' (Sloane MS 3188, 68a). The experience was repeated on 31 March (Sloane MS 3188, 69b). At another time he felt 'such a whirling and beating inwardly in his hed, that he could not vse any Judgement to discerne what appeared, for half a quarter of an howre almost' (Sloane MS 3188, 78b). On 23 April 1583 'his belly did seame to him, to be full of fyre: and he thowght veryly, that his bowells did burne' (Sloane MS 3188, 93a). These experiences (if true) suggest a mental condition, perhaps arising from a physical illness, that was unstable and might cause his imagination to produce visions and hear voices, particularly if Dee was unduly influencing him. From his writings and in particular his complaints, Dee appears to have had a strong personality,²² and it is perhaps significant that the angels frequently gave answers such as Dee evidently wanted to hear, while rebukes were more often directed at Kelly than at Dee. They also frequently gave answers that followed the teachings of works that were known to Kelly and Dee.²³ It is therefore arguable that many of the visions may have arisen from Kelly's subconscious, perhaps after concentration in the crystal (he frequently saw nothing for the first fifteen minutes) had induced in him some mild state of trance. Thus the Actions may be a mixture of pure deceit and subconscious imaginings. The same might perhaps be said of the whole art of scrying, for while much was undoubtedly fraudulent, stolen goods were recorded as being found after information had been delivered through a scryer. Overall the Actions seem to be a mixture of falsehood and if not truth itself, at least half-truth.

1. Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 67b.
2. Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 65b.
3. John Webster, The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft (London 1677), p. 8.
4. Meric Casaubon, Of Credulity and Incredulity in Things Divine and Spiritual (London 1670), pp. 108-109.
5. The identity of the writer is not known and it is unclear whether Shippen's annotations were made after or before the notes on the blank leaves (see TFR, BM shelf-mark 719.m.12). Since the writer refers to Casaubon in the past tense, it is likely that the notes were made after Casaubon's death in 1671.
6. Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 65b.
7. Modern scholarship takes the view that while a system of cryptography is expounded in the first two of the three books of Steganographia, the work was indeed on daemonic magic and the cryptography provided a veil for the magical content and a means for the author to defend his work as being other than it really was (see Walker, pp. 86-90). Steganographia was not published until 1606, but was widely known in manuscript during the sixteenth century, Trithemius having died in 1516 (Walker, p. 86).
8. When Dee wrote to Burghley on 16 February 1563 asking for leave to remain abroad to oversee the printing of some of his works, he declared that he had obtained a copy of Steganographia and had copied it out in ten days. He described it as 'a booke for which many a lerned man hath long sowght and dayly yet doth seeke' and which was 'for your honor, or a Prince, so meet, so nedefull and comodious, as in humayne knowledg, none can be meeter, or more behofefull' (John E. Bailey, 'Dee and Trithemius's "Steganography"', Notes and Queries, 5th series, XI (1879), pp. 401-402 and 422-433, p. 402).
9. The Posthumous Workes of Robert Hooke (London 1705), pp. 205-206.
10. I. D'Israeli, Amenities of Literature, 3 vols (London 1841), III, 228.
11. Richard Deacon in his book John Dee: Scientist, Geographer, Astrologer and Secret Agent to Elizabeth I (London 1968) gives the text of an Action that he claims is in code. The text of this Action is not in Sloane MS 3188 or Cotton MS Appendix XLVI along with the other Actions, but is, he claims, to be found in 'Divers Curious Narrations of Doctor John Dee (in Russian), MS. by Arthur Dee, circa 1621-30, translated by Prince Belloselski' (p. 299). My efforts to trace such a manuscript and to get in touch with Mr. Deacon through his publishers have been fruitless,

and I am rather sceptical of the reference. Deacon says that the text of the Action was dispatched to London from Dee on the Continent through the agency of Francis Garland and yet does not name the recipient, who ought to be Walsingham, and I do not see why Dee should retain a copy which would pass to his son Arthur. If the Action was an encoded message intended for Walsingham, then I would expect any copy to be kept in as secret a place as the other Actions. The style of the Action is distinctly different from the rest and Deacon's book is the only work on Dee that makes mention of it.

12. Lansdowne MS 61, art. 58, fol. 159.
13. See TFR, pp. 362-363, 366 and 387. A passage is written down and then numbers are placed in an irregular order over the words. By rearranging the words into the order indicated by the numbers, an entirely new passage is constructed.
14. Concerning methods of encipherment during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see David Kahn, The Codebreakers (London 1966), pp. 106-156.
15. William F. and Elizabeth S. Friedman, The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined (Cambridge 1957), p. 25.
16. Giambattista della Porta, Natural Magick (1658), edited by Derek J. Price (New York 1957), Bk XVII, ch. iv, p. 361. The first edition of Magia naturalis was published at Naples in 1558, but contained only four books, a longer edition being published in 1589. The work went through at least twelve editions in Latin, four in Italian, seven in French, two in German and two in English.
17. De speculis comburentibus, now Cotton MS Vitellius. C.VII, art. 5.
18. 'For that there ys dyvers in this Lande, that can say and dothe knowe muche more, in these causes, then I: and specially Mr. Dee, and allso Mr. Thomas Digges', William Bourne, 'A Treatise on the Properties and Qualities of Glasses for Optical Purposes', printed in Rara Mathematica, edited by James O. Halliwell (London 1839), pp. 32-47. The original is Lansdowne MS 121, art. 13.
19. On the possible use of these vessels see Frances A. Yates, Theatre of the World (London and Chicago 1969), pp. 112-114.
- 20) Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London and Chicago 1964), p. 149.
21. One of the more remarkable facts is that the calls in the angelic language which make up the Claues Angelicae (Sloane MS 3191, fols 1-13) were delivered backwards, often in single letters, intermittently between 13 April and 13

July 1584 (TFR, pp. 78-209), and yet the translation of the words into English is with a few exceptions consistent. It is difficult to believe that Kelly could deliver the calls purely from memory in such a manner and over such a period of time, particularly since the letters were sometimes taken from the letter-filled squares of the Book of Enoch, directions being given which table was to be used and how many squares in each direction were to be counted in order to obtain each letter.

22. See for instance a letter dated 3 October 1574 which Dee addressed to Lord Burghley and in which he complained that he had not received the rewards to which twenty years of hard study entitled him. He declares that 'in zeale to the best lerning and knowledg, and in incredible toyle of body and mynde, very many yeres, therfore onely endured, I know most assuredly that this land never bred any man, whose account therein can evidently be proved greater than myne' (Lansdowne MS 19, art. 38). Similar examples of Dee's self-estimation may be found in his autobiographical works and his frequent pacification of Kelly also argues that ultimately his was the stronger personality.
23. See for instance pp. 117- 118 below and TFR, pp. 158-159.

V

THE MAGICAL SYSTEM

The magic contained in Sloane MS 3188 is of two kinds. The scrying belongs to the popular tradition of divinatory experience, while the magical system expounded by the angels with its concentration upon seals, talismans, combinations of letters, numbers, divine names and ritual invocations, bears a great similarity with the kind of magic described in the third book of Agrippa's De occulta philosophia. The angels who appeared in the crystal to explain this latter system generally belong to the traditional Judaic-Christian hierarchies. Yet Dee shows no concern with the ordering of the celestial hierarchies of Seraphim, Cherubim, Dominations, Thrones, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Archangels, and Angels that occupied the attentions of such writers as St. Augustine, St. Jerome and Dionysius the Areopagite. Even though Dee is instructed by 'traditional' angels, the majority of the manuscript is concerned with the description of the offices of 49 spirits, 28 Sons and Daughters of Light,¹ and the construction of various magical instruments, the most important being the Holy Table, and none of these may be directly traced to any source. Some influence from Agrippa is apparent, but the magical system which evolved during the Actions is in its details unique. All the magical instruments are intimately connected with the hierarchies of spirits that are described and also with each other. The two principal instruments, the Holy Table and the Sigillum Dei (shown at fol. 30a), contain the names of both 'traditional' angels and the spirits unique to Dee's Actions with spirits, but in an occult fashion. By examining the angels, spirits, and magical instruments separately, their interconnections will be made clearer than in the text of the manuscript itself and finally a reconstruction of their use can be suggested.

a) The Angels

The angels Annael, Uriel, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael each inform Dee at various times, but while he is concerned with the etymologies of their names (Sloane MS 3188, 6a), Dee makes no effort to ascertain whether any is more powerful or in any way more important than any other angel. He was content, for the most part, to receive the information that God imparted to him through the angels without questioning the roles of the angels in the Creation.

Nevertheless the information that the angels do impart contains reference to the offices of the angels and most of it reflects what may be found in De occulta philosophia. The angel Annael only instructed Dee in the Action of 22 December 1581 when Saul acted as scryer and appropriately Annael is the angel of the month December.² The angels who instruct Dee when Kelly acts as scryer are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel, the four angels who stand before the face of God and govern the four 'corners of the world' (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv, p.416). Agrippa also names seven angels of the presence, Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, Cumael, Raphael, Haniel, Michael and Gabriel (Occ. Phil. II, x, 204-5) and these names are hidden in the Sigillum Dei (see Sloane MS 3188, 24b). The angels whom Agrippa calls the 'spirits' of the seven planets are also to be found in the Sigillum Dei and are called 'the 7 Angels, and Governors in the heuens next vnto [those angels] which stand allwayes before the face of God' (Sloane MS 3188, 28a). These angels or spirits are Sabathiel (Saturn), Zedekiel (Jupiter), Madimiel (Mars), Semieliel (Sun), Nogahel (Venus), Corabiel (Mercury), and Levanael (Moon). These angels that I have listed above with the addition of Semiel (Sloane MS 3188, 17b) are the only 'traditional' Judaic-Christian angels that appear in the manuscript.

Further influence of Agrippa may be seen when Uriel asks Dee whether he thinks that angels have voices (Sloane MS 3188, 89b). Dee replies that he believes angels 'are mere spirituall and nothing corporall' and that their message is insinuated 'in such sort as mans Imagination shall be, that both they here and see you sensibly'. Uriel then declares:

we haue no voyce, but a full noyce that filleth euery place: which whan you ones taste of, Distance shall make no separation.

Both these replies are in accordance with Agrippa's conjecture upon the subject:

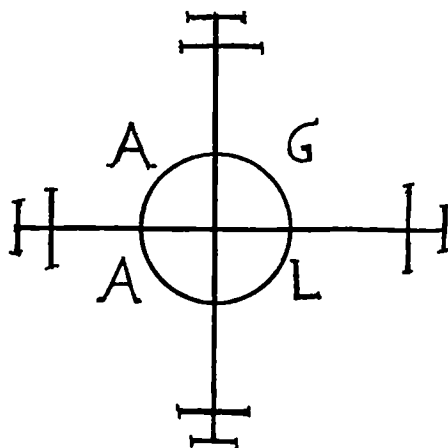
How angels speak it is hid from us, as they themselves are. Now to us that we may speak, a tongue is necessary with other instruments, as are the jaws, palate, lips, teeth, lungs, the aspera arteria, and muscles of the breast, which have the beginning of motion from the soul. But if any speak at a distance to another, he must use a louder voice; but if neer, he whispers in his ear: and if he could be coupled to the hearer without any noise, as an image in the eye, or glas. So souls going out of the body, so Angels, so Demons speak: and what man doth with a sensible voyce, they do by impressing the conception of the speech in those to whom they speak, after a better manner than if they should express it by an audible voyce.³

Dee's reply to Uriel follows Agrippa's hypothesis that the angels impress 'the conception of the speech in those to whom they speak' and Uriel's statement extends this to some kind of spiritual and inaudible 'noise' that fills the universe but which man may receive through the vis imaginativa. The close resemblance to Agrippa's theory further suggests fraud, conscious or unconscious, on the part of Kelly but would have demonstrated to Dee the truth of Agrippa's writing.

b) The Sigillum Dei

This seal, which is also called Sigillum Emeth ('seal of truth')

is shown on fol. 30a and is now in the possession of the British Museum. The instructions for its making were given by Michael and Uriel between 10 and 21 March 1582 (Sloane MS 3188, 9b-30a). It is made of undyed beeswax, measures nine inches in diameter and is one and one eighth inches thick. On the back is inscribed the sign



The word AGLA was a common name of divine power in the Middle Ages derived from the first letters in Hebrew of the Scriptural sentence 'thou art mighty Lord for ever' (Occ. Phil. III, xi, p. 335). The letters in the outer circle on the front of the seal may be used to obtain seven supposed names of God. When the number is over the letter, it indicates that the next letter is to be found that number of spaces to the right. When the number is under a letter, it indicates that the next letter is to be found that number of spaces to the left. The capital letters indicate the first letter of each name, and letters without numbers indicate that the last letter of a name has been reached. The names obtained in this manner are Thaaoth, Galaas, Gethog, Horløn, Innon, Aaoth and Galethog. Where two lower case letters 'a' occur together the second is struck out and so Thaaoth and Galaas become Thaoth and Galas. Innon is the only name that I have found recorded elsewhere (see Commentary to 22b, 7-13).

The letters with the crosses and numbers in the segments between the outer circle and the outer heptagon spell Galethog if read anticlockwise ignoring the crosses and numbers. The numbers are those found with the letters that form Galethog in the outer circle. The letters of the outer heptagon produce the names of the seven angels of the presence, if they are written in tabular form and read vertically from the top left corner:

Z	1	1	R	H	i	a
a	Z	C	a	a	c	b
p	a	u	p	n	h	r
h	d	m	h	i	a	i
k	k	a	a	e	e	e
i	i	e	e	1	1	1
e	e	1	1	M	G	✠

The names which are obtained are Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, Cumael, Raphael, Haniel, Michael and Gabriel.

The letters underneath the borders of the outer heptagon are seven 'Names of God, not known to the Angels: neyther can be spoken or red of man' (28a, 25-26). Further names are extracted when these are written in tabular form.

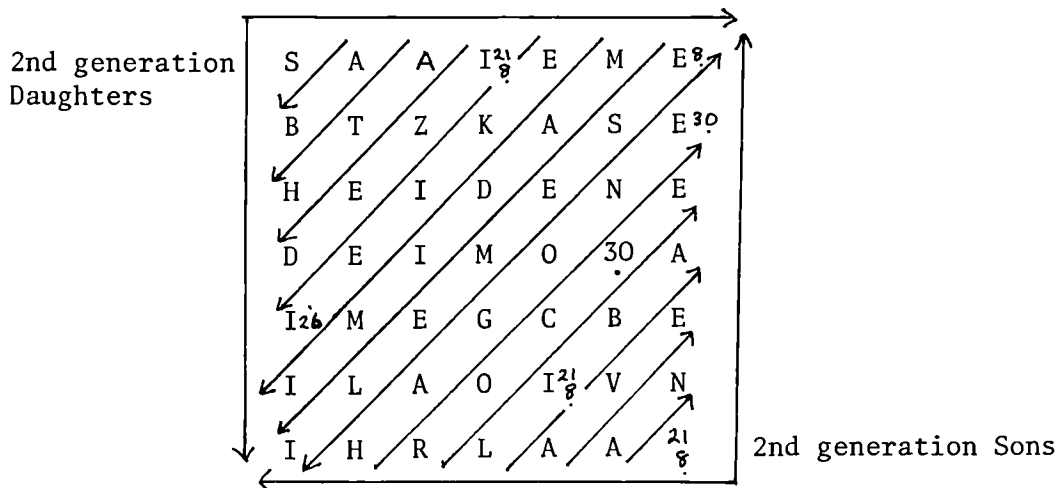
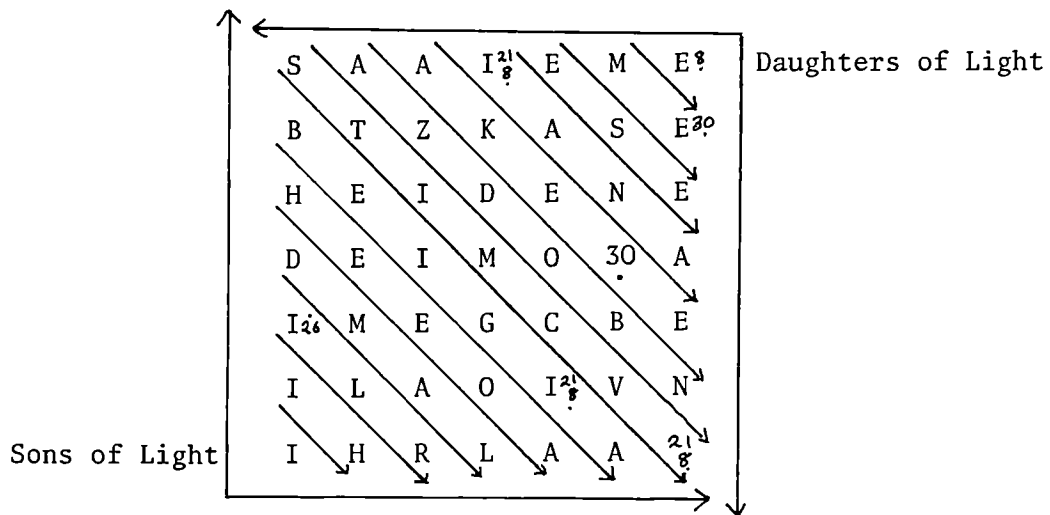
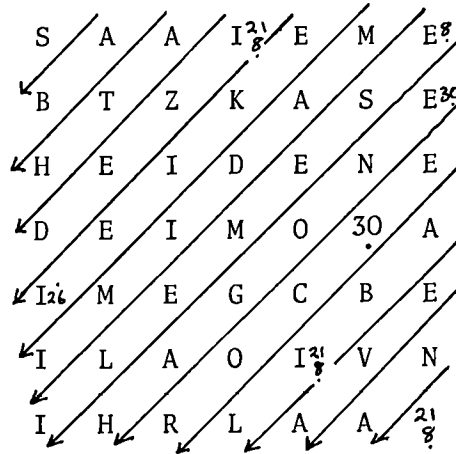
S	A	A	I ²¹ ₈	E	M	E ⁸
B	T	Z	K	A	S	E ³⁰
H	E	I	D	E	N	E
D	E	I	M	O	30	A
I ²⁶	M	E	G	C	B	E
I	L	A	O	I ²¹ ₈	V	N
I	H	R	L	A	A	21 ₈

By reading from the top left corner diagonally from right to left the names Sabathiel, Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semeliel, Nogahel, Corabiel and Levanael are obtained, the numbers ²¹₈ and ²⁶₈ standing for 'el' and the numbers ⁸₈ and ³⁰₈ standing for 'i' (see fol. 29a). These names are to be found again in the centre of the seal and are the names of 'the 7 Angels, and Governors in the heuens next vnto [those angels] which stand allwayes before the face of God' (28a, 29-31). If the table is read from the top right corner diagonally from left

to right until the bisecting diagonal is reached the names of the seven Daughters of Light are obtained, namely El, Me Ese, Iana, Akele, Azdobn and Stimcul, the numbers $\begin{smallmatrix} 8 \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ and $\begin{smallmatrix} 30 \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ again standing for '1' but $\begin{smallmatrix} 21 \\ 8 \end{smallmatrix}$ standing now for '1' rather than 'el'. The names of the seven Sons of Light are extracted by reading from the bottom left corner diagonally from left to right up until the bisecting diagonal. These names are I, Ih, Ilr, Dmal, Heeo, Beigia, and Stimcul again. In this case the numbers are ignored save for the $\begin{smallmatrix} 21 \\ 8 \end{smallmatrix}$ which stands for the last letter of Stimcul. There is no good reason save that of pronunciation why the numbers should be noted with regard to the names of the Daughters of Light but ignored with regard to the Sons of Light.

Further diagonal reading of the table produces the names of the second generation Daughters of Light and second generation Sons of Light. The former are obtained by reading the table from the top left corner diagonally from right to left until the bisecting diagonal is reached. The resulting names are S, Ab, Ath, Ized, Ekiei, Madimi and Esemeli. In this case all numbers are ignored. The names of the second generation Sons of Light are to be found by reading from the bottom right corner diagonally from left to right. The names are El (from $\begin{smallmatrix} 21 \\ 8 \end{smallmatrix}$), An, Ave, Liba, Rocle, Hagonel, and Ilemese. In this case the number $\begin{smallmatrix} 21 \\ 8 \end{smallmatrix}$ in Liba and $\begin{smallmatrix} 8 \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ in Ilemese are ignored while the other numbers are noted. Again the decision seems arbitrary. For clarification of the method the following tables demonstrate the various methods of reading the table.

angels next to
those of the
presence



The names of the Sons and Daughters of Light are inscribed in the borders and in the angles of the intertwined heptagon in the seal.

The names of the second generation Daughters and Sons are to be

found in the heptagons inside that which holds the names of the first generation Sons and Daughters. The offices of these two generations of Sons and Daughters of Light is not expounded in the manuscript at all, although Dee and Kelly receive instruction from the spirit Il, and later from Madimi.⁴

The seal produces its own inscription to a large extent. The name Galethog obtained from the outer circle is responsible for the letters and numbers in the segments between the outer circle and the outer heptagon. The names in the outer heptagon give rise to those in the centre. The names inside the outer heptagon give rise to all the rest. The circular shape is typical of most seals, particularly those involved in magical practice. There is however a particular significance to the numerological divisions of the seals. The outer circle is divided into forty squares. The number forty has great religious significance, being the number of years that the Israelites wandered in the wilderness and the number of days Christ fasted in the wilderness, which was also the length of the Flood and of Elijah's similar solitude. By the curious means of regarding the two letters 'a' taken out of the names of God in the outer circle as making the number of letters in the circle total forty-two when they are replaced, Michael states that the outer circle reveals a name of God of 42 letters (see fol. 21b).

Four smaller versions of this seal were made, two of which are in the possession of the British Museum, and they were to be placed in protective covers underneath the four feet of the Holy Table. The big seal was to be placed in the centre of the Holy Table and the crystal or 'show-stone', in particular that 'given' by the angels (see p. 138 below), was to be placed in the centre.

c) The Forty-Nine Spirits

A further table that Dee and Kelly received from the angels is that between fols 37b and 38a from which may be drawn the names of forty-nine spirits whose names all begin with the letter 'B'. The table has seven parts forming the four arms of a cross because the forty-nine spirits each had names of seven letters and were to be divided into seven septenaries.⁵ Each septenary had a king and a prince and the information delivered during the Actions concerns these kings and princes rather than the remaining spirits, who are assumed to aid the kings and princes in their particular offices. To simplify matters Dee himself drew up a table of the forty-nine spirits in which each septenary is represented in a segment of a circle which is itself formed of seven circles (see fol. 41a). This 'co-ordinated table' as he calls it bears a certain similarity with The Book of Formation by Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph which presents a circle of eleven rings, each containing two letters, with twenty-one spokes of letters around the circle.⁶ This 'Arcanum of the Great Symbol' permitted kabbalistic permutations to be obtained by the rotation of the combination of wheels so formed. The main instigation for Dee's circular 'co-ordinated table' is the information given by the angels in the Actions, particularly the governance of days of the week by the seven septenaries, but it is possible that Dee's choice of the table's shape may have been in part influenced by The Book of the Formation. In Dee's table the seven circles may be intended to represent the orbits of the seven planets, since the forty-nine spirits are responsible for various operations within the created universe. There may also have been some influence of kabbalistic knowledge upon Kelly, assuming that the beginning of the names of the spirits with the letter 'B'



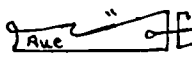

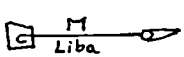

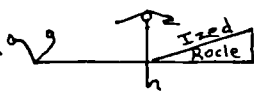

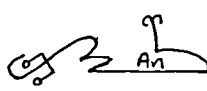
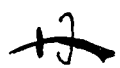

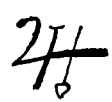
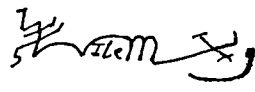

is a conscious choice on his part, as the letter 'B' is the first letter of the Bible in Hebrew and is also according to the kabbalistic lore of The Zohar the letter with which God began the Creation.⁷ The creation of the world by letters does not form a part of the information delivered to Dee and Kelly by the angels, for the magical system evolved is essentially much more practical than most kabbalistic teachings, but the insistence upon the letter 'B' which occurs in the manuscript, also dominating the so called seven 'Ensigns of Creation' (see below), is striking.

The roles of the forty-nine spirits, whom Dee calls 'angels' in his 'co-ordinated table' are confused by the fact that King Baligon has the alias of Carmara and Prince Bagenol has the alias of Hagonel and that under these alternative names the spirits have different offices. The offices of each king and prince are as follows:

King Bobogel	The government of wisdom.
Prince Bornogo	The perfecting of nature and the knowledge of all metals.
King Blumaza	King over the kings of earth.
Prince Bralges	The government of all invisible subjects.
King Babalel	The government of the waters.
Prince Befafes	The government of seas.
King Bnaspol	The government of the earth.
Prince Blisdon	The government of the earth and all subterranean things.
King Bynepor	The general state and condition of all living things.
Prince Butmono	Responsible for the life and breath in all living creatures.
King Baligon	The government of all aerial actions and Dee's 'show-stone'.
Prince Bagenol	No office is assigned.
King Bnapsen	The casting out of wicked spirits.
Prince Brorges	No office is assigned.

In the alias of Carmara, Baligon is responsible for the understanding of all sciences and in the alias of Hagonel, Bagenol governs operations of the earth and also the two generations of the Sons of Light. Dee was instructed that if he wished to perform a particular act or achieve a certain effect, he should invoke the aid of the king or prince who was responsible for the area of existence in which the act lay. At this point the magical system evolved in the manuscript took a practical and positively daemonic turn.

Each king and prince had his own seal, but while the seals of the princes are shown in this manuscript, the seals of the kings are not. They may however be gleaned from Sloane MS 3191, which is a collection of all the information given concerning the forty-nine spirits under the title of De heptarchia mystica. The seals are as follows:

<u>King</u>		<u>Prince</u>	
Baligon		Bagenol	
Bobogel		Bornogo	
Babalel		Befafes	
Bynepor		Butmono	
Bnaspol		Blisdon	
Bnapsen		Brorges	
Blumaza		Bralges	

No particular seal seems to be given to either Carmara or Bagenol, but I assume that Baligon's seal is also Carmara's and that Hagonel's is also Bagenol's. The kings' seals all contain the names of the second generation Sons of Light, although no explanation for this is given.

Each king and prince governs a day of the week. Sunday is governed by Bobogel and Bornogo while Monday is governed by Blumaza and Bralges, although Carmara and Hagonel are also given this responsibility, but in a 'general' rather than particular sense.⁸ Babalel and Befafes govern Tuesday, Bnaspol and Blisdon govern Wednesday, and Bynepor and Butmono govern Thursday. Friday is governed by Baligon and Bagenol while Saturday is the responsibility of Bnapsen and Brorges. Each king and prince has under him 'six perfect ministers' who each govern a four hour part of the day which the king and prince govern in its entirety. Unlike the names of the spirits up to this point, the names of these 'ministers' are for the most part unpronounceable.

Hagonel	OESNGLE, AVZNILN, YLLMAFS, NRSOGOO, NRRCPRN, LABDGRE.
Bobogel	LEENARB, LLANAEB, ROEMNAB, LEAORIB, NEICIAB, AOIDIAB.
Babalel	EILOMFO, NEOTPTA, SAGACIY, ONEDPON, NOONMAN, ETEVLGL.
Bynepor	BBARNFL, BBAIGAO, BBALPAE, BBANIFG, BBOSNIA, BBASNOD.
Bnaspol	ELGNSEB, NLINZVB, SFAMLLB, OOGOSRB, NRPCRRB, ERGDBAB.
Bnapsen	BANSSZE, BYAPAGE, BNAMGEN, BNVOLOS, BLBAPOO, BOBEPEN.
Carmara/Baligon	AOAYNNL, LBBNAAV, IOAESPM, GGLPPSA, OEEOOEZ, NLLRLNA.

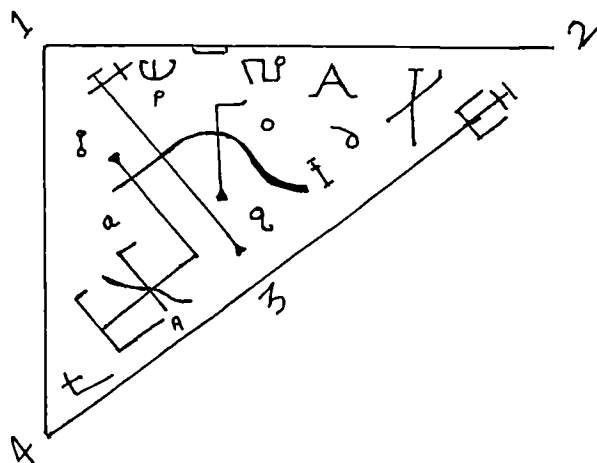
These spirits also assist the offices of their kings and princes. There is some confusion in the presentation of these tables, for in the first case Hagonel is a prince while the remaining governing spirits who make the presentation are kings. The presentation is not in the order of the days of the week governed and as the presentation proceeds, more emphasis is placed upon the spirits in their roles of assisting the offices of their kings and princes than in their government of parts of each day. The culmination of this is the calling of the last table of six ministers a 'table of kings', as unlike the other tables where the names are drawn from various of the septenaries in the table at fol. 41a, the names of the last six ministers are drawn only from the names of the seven kings. The sixth table is also called an 'infernall table', probably because Bnapsen has the power to cast out wicked spirits.

The names of the six ministers are sometimes referred to as being forty-two minsters, each letter standing for an individual spirit. The names of these ministers were to be written on the perimeter of a circular seal or lamine and when Dee wished to invoke the aid of any king or prince he was to stand upon the relevant seal (see fol. 51a). The seal of the king or prince was also to be laid upon the Holy Table. Further seals were to be made from a table that Kelly had presented to Dee but which is no longer extant. This table was circular, had a figure with a sword in the centre who represented Nature (see 102b, 15), and contained letters appertaining to the forty-nine spirits, some of these being written backwards. 'The Characters and words annexed to the Kings names in the vtter circumference' of the missing table were to be painted upon 'swete wood' and held by Dee in his hand but the precise use and function of this is not explained.

As more and more spirits and magical instruments are derived from the table of forty-nine spirits, the exposition of the magical system in the manuscript becomes more and more confused and eventually the angels concentrate more upon the writing of the Book of Enoch⁹ than upon the roles of the forty-nine spirits. Information concerning the spirits begins to peter out as the Book of Enoch starts to dominate the Actions. Nevertheless it is important to note that the revelation of the forty-nine governing spirits makes the magical system daemonic in a very practical way. Dee was even to request instructions as to how to use the spirits who governed the earth to help him discover some supposed buried treasure.

d) The Lamine

In the first Action in which Edward Kelly acted as Dee's scryer (10 March 1582) a seal was shown by Uriel. This seal, if made of gold and worn on the breast as a talisman would defend the body in every place and time and at every occasion (9b, 3-4), although whether this defence was against attack by evil spirits or against physical violence offered by other men was not declared. The seal or lamine (being made of a thin layer of beaten gold) was triangular in shape:



The triangle represents the decad, a number of perfection since 'it contains in itself all computations',¹⁰ but Dee also saw much significance in that his own name could be expressed by the letter delta. In a letter to the Emperor Rudolf II dated 17 August 1584, he calls himself Triplicis Alphabeti, litera Quarta (TFR, p. 218), thereby also linking his name with the tetraktys (see Commentary to 18a, 9). The lamine therefore in part represents Dee's name. The remaining symbols do not resemble the customary seals of angels and I have not been able to offer much explanation of their origins (see Commentary to 9b, 1).

The triangular shape was not uncommon for lamines and talismans.

The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy states:

The lamen which is to be used to invoke any good spirit, you shall make after this manner; either in metal conformable: or it may be made in clean paper, with convenient colours: and the outward form or figure thereof may be square, circular, or triangular, or of the like sort, according to the rule of the numbers: in which there must be written the divine names, as well the general names as the special. And in the centre of the Lamen, let there be drawn a character of six corners: in the middle whereof, let there be written the name and character of the Star, or of the spirit his governour, to whom the good spirit that is to be called is subject. And about this character, let there be placed so many characters of five corners, as the spirits we would call together at once. And if we shall call onely one spirit, nevertheless there shall be made four Pentagones, wherein the name of the spirit or spirits, with their characters, is to be written. Now this table ought to be composed when the Moon is increasing, on those days and hours which then agree to the Spirit. And if we take a fortunate starre herewith, it will be the better. (Occ. Phil. IV, pp. 61-2)

The lamine is then to be consecrated and we are told that 'this is the way of making the general Table, serving for the invocation of all good spirits whatsoever'. The triangular shape of Dee's lamine is concordant with the description in this pseudo-Agrippan work but the remainder of the instructions are more relevant to the Holy Table

and it is clear that Dee's lamine is very individual. Its purpose is also more as a protective talisman than as an instrument of invocation.

Dee was further instructed on 28 April 1582 that the lamine was to be hung (presumably still on the breast) 'vnseen, in some skarf' (32a, 19-20). At that date the lamine had still not been made and in fact it was never made for on 29 April 1583 the spirit I1 told Dee that 'the Character is fals and diuilish' and 'yf it shold haue byn gone about to be made, it shuld not haue byn suffred to pass vnder the forme of wyckednes' (96b, 23 & 29-30). Dee is informed that an illuding spirit interposed himself at the precise point of the demonstration of the lamine in the Action of 10 March 1582. In place of this lamine Dee is instructed to make the 'Character for Conciliation' that is to be found on fol. 97a, which is 4 inches square and which contains 'a certayn shaddow of [d]elta' in each corner (102a, 43). The lamine is also called a 'Character of Dignification' and is to have the names of the five angels which are written in the centre of the Sigillum Dei (Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semiel, Nogahel and Corabiel) engraved upon the back in a circle. The angelic 'show-stone' is then to be set in the midst of it (101b, 20-22). This means that the new lamine must be placed upon the Sigillum Dei, which resides at the centre of the Holy Table.

e) The Ring

Early in the scrying experiments with Kelly, Dee was instructed by Michael to make a ring bearing the name PELE, which is a name of God meaning 'a worker of miracles, or causing wonders' (Occ. Phil. III, xi, p. 378). Although Dee is told that 'without this, thow shalt do nothing' (12b, 3), there is no evidence that the ring was

ever made and there is a most curious statement by Michael that he will lessen the ring by a yard, which does not make a great deal of sense (32a, 21-23). The precise use of the ring is not explained, but it may be along the lines of Agrippa's comment upon the efficacy of rings

Rings also, which were alwaies much esteemed of by the Ancients, when they are opportunely made, do in like manner impress their vertue upon us, in as much as they do affect the spirit of him that carries them with gladness or sadness, and render him courteous, or terrible, bold, or fearfull, aimiable, or hatefull; in as much also as they do fortifie us against sickness, poisons, enemies, evill spirits, and all manner of hurtfull things, or at least will not suffer us to be kept under them.¹¹

Bearing the name of God that signifies 'a worker of miracles' the ring would be intended to 'impress' its 'vertue' of miracle-working upon Dee. Michael's statement that without the ring Dee will not be able to perform what is required of him suggests that, at this time anyway, it is thought of as essential to the practice of the magical system.

f) The Rod 'El'

On 16 November 1582 the spirit Carmara appeared holding a rod of office which was later described as being divided into three parts, two parts being black and the middle section being coloured red (58a, 12-13). On 26 March 1583 Dee and Kelly were told by Raphael that 'euery thing is for and to an ende', but that 'one thing differeth, the Ende, and the Begynning'. Raphael defined this difference as 'the El, rod, or measure which all ready is deliuered the stroke of which, bringeth all things, in theyr degree, to an ende' (63b, 13-18). Raphael appears to be speaking metaphorically, using 'El' in the sense of 'ell' as a unit of measurement but ignoring its

specific length of 45 inches. Carmara has however demonstrated this rod to Dee and Kelly with the words 'Ecce...Hic...Per hoc... a Mensurae fine, nos nostramque mensurabis potestatem'.¹² There is a strong suggestion that Raphael, who himself holds a tripartite rod of gold when delivering the first Enochian call (68b, 14), is doing rather more than using 'El' in the sense of 'ell' at 63b, 13-18. He is effectively giving the rod the name of El, a name of God.

Dee was copying down what he heard Kelly relate that the angels spoke and therefore Dee is in the first instance responsible for the spelling of 'El' rather than 'ell'. He was very alive to the possibility of such connections, even to the point of declaring that he liked the letter 'L' best of all the alphabet since it had the same sound as the name of God 'El' (91b, 52-53). On the other hand Dee makes no note that he is equating 'ell' with 'El' of his own accord and it would be characteristic of him to make such a note were he to feel entirely responsible for the thought. Thus it is fair to conclude that he believed the angel to have said 'El' (the capital letter excludes the possibility of a shortened spelling of 'ell').

The name El is earlier referred to by Michael (19a, 16) and is a very common divine name:

The name El (𐤇𐤋) is the most widely distributed of all names for Deity, being used in Babylonian, Aramaean, Phoenician, Hebrew, and Arabic...It has been referred to the Heb[rew] root 𐤇𐤋𐤍 'to be strong'...others have referred it to an Arab[ic] root ʾûl, meaning 'to be in front' (hence awwal, 'first'), 'to govern', and assigned to it the sense of 'leader'.¹³

It forms the latter half of many angels' names, acting as a suffix to mean 'of God' (see Commentary to fol. 6a). The name El equates the rod not only with God, but also with the cross (see Commentary

to 19a, 19-22), thereby giving it a Christian role. The possible reference to an ell would suggest that the rod is 45 inches long and although such a rod would be rather unwieldy it is possibly significant that each division of the rod would be 15 inches long as 15 is the numerical value of another name of God $\overline{\text{N}}$, Jah.

There is some implication in Raphael's words at 63b, 13-18 and Carmara's words at 58a, 21-24 that Dee is to make such a rod. No specific instruction is given and there is no record of Dee making such a rod, but the possibility cannot be discounted.

g) The Seven Ensigns of Creation

The seven tables shown between fols 33a and 35b are called the seven 'Ensigns of Creation'. Dee was instructed to make these tables in tin (102b, 28), but in the end they were painted upon the Holy Table, as he was given leave to do (102b, 37).

The presentation of the seven 'Ensigns' is a rather confused affair but clearly relates to the six days of the Creation and quite probably to the alchemical search for the Philosophers' Stone. To render this double symbolism of the presentation of the seven tables as orderly as possible, I will at this point offer some comparison between the biblical creation and alchemical processes. In George Ripley's The Compound of Alchymie (1471) twelve stages are assigned to the alchemical process. The first six lead to the making of the white stone which has the power to make base metals into silver, and then this may be turned into the 'red stone', the Philosophers' Stone itself, through processes somewhat repetitive of the previous stages. Since alchemy was as much a religious philosophy as a practical art, the changing of the white stone to the red may be compared with purification of the soul. Therefore in comparing the

biblical creation, ending with man, with alchemical processes, I will only use the first six stages ending with the white stone. I do not wish to place too much emphasis upon the similarities between the two creations, but such a comparison will help to clarify much of the symbolism in the visions that accompany the showing of each Ensign of Creation.¹⁴

Day	Biblical	Alchemical
1	Creation of Heaven and Earth and Light; separation of day from night.	<u>Calcination</u> : reduction of matter to non-metallic substances (earth, to water, to air, to fire).
2	Creation of the Firmament to divide the waters.	<u>Solution</u> : dissolving of 'hard and dry Compactyon' to liquid form ('water').
3	Creation of land; separation of land from water; creation of trees and plants.	<u>Separation</u> : the subtle divided from the gross and 'water' from 'oyle', repeated until 'Erth remayn benethe'.
4	Creation of sun, moon and stars. (The sun and moon are traditionally regarded as male and female).	<u>Conjunction</u> : 'Woman' to be impregnated by 'Man'. The female part is sometimes mercury, sometimes silver, and the male is sometimes sulphur, sometimes gold.
5	Creation of fish and fowls.	<u>Putrefaction</u> : the matter turns to a kind of liquid pitch. It will be revived by the 'celestial virtue' which has left it, often symbolised by ascending and descending birds.
6	Creation of animals and man.	<u>Congelation</u> : the matter becomes dry and white - the white stone.

While the relation of the two sides of this table is often tenuous, the traditional alchemical symbols often bear a striking resemblance to the corresponding products of the various days of the creation particularly from the third stage onwards.

The first Ensign of Creation is shown with the accompanying statement that it is the 'end of darkness' (32b, 17). The second Ensign is accompanied by a sound of falling water, a shining star, and 'a mervaylous turmoyling, tossing, and stur, a long tyme during' (34a, 21-22). Both these visions seem to represent the first day of the Creation, the second in particular signifying the chaos and turmoil over which the spirit of God moved (Genesis I, 2). To relate the seven Ensigns to the six days of Creation, two Ensigns would have to cover one day of Creation and it seems that in a rather confused way this occurs at the beginning of the demonstration. The next vision shows a 'ball of light' being flung up into the darkness and bringing a great transparent 'white Globe' (34a, 30). This probably represents the creation of a universe into which the earth is to be placed, the firmament of the second day. The fourth vision demonstrates a little round ball being thrown into the darkness, being transformed into 'a great thing of Earth' and being cast up into the 'rownd Globe' (34a, 40-43). This is evidently related to separation and the creation of land on the third day. The next vision shows a woman being cut in half by a sword and the two halves turning into a man and a woman (see conjunction) and the sun, moon and stars being created, as on the fourth day. In the remaining two visions, firstly a woman crumbles clay and it turns into birds (see the symbolism of putrefaction and the creation of fish and fowl on the fifth day), and secondly 'herbes and plantes becomming like a garden' are created (36a, 4-5). This last vision is hard to equate with the Creation or alchemical process, for the trees and plants were created on the third day, but although there is no specific day assigned to the creation of the Garden of Eden, it was presumably on the same day as man was created.

The visions that accompany the Ensigns clearly have some relation to the days of the Creation, even though they do not fit into a very precise scheme. My reason for regarding the visions as to some extent alchemical is on account of a vision at the very beginning of the demonstration of the Ensigns which shows 'a great hill of gold with serpents' (32a, 13). The hill may represent the Philosophers' Stone and the serpent 'matter in its imperfect unregenerate state'. As I have said in the Commentary, in which I have also detailed possible alchemical symbolism in each vision, the vision represents 'the goal to which Dee aspires (wisdom or the Philosophers' Stone) beset by troubles (the serpents as evil) or by impurities (the serpents as unregenerate matter)'.

The seven Ensigns were painted upon the Holy Table with blue lines and red characters. When Dee asked what the use of these seven Ensigns was to be, he received the rather unsatisfactory reply: 'they are the ensignes of the Creation; wherewithall they were created by God: known onely by theyr acquaintance, and the manner of theyr doings' (102b, 25-26). The 'manner of theyr doings' is not explained and their only function seems to be as parts of the Holy Table, unless 'theyr doings' are of alchemical significance.

h) The Show-Stones

It is not possible to say how many show-stones or crystals Dee possessed, but mention is made in the manuscript of three. There is the 'great Chrystalline Globe' used in the Actions with Barnabas Saul (8a, 6) which appears to be different from 'the stone in the frame', represented at fol. 8a, line 35, to which the angel Annael says that the angel Michael is answerable. This latter stone is mounted in a frame with a cross upon the top. This stone was given to Dee by

a friend (9a, 10) and was the one which Dee brought out when Kelly made his first attempt at scrying (although the more hastily drawn marginal sketch at this point shows the frame without a cross). Kelly used this stone in the ensuing Actions but on 21 November 1582 the spirit Carmara declared that he had brought another stone to be used with the Holy Table:

E[dward] K[elly] loked toward my west wyndow, and saw there first vppon the matts by my bokes a thing, (to his thinking) as big as an egg: most bright, clere, and glorious: and an angel of the heyth of a little chylde holding vp the same thing in his hand toward me...I went toward the place, which E K pointed to: and tyll I cam within two fote of it, I saw nothing: and then I saw like a shaddow, on the grownd or matts hard by my bokes vnder the west window. The shaddow was rowndysh and less then the palm of my hand. I put my hand down vppon it, and I felt a thing cold and hard: which (taking vp I) perceyued to be the stone before mentioned. (59b, 34-46)

Whether the crystal now in the British Museum is one of these stones is uncertain. In 1801 Francis Barrett stated that 'although Dee's manuscripts and his Magic Crystall are to be seen at the Museum there are six or seven individuals in London who assert they have the stone in their possession; thereby wishing to deceive the incredulous and tempt them to purchase at an enormous price'.¹⁵ The particularly interesting part of this claim is that many people claim to have the magic crystal that belonged to Dee whereas Sloane MS 3188 clearly shows that he possessed at least three if not more. This claim that Dee used one stone has resulted in Dee being attributed with owning a mirror of black obsidian and Aztec origin which is also now in the possession of the British Museum.

This mirror has been dated as having been made between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries and probably brought back to Europe after the conquest of Mexico by Cortes circa 1520-1530. During the seventeenth century the mirror entered the collections of the Earl

of Peterborough and then by inheritance came into the possession of Lady Elizabeth Germain (d. 1769). In 1770 it was purchased in an auction by the Duke of Argyle and then in 1771 presented by his son Lord Frederic Campbell to Horace Walpole.¹⁶ The mirror is displayed with a leather case bearing Walpole's initials. The history of the mirror then becomes obscure and Hugh Tait, Deputy Keeper of Medieval and Later Antiquities at the British Museum, who purchased the mirror in October 1966 described it in a radio interview as follows:

It was last seen in the Magniac Sale at Christie's in 1892, and after that, it disappeared from view into private hands. There were various stories that it had gone to Germany and had been lost during the war, and no one really had the slightest idea where it had disappeared to. One afternoon, I was sitting in my room, and a messenger came in to say that there was a gentleman in the waiting-room asking to see me. He said he was a bishop and, even more surprisingly, that he had Dr Dee's magic mirror with him—and would I like to see it? Of course, I was a little sceptical. I asked him to be shown in, and we went straight ahead from there, and it turned out to be a winner. There we were looking at the lost—so thought lost—Dr Dee's mirror.¹⁷

All this proves, however, is that the British Museum is in possession of the mirror that Walpole once possessed and which Walpole claimed was that used by Dee in the Actions. Yet such is the power of the legend that Dee used a mirror that Dr Peter French (author of John Dee) said in the same interview that on the Holy Table 'would have been placed either the mirror or one of Dee's crystals, as he had several objects in which to try to conjure angels' and Hugh Tait categorically stated 'there is no doubt that it is the missing mirror of Dr Dee'. Tait was rather more circumspect in his written article on the subject, however, admitting that 'the references to specific objects are so vague that in no instance [in Dee's writings] can the obsidian "mirror" be recognised'.¹⁸

Dee did possess a glass that he was particularly proud of and

when the Queen visited him on the day of his first wife's burial she requested Dee to fetch the 'glass so famous, and to shew unto her some of the properties of it' (CR, p. 17). The Queen went away pleased and it can hardly be that Dee presented to the Queen such a dangerous practice as the summoning of angels, for which he always used a scryer anyway. It seems more likely that this glass is that which Dee declared in the 'Preface' to Euclid that anyone could come and see at the house of a gentleman (himself) as proof that glasses exist of such a nature that 'if you...proffer, with dagger or sword, to foyne at the glasse, you shall suddenly be moved to give backe (in maner) by reason of an Image, appearing in the ayre, betweene you & the glasse, with like hand, sword or dagger, & with like quicknes, foyning at your very eye' ('Preface', sig. B4v). Yet even this glass does not suggest itself as that now in the British Museum for Dee is here clearly talking about a concave mirror and the black obsidian mirror is flat. Furthermore on 4 December 1588 Dee gave the glass 'so highly and long esteemed of Our Quene' to Kelly, who gave it to Lord Rosenberg who subsequently gave it to Emperor Rudolf II (Diary).

Dee's customary word for a mirror is 'a glass' and it is clear from various marginal sketches that when he refers to a 'stone' he means a spherical crystal. The speculum brought by the angel might be the obsidian mirror in that Dee at first mistakes it for a round shadow, and it is cold and hard, yet he does consistently refer to it as a stone and in Kelly's description it is only 'as big as an egg'. The light from the west window would cause the top half of a spherical crystal on the floor to be more translucent in the top half than the bottom, which would partly show the 'matts' or floor, and consequently it might at first be taken for a round shadow. A marginal note to

fol. 101b declares that the angelic stone is half an inch thick, which agrees well with the 13mm thickness of the obsidian mirror, but this is also the approximate diameter of the spherical crystal in the British Museum. The black obsidian mirror has a diameter of 189mm and a handle making it 226mm long and this is considerably larger than Dee's description of 'less then the palm of my hand'. Furthermore in the Action of 17 July 1607 in which Bartholomew Hickman acted as scryer, Dee reminisced about his days with Kelly and showed Hickman his 'Jewel that was brought', which had by then been 'set in gold' (TFR, p. *40). Thus while it is not impossible that Dee did own the obsidian mirror and used it in the Actions, the evidence connecting the mirror with Dee is very circumstantial.

i) Magical Books

The Actions with spirits gave rise to a number of magical books in manuscript that form an integral part of the magical system that was evolved through the Actions. Of the four books discovered in the secret compartment of Dee's chest (all now bound as Sloane MS 3191), three are derived from the Actions subsequent to the last in Sloane MS 3188. These three are entitled 48 Claues angelicae, Liber scientiae auxilii et victoriae terrestris and Tabula bonorum angelorum invocationes.

The 48 Claues angelicae contains eighteen invocations and a further invocation suitable for any of thirty 'Aethyrs' in angelic (Enochian) language and were extracted from the tables in the Book of Enoch (see below) delivered to Kelly by the angels. These invocations were derived from the Book of Enoch by angelic help between 13 April and 13 July 1584 (see TFR, pp. 78-209) and were at that time translated into English. The 48 Claues angelicae contains an interlineated

translation of the angelic language and it is from this book and the occasional other translated word in the Actions that our entire knowledge of the Enochian language, peculiar to Dee's magical experiments is obtained.

The Liber scientiae auxilii contains details of spirits governing ninety-one various parts of the world along with the angelic names for those places. The first twenty-nine 'Aethyrs' govern three places or countries each while the last governs four. This book dates from the same period as the 48 Claves angelicae as does the Tabula bonorum angelorum which gives thirty-six invocations in Latin to angels with various responsibilities in the universe. The Tabula bonorum angelorum is intimately connected with the Liber scientiae auxilii in that it begins with a square filled with letters from which the angelic names for the places governed by the 'Aethyrs' are drawn. These books, which are in Dee's hand, have no relevance to Sloane MS 3188, however, for they contain a distinct change in direction of the magical system that was evolved during the Actions. The system expounded between 1581 and 1583 concerns the forty-nine spirits whose names all begin with the letter 'B' and the Sons and Daughters of Light but by 1584 these have faded into the background in favour of exposition of the roles and associates of the thirty 'Aethyrs', all of whose names are of three letters.

The fourth book, De heptarchia mystica, is of prime concern, however, for it contains a summary of the information delivered concerning the forty-nine spirits whose names are to be found in the table at fol. 41a. The work contains invocations to the kings and princes among these spirits for each day of the week and shows the seals of the kings that are referred to but not described in Sloane MS 3188. The book is essentially a collation of the information

given in the Actions between 29 April and 21 November 1582 and is in Dee's hand. Its purpose was to provide Dee with ready access to all that he needed for the practical summoning of these spirits without having to search through his copy of the Actions in which the information is delivered in bits and pieces.

The Book of Enoch, otherwise called Liber Logaeth ('Book of the Speech of God') and Liber mysteriorum sextus et sanctus, is in Kelly's hand and consists of forty-nine 'calls' in the angelic language (delivered first between fols 80b-85b of Sloane MS 3188), ninety-five tables of squares (forty-nine by forty-nine), filled with letters and occasionally numbers, two similar tables unfilled, and four tables drawn twice as large as the others. This is rather at odds with the description that the book should consist of forty-nine leaves, one of which is secret and 'neyther is, was or shalbe known' (62b, 28-29). The series of 'calls' in prose takes up ten folios and the remaining ninety-five small tables and two empty ones take up forty-eight leaves, while the last four tables take up eight leaves. The series of prose 'calls' is the first Enochian table but would not fit comfortably within a square, and only if it were put in a square and the last four tables disregarded, would the angelic statement be true.

A series of 'calls' in the Enochian language were delivered between 29 March and 6 April 1583, but this was a kind of prologue to the work and is not included. The book was to be written in forty days¹⁹ and was finished on 6 May 1583, the thirty-ninth day after the very first Enochian 'call' was delivered on 29 March (Good Friday). The instruction that the book should be written in 40 days was given on 6 April, the day when the second series of calls, which begin the Book of Enoch, were first delivered, and there is a

great deal of confusion as to when the forty days are supposed to begin (see 90a, 15 and Commentary). In the event the period extended from 29 March to 6 May so far as the delivery of all the angelic 'calls' and tables is concerned, but from 6 April to 6 May so far as the actual contents of the Book of Enoch are concerned. The tables were to be written from right to left and from the back of the book to the front, but Sloane MS 3189 is written normally. A further instruction was given that the book was to be rewritten in Enochian script, but despite frequent offers of angelic help (see TFR, pp. 78, 160 & 120), it does not seem to have been done. The first copy of the book was to be bound in blue (see fol. 79b) while the copy in Enochian script was to have a 'skin' of silver (TFR, p. 159) which Dee was in fact unable to have done successfully (TFR, p. 217).

The book was to serve several purposes. It was from the tables that the invocations in the 48 Clauae angelicae were obtained by finding letters in various squares according to a kind of grid reference and each table had reference to particular kinds of spirits (see 88b, 1-2). The main purpose however was in conjunction with the Holy Table to herald in a new age upon earth that would precede the end of all things. The details of how the book was to be used for this purpose were never delivered and the Actions continually delay imparting specific information as to the precise use of the Book of Enoch in this respect.

Arising from the delivery of the Book of Enoch is the angelic or Enochian language. This language presents the greatest single problem of Dee's Actions with spirits. It is supposed to be the language that the angels taught to Adam and, to expropriate Francis Bacon's words, constitutes the 'knowledge by the light whereof man did give

names unto other creatures in Paradise, as they were brought before him, according to their proprieties'.²⁰ It is supposedly the language in which things are named as they are, rather than as they seem to be or by any arbitrary process. Enochian embodies that direct name-thing relationship which in Plato's Cratylus is suggested as existing in the earliest form of language and which in the Christian tradition is supposed to be the language before Babel. One thing in which the kabbalists were united was their view of Hebrew as 'language in its purest form', having a mystical value because it 'reflects the fundamental spiritual nature of the world',²¹ but Enochian supposedly surpasses Hebrew as 'the holy tongue'. It is a language of magical power not only because of its closeness to the divine source of all creation but because the words themselves are more than representative:

This kind of verbal force rests on a theory of language according to which there is a real, not conventional, connection between words and what they denote; moreover the word is not merely like a quality of the things it designates, such as its colour or weight; it is, or exactly represents, its essence or substance. A formula of words, therefore, may not only be an adequate substitute for the things denoted, but may even be more powerful.

(Walker, pp. 80-81)

Being the language of the angels, Enochian is seen as a language of creation, far more powerful than any corporeal object or action.

Two main problems present themselves with the Enochian language: firstly what is the source of the language's unique script, and secondly is it indeed a language in any formal sense? The Enochian alphabet consists of twenty-one characters, the addition of a dot to a previous character making an alphabet corresponding to twenty-two letters as in Hebrew (see fol. 64b). Each character has a name that has no apparent connection with the phonetic nature of the language. According to Dr Donald Laycock 'the characters have a

general appearance rather like Samaritan — though their stylised forms may also suggest Ethiopic. The scripts they do not resemble are proto-Semitic, or Egyptian hieroglyphic, or Sumerian — a resemblance that would seem essential if we were to believe that the script, like the angelic language, dated back to "before the Flood", and was the most ancient script of mankind'.²² Dr Laycock wonders whether Dee might have been in possession of an Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch which he could not read, but also points to Dee's copy of the Voarchadumia of Pantheus (1530) which is now in the British Museum and which contains an alphabet designated as Enochian (p. 14).

Meric Casaubon stated that the Characters 'are no other, for the most part but such as were set out and publised long agoe by one Theseus Ambrosus out of Magical books',²³ referring to the Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacum atque Armenicam et decem alias linguas of Theseus Ambrosius Albonesius (Papiae 1539), which contains a large number of alphabets both real and magical. Yet for all that there are occasional resemblances between these various scripts and the Enochian characters, no one script is consistently similar enough to warrant its being regarded as a source and Dr Laycock's conclusion that 'the Dee/Kelley alphabet may be fanciful, based perhaps on subconscious recollection of similar scripts in earlier literature' (p. 29) is as yet the only one that may sensibly be reached.

One possible source that may be mentioned, but which unfortunately is impossible to check is the so called Book of Soyga that Dee possessed but which is now lost.²⁴ The book was first mentioned by Dee on 10 March 1582 when Uriel informed Dee that the 'book was revealed to Adam in Paradise by God's good angels' (fol. 9a) and that the angel Michael could interpret the book which is later referred to by Dee as being 'written in tables and numbers' (fol. 89b).

By 18 April 1583 Dee is unable to find the book and is told that 'a minister has it' and that 'it is nothing worth' containing 'false and illuding witchcrafts' (fol. 89b). The book evidently gives an alphabet which like Enochian gives names to the letters, for Dee says on 29 April 1583 that as far as he remembers 'Zadzaczadlin was Adam by the Alphabet thereof' (fol. 96a), zad being the letter 'a', zac being the letter 'd', and lin being the letter 'm'. I.R.F. Calder suggests that 'there is a possibility that "Soyga" might have been the famous Voynitch MS. which has defied all decipherers from Kircher onwards' (II, 481) but Ashmole noted that 'the Duke of Lauderdale hath a folio MS. which was Dr. Dee's with the words in the first page: Aldaraia sive Soyga vocor' ('I am called Aldaraia or Soyga').²⁵ The book was recovered by Dee on 19 November 1595 (see Diary) but its whereabouts now are not known. How much this book may have provided a source for the Enochian language cannot be determined, but the fact that the book is in tables and numbers and clearly uses a new alphabet suggests that it may have had some influence on Kelly, though clearly not enough for Dee to note any resemblance between his 'Arabic boke' and the subsequent angelic book.

In his preface to his Enochian dictionary Donald Laycock argues that there are two versions of the angelic language: the first consists of the two series of forty-nine calls that are in Sloane MS 3188 and the second is the series of calls with interlineated translation that are in 48 Claues angelicae. He reaches this conclusion on the grounds that the first series of calls are largely pronounceable and that some of the texts run fluently with much phonetic patterning such as repetition rhyme and alliteration, while the second version of the language is taken letter by letter from the tables of the Book of Enoch and 'is less pronounceable than the old [language], and it

has awkward sequences of letters, such as long strings of vowels (ooaona, mooah) and difficult consonant clusters (paombd, smnad, noncf)' (p. 40). It is altogether 'the type of text produced if one generates a string of letters on some random pattern' (p. 40). This is undoubtedly true and it makes sense to regard the language which makes up the squares and the language which is subsequently extracted from the squares as different, but I have in my Commentary ignored this distinction since words do appear in the first version which also appear in the second version. They are not many and are often minor words such as conjunctions and prepositions, and at one point their juxtaposition does not make sense (see Commentary to 84b, 35), but it is the nearest that I can go to making any sense of the angelic language in Sloane MS 3188 and Dee does not note any distinction to be made between the two versions. He is informed that both are the language taught to Adam by the angels and still used by the angels, and squares filled with words of one language can be used to extract further words in the same language.

The translation of the calls in 48 Claues angelicae is rather free, often using five or six words in English to one in Enochian (e.g. cordziz is translated as 'man', 'reasonable creature', and 'the reasonable creatures of Earth, or Man'). Also of the 250 or so different words that appear, more than half only make a single appearance, but nevertheless given the freedom of the translation there is a marked consistency in the meanings given to each word at separate appearances.²⁶ Also some words have definite roots (e.g. gohus, 'I say'; gohe or goho, 'he says'; gohia, 'we say'; gohol, 'saying'; gohulim, 'it is said'), but there is no consistency of endings either for verbs or nouns with clear roots. Dr Laycock's conclusion on the grammar is that it 'suggests English with the

removal of the articles ('a' and 'the') and the prepositions—and with a few irregularities thrown in to confuse the picture' (p. 43).

What then are we left with? Finally it is difficult to say more than that we have examples of one or possibly two closely related languages that are coherent enough to seem like a genuine language and yet irregular enough to defy the rules that we come to expect from a language in any formal sense. It is like a language but is not, and would seem to be a few steps further on from such nonsense language as Lewis Carroll's 'slithy toves'. The first series of calls are the kind of nonsense language one might make up if asked to speak and the 48 Clauae angelicae contains the kind of nonsense language one might write, while taking some care to remember the arbitrary meanings of words used more than once. Whether it originated from Kelly's conscious or unconscious thought is hard to determine, but the mixture of regularity and irregularity in the language might provide further evidence that Kelly both genuinely went into a trance like state and consciously fabricated visions and revelations to maintain his credibility in the eyes of Dee.

j) The Holy Table

Dee first received instructions for making the Holy Table as early as 10 March 1582 (see fol. 10a), but the early plan was later declared to be false and it was not until 26 April 1583 that he received the altered details for the table which brought together certain elements of the system of 49 spirits and the Enochian script (fol. 94b). An engraving of the table in its final form is to be found in A True and Faithful Relation and a photograph of this engraving forms the appendix to the text of the manuscript in this thesis. The table is

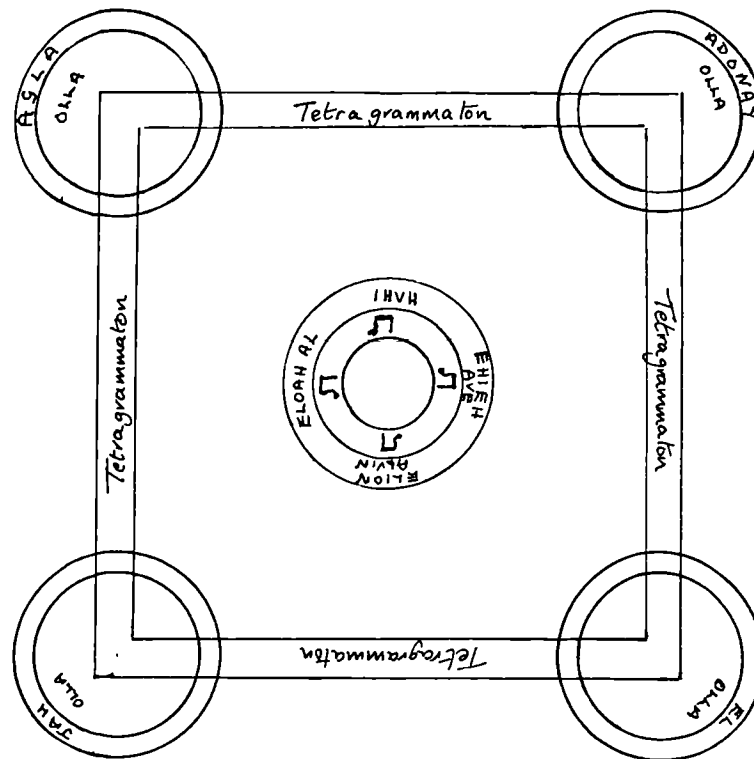
no longer extant, although it did survive Dee and was seen by Ashmole in John Cotton's Library.²⁷ He described it as being 'composed of 3 boards broad=waies beside the borderings; of a fine grained wood & very heavy, but the scent now lost'.²⁸ The original angelic instruction was for the table to be made from 'swete wood' (fol. 10a). Ashmole measured the table meticulously and all measurements that I shall give derive from his description. The top of the table was $7\frac{1}{10}$ inches thick and measured $36\frac{1}{4}$ by $35\frac{7}{8}$ inches, the angelic instruction being that it should be three feet square. The table had a border $\frac{4}{10}$ inches in from the edge which contained letters in Enochian script painted in red about $\frac{8}{10}$ inches high within two blue lines $\frac{3}{20}$ inches thick. The squares within which the letters were placed were one inch high and $1\frac{3}{20}$ inches wide. Twenty one letters were painted down each side, those at each corner being the letter 'B' in Enochian script on a gold background. The letters were obtained from a table rearranging the letters of the kings and princes of the forty-nine spirits whose names all began with the letter 'B' (see Commentary to 95b, 7).

The plan of the table in English letters at fol. 94b is mostly correct, with the exceptions that it does not show the positioning of the seven Ensigns of Creation and that all the letters are written from left to right. In the engraving of the table in TFR with its Enochian characters the letters in the top and bottom borders are written from right to left and the letters in the side borders are not only written from right to left but have exchanged sides as well. This latter move is rather hard to justify as consistency would also demand that the top and bottom borders were exchanged which they are not. The letters in the central square of twelve divisions are also written from right to left in the Enochian version but they maintain

their own lines. These central letters are also taken from a table of the kings and princes of the 49 spirits (see 102a).

Ashmole noted that the Ensigns of Creation were painted with blue lines and red letters and that the lines of the pentagon were painted gold. The central square was $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide and 11 inches high and had lines of blue and letters of gold. He further noted the sizes and exact locations of the seven Ensigns of Creation. The table was on a 'frame' which was two feet eight inches square and two feet seven and a half inches high and had four feet each 3 inches square. When Ashmole saw the table in John Cotton's library he found laid on the frame 'the wooden case which holds the Table of Practise, the foreside of which is closed with 3 Iron Hasps, to be locked vp with 3 Padlocks'. The pedestal or frame was made at Lasko in Poland in 1584 (see TFR, p. 69).

I have not been able to trace any specific sources for the design of the Holy Table, but the main scheme of a square table standing upon four small seals and upon which a larger seal would be placed could be derived from a manuscript copy of the Key of Solomon. In The Secret Lore of Magic Sayed Idries Shah reproduces a diagram from a version of the Key of Solomon in the Bibliotheque Arsenal.²⁹ It is not dissimilar from the sketch on fol. 10a, although the latter is in three dimensional perspective and contains no letters (the letters on this first version of the table seem to have been written down separately and discarded when they were later declared to be wrong). The diagram in the Key of Solomon uses conventional magical inscriptions:



Whether Kelly saw a version of the Key of Solomon is uncertain but it was a common manuscript work and most persons involved in occult matters would have read it at some time. The details of the inscriptions of the seals and Holy Table are Kelly's own, however, arising from the system that was gradually evolved during the Actions.

It is uncertain whether the Holy Table was ever in fact used in an Action. Dee was instructed that the table, the seals, the Character of Dignification and the Book of Enoch were to be used when 'the time' had come, but the date for their use is continually delayed and no specific reference remains in Dee's writings to their being employed. In the Action of 22 June 1583 Dee wrote that Kelly 'sate in the green Chair, by the holy Table, or place' (TFR, p. 25), but if this is a reference to the Holy Table itself, it only seems to indicate its being kept near at hand in readiness. The ordinary table upon which the stone was usually set (see fol. 47b) might in the circumstances be regarded as holy. The lack of a capital letter

for 'holy' may or may not be significant here.

The instructions which Dee received concerning the use of the Holy Table and its associated magical implements are specific in relation to their arrangement, but vague with regard to actual ceremony, particularly concerning the Book of Enoch. The table was to stand upon the four smaller versions of the Sigillum Dei, which were to be placed in small wooden protective covers (fol. 101b). The instructions for the first version of the Holy Table stated that red silk, two yards square, was to be laid underneath the table and a square piece of red silk 'somewhat broader then the Table' and with a tassel at each corner was to be laid over the large version of the Sigillum Dei, which was itself placed in the centre of the table (fol. 10a). Later it is declared that 'the sylk, must be of diuerse cullors, the most changeable that can be gotten' (fol. 101b). The Character of Dignification was to be placed over the seal (fol. 101b), but whether this would be over or under the silk is not clear. On top of this character was to be set the angelic stone, presumably in a frame. This was the arrangement to be used in conjunction with the Book of Enoch, but if Dee wished to engage the help of one of the 49 spirits he was to stand upon the relevant circular seal, place the individual seal of the king or prince upon the Holy Table and use the appropriate invocation from De heptarchia mystica. Presumably in this case the Character of Dignification and angelic stone would not be necessary; the instructions for these were received after the instructions concerning the invocation of the kings and princes.

In the event the Actions continued in the customary fashion and Dee was kept busy noting down more and more information concerning spirits in the universe, particularly when the magical system took a turn in direction with the introduction of details of the thirty

'Aethyrs'. The Holy Table does not seem to have been used as commanded and it would appear that Kelly introduced the thirty 'Aethyrs' when it seemed that the practical operation of the already accumulated magical implements might be put to the test.

1. Female spirits are rare in most religious and occult traditions, although Arabic legend presents female angels under the title of benad hasche, 'Daughters of God'. Dee accepts the Daughters of Light without question, but later quotes to a female spirit named Galvah the opinion of Trithemius that 'never any good Angel was read of to have appeared forma mulieri' (TFR, p. 12).
2. In his Dictionary of Angels (New York and London 1967) Gustav Davidson cites Trithemius as his source for this information.
3. Occ. Phil., III, xxiii, p. 413.
4. See fol. 94a ff. and TFR, pp. 1-3 & 28 ff.
5. Concerning the significance of the number 7, see Commentary to 18a, 32.
6. Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, The Book of Formation, translated by Knut Stenring (London 1923), plate facing p. 24.
7. G.G. Scholem comments on The Book of Formation that the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are put forward in their various permutations as being 'the signatures of all creation ...the structural elements, the stones from which the edifice of Creation was built' and that 'a similar tradition of the creative power of letters...is applied to the Torah: "No one knows its [right] order, for the sections of the Torah are not given in the right arrangement. If they were, everyone who reads in it might create a world, raise the dead, and perform miracles"'. (On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism, translated by R. Manheim (London 1965), pp. 167-168).
8. See Sloane MS 3191, fol. 49.
9. This change in direction occurs after the Action of 23 March 1583 (fol. 60a ff.).
10. Christopher Butler, Number Symbolism (London 1970), p. 30. See also Occ. Phil., II, xiii, p. 212.
11. Occ. Phil. I, xlix, p. 94.
12. 'Behold...here...through this...by the end of measure, you will measure us and our power' (fol. 58a).
13. A Dictionary of the Bible, edited by James Hastings, 5 vols, II, 198-199.
14. My principal sources for what follows are Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1972) and F. Sherwood Taylor, The Alchemists (London 1951).

15. Francis Barrett, The Celestial Intelligencer (London 1801), p. 196.
16. See Hugh Tait, 'The Devil's Looking Glass: the Magical Speculum of Dr. John Dee', Horace Walpole, Writer, Politician and Connoisseur, edited by Warren Hunting Smith (New Haven & London 1967), pp. 195-212, pp. 210-211.
17. 'Dr Dee's Magic Mirror—Reflecting Two Elizabethan Worlds', The Listener, 23 & 30 December 1976, pp. 824-826, p. 824.
18. Tait, 'The Devil's Looking Glass', p. 206.
19. On the significance of the number forty, see p. 123 above.
20. Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis, edited by Arthur Johnston (Oxford 1972), p. 6.
21. G.G. Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism (New York 1941, 3rd edition 1967), p. 17.
22. Donald C. Laycock, The Complete Enochian Dictionary (London 1978), p. 28.
23. TFR, 'Preface', sig. E4r.
24. Dee refers to it as his 'Arabic boke', but Soyga has no meaning in Arabic and no identification has been forthcoming from contacts I have used at the University of Baghdad.
25. Sloane MS 3677, fol. 142.
26. The language does not appear to be cryptographical despite Dee's statement to Kelly that he obtains 'some understanding of those holy words, their significations by reason of due applying the English to the word Christus', which is itself not very comprehensible (TFR, p. 91).
27. There is a late 17th century copy of the table in marble and somewhat smaller in size (600mm x 463mm) in the University of Oxford Museum of the History of Science.
28. Ashmole MS 1790, fols 55a-56a.
29. Bibl. Arsenal MS 2348, cited in The Secret Lore of Magic, edited by Sayed Idries Shah (London 1957, reprinted 1974), p. 28.

VI

MOTIVES

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When General and Rare Memorials was published in 1577, Dee described himself as being 'now at the end of his dayes' (sig. A.1r). He was fifty years of age and had endeavoured throughout his life to use his 'great Talent of knowledge and Sciences' to make 'the State Publik of this BRYTISH MONARCHIE, to become florishing, in HONOR, WEALTH, and STRENGTH,' only to be rewarded with the indifference of 'the Ingratefull and Thankles' and the aspersions of 'the skorners and Disdainers of such his faythfull enterprises' (sigs A. 4r-v). In the face of worldly disappointment and ingratitude for all his labours, he turned, in what he thought were his last years, from the realm of secular experiment and discovery to that of spiritual exploration and experience. It is plain from the protestation to God in Sloane MS 3188 that Dee had come to reject the secular search for truth in favour of divine revelation, largely on account of the lack of success attendant upon the former in providing the answers that he desired concerning the nature of the world:

O God Almighty, thow knowest, and art my director, and witnes herein, That I haue from my youth vp, desyred and prayed vnto the for pure and sownd wisdome and vnderstanding of some of thy truthes naturall and artificiall: such, as by which, thy wisdome, goodnes and powre bestowed in the frame of the world might be browght, in some bowntifull measure vnder the Talent of my Capacitie, to thy honor and glory, and the benefit of thy Servants, my brethern and Sistern, in, and by thy Christ our Saviour: And for as much as, many yeres, in many places, far and nere, in many bokes, and sundry languagis, I haue sowght, and studyed; and with sundry men conferred, and with my owne reasonable discourse laboured, whereby to fynde or get some ynckling, glyms or beame of such the forsaid radicall truthes: But, (to be brief) after all my forsaid endeavor I could fynde no other way, to such true wisdome atteyning, but by thy extraordinary gift: and by no vulgar Schole doctrine, or humane Invention. (fol. 7a)

In the light of Dee's many protestations at the ingratitude of his fellow countrymen¹, we may infer here that Dee was disillusioned with his earlier labours as much on account of lack of recognition

as on account of the failure of such labours to reveal God's 'radicall truthes'. Furthermore Dee's pride, which is often revealed in his defences of his work and reputation, shows through here in the statement that he has ever desired that God's 'wisdom, goodnes and powre...might be browght' not in some little but 'in some bowntifull measure' within his capacity. Dee's deep involvement with scrying arose in part from such disillusionment with the world of man and such expectations from the world of God, and also from two other causes, both promises: one was the promise of worldly wealth in the guise of buried treasure and the Philosophers' Stone; the other was the promise that a new age was soon to dawn.

Even in the existing Action with Barnabas Saul mention is made of some kind of hidden treasure (fol. 8a), although this may be a reference to stolen goods whose location was being sought through scrying, in line with popular tradition. In the Actions with Kelly the promise of discovering buried treasure plays a prominent part for a while. When Kelly returned to Dee after spending the winter of 1582-1583 at Blockley, he brought with him a book, a scroll written in strange characters (see fols 86b & 87a), and some red powder in a vial. These articles were to provide distractions from the main course of the Actions, for the scroll supposedly led to some buried treasure, while the book and the red powder were declared to contain the secret of the Philosophers' Stone.

It did not take Dee long to decipher the scroll which yielded a text in Latin which purported to have been written by a Dane who desired to let his countrymen know where to find some treasure that he had buried, and which to this end was accompanied by a diagram showing ten places (fol. 86b). The place names still do

not make much sense when deciphered, but I think I have identified one as Meon hill near Blockley (see Commentary to 88a, 23). Dee was in constant need of money to finance his laboratories and library and so was eager to take advantage of this discovery made by Kelly. Kelly's report that he had been led to find the articles by a spiritual creature further convinced Dee that God was helping him and he requested angelic help to obtain the treasure. At first the angels were scornful of his worldly desires, but eventually he was informed that if he gathered a sample of earth from each of the ten places shown on the scroll and invoked the aid of the spirit Blisdon, the prince who governed the earth and all subterranean things, and his ministers, the treasure would be brought before him (fol. 90b).

Without explanation the ten places become eleven places with the addition of Newbury (see 103b, 10 & 106b, 3), but evidently Dee or Kelly was able to make some sense of the place names deciphered from the script on the scroll, for on 8 May Dee wrote that he was going to 'lack the Cumpany of E K going for the Erthes...and to be away 10 or 12 dayes' (fol. 104b). Kelly returned with 'the erthes of the eleuen places before specified' on 23 May (fol. 106b), and Dee had been able, almost to his own surprise, to obtain a licence from 'the Governor and assistants for the Mines Royall' for digging for treasure.² When Dee asked in an Action of 28 May precisely what was to be done with the samples of earth, he received the evasive answer that they would have perished had they remained in situ (TFR, p.9). By 22 February 1584 Dee was still no further forward in the treasure hunt and asked the spirit Madimi 'that the Danish Treasurer [sic for treasure] in England, in the ten places, (seised on by E.K.) might be brought hither

[to Lasko], very speedily; whereby A[lbert] L[asky] might redeem Kesmark and Lasko lands, mortgaged: and also pay his debts in Cracow' (TFR, p.69). The reply was again evasive, warning Dee that 'small are the Treasures of this world, in respect of the wisdom that judgeth NATURE' (TFR, p.71). Thereafter the matter is dropped and Dee presumably lost hope of the spirits providing him with material wealth from this source. There is little credence to be attached to Aubrey's note of Meredith Lloyd telling him of 'John Dee conjuring at a poole in Brecknockshire, and that they found a wedge of gold; and that they were troubled, and indicted as conjurers at the assizes; that a mighty storme and tempest was rayseed in harvest time, the countrey people had not known the like'.³

Dee refers to the book which Kelly found as the Book of Dunstan (63a, MN14), which may have been a copy of the MS Tractatus... de lapide philosophorum attributed to that saint.⁴ The book was very nearly burnt when on 12 December 1597 Kelly spilt his oil lamp:

The spirit was spilled out, and burnt all that was on the table where it stode, lynnenn and written bokes, — as the bok of Zacharius with the Alkanor that I translated out of French for som by spirituall could not; Rowlaschy his thrid boke of waters philosophicall; the boke called Angelicum Opus, all in pictures of the work from the beginning to the end; the copy of the man of Badwise Conclusions for the Transmutation of metalls; and 40 leaves in 4^o, intituled, Extractiones Dunstani, which he himself extracted and noted out of Dunstan his boke, and the very boke of Dunstan was but cast on the bed hard by from the table. (Diary)

A red powder was also discovered with the book, but Kelly kept these two things close to himself. In the Action of 18 April 1583 the spirit Il 'advised E K to communicate to me [Dee] the boke, and the powder, and so all the rest of the roll, which was

there found: saying, true friendes vse not to hide any thing eche from other' (fol. 90b), but by 5 May he had not done so and it seems that they were not being kept at Dee's house (see 103b,10-14).

The powder was supposed to be the Philosophers' Stone, or something very close to it, and presumably a major problem, to which the Book of Dunstan would provide the answer, was how to perform the exercise of projection. Kelly claimed to have made nearly an ounce of gold on 19 December 1586 (Diary) and it seems that Kelly was still keeping the powder to himself. On 4 April 1587 Kelly was informed that if he wished to take no more part in the Actions he should bring the powder before the angelic presence in fourteen days' time. At this point the experiments with Arthur Dee as scryer begin and it is on 18 April that Kelly comes with the powder 'as he was bidden to do', but in fact resumes scrying in place of Arthur (TFR, p.*9). He is informed that the powder 'is appointed for a time by God, and cannot be used until then, without offence', but it is plain that he has already used some of it, probably in his 'successful' transmutation, for he is accused on 4 April of being 'a false steward, in taking out of that which is not thine own'. When Dee noted in his Diary on 10 May 1588 that 'E.K. did open the great secret to me, God be thanked!' he probably meant that Kelly shared the powder as well as the secret of its use, for on 4 February 1589 Dee gave to Kelly 'the powder, the bokes, the glas and the bone, for the Lord Rosenberg' (Diary). This is the first reference to Dee ever being in possession of the powder himself.

Yet for all the promises of material wealth, Dee's prime motive for becoming so heavily involved in the practice of scrying was of a spiritual nature. The angels prophesied that a new era

was about to come and their prophecy was a confirmation of the expected rather than a declaration of the unforeseen. In 1572 a new star had been observed in the heavens and five years later a comet blazed across the sky, which 'unduly bred great feare and doubt in many of the Court' (CR, p. 21). It seemed evident that the commotions in the heavens must foreshadow some great event upon the earth, and Dee's judgement given to the Queen upon the significance of the comet allayed fears that the event was to be some great disaster. It is most probable that Dee predicted quite the opposite, his judgement being founded upon the theory of cycles in world history. He ended the 'Aduertisement to the Reader' of General and Rare Memorials with a note that it was printed five years after the appearance of the new star and Anno Mundi 5540 (sig. e.*4r). The star and the dating from the beginning of the world were evidently important to Dee and, even though he apparently first attempted scrying as early as 1569 (see 3188, 5b), suggest that his efforts with Saul and Kelly may have been motivated by some factor connected with such a view of time and history. The conviction that a new age was on the way was founded upon the doctrine of trigons, which had been set forth by Alkindi:

The smallest cycle was of 20 years between the conjunctions of two major planets, which governed momentous events, largely internal to a country, changes in rule, rebellions, political crises etc; a second was known as a Triplicity, or Trigon, representing three signs of the ecliptic of 120° , and lasted 240 years — (the time between the occurrence of a major conjunction within a trigon, and a similar conjunction in the preceding one), and governed the great revolutions, and transference of hegemony; the third and greatest cycle was of four complete trigons, (the entire Zodiac) each of which represented one of the four elements, and which commenced with the fiery trigon, and the recurrence of which including the effects of the other two, also implied the appearance of a new religion that would thereafter dominate the world in the ensuing great period. It lasted 960 years... This cycle of 960 years should then be completed in 1582. (Calder, I, 787-788).

Tycho Brahe, the astronomer with whom Dee was long in correspondence, also interpreted the new star as signifying great political and religious changes. With a caveat that he could not pronounce his judgement with any absolute certainty, he declared that the star's 'shining forth with a joviall, cleere, and bright lustre, doth seeme to fore-shew a prosperous and peaceable state in humane affaires', while its 'Martiall fiery glistening' signified that 'some violence and trouble shall be intermingled with it'. Most importantly it seemed to portend 'a great alteration, if not an utter subversion of Religion', but for the better.⁵

Warming to his task he stated that 'there shall happen a great Catastrophe and universall change throughout all the chiefe Nations of the Earth, especially those which are situated Northward from the Aequinoctiall' and that this period of turbulence and resettlement would occur between 'the yeare of Christ 1583, and in the latter end of the Moneth of Aprill' and 'the yeare 1592' (p. 16). By an alternative method of computation Brahe arrived at a date of 1632 for the demonstration of the 'force and influence of this Starre', but at all events his prophecy foretold the calm before the Apocalyptic storm:

All the significations of this Star doe depend on the Trigonall revolution and transmutation of the Planets. And therefore if this bee the seventh revolution of the Planets, the first whereof was in the dayes of Enoch, the second in Noahs time, and at the Vniversall Deluge, the third in the dayes of Moses, when the people were freed from the Egyptian servitude, the fourth in the dayes of the Kings of Israel, the fift in the time of Christs Incarnation, when the Roman Empire was at the highest, and the sixt in the dayes of Charles the Great, when the Empire was translated to the Germanes, this last and seventh, is as it were the Sabbath to all the rest, and doth foreshew something of greater consequence than all the former, wherein it is worthy of observation, that all the trigonall revolutions, as the first, third and fift, were very profitable and advantagious to the world; and so it is not unlikely that this seventh

revolution being an unequall number, doth point out and fore-signifie the happy estate of things which is to come. Neyther doth this conjecture differ from the Prophetes of wise men which were illuminated with divine knowledge, who have foretold, that before the universall consummation & end of all things, there shall be a peaceable and quiet age wherein the divers formes of Religions and politike government, shall be changed and be made agreeable and conformable to the will of God. (pp. 17-18)

While Brahe admits that 'it is impossible to limit and set forth a certaine time for the consummation of the world, which onely dependeth upon the good-will and pleasure of God, and is not reuealed to the angels, and therefore cannot be knowne by any humain prescience' (p. 20), he does prophesy that the world is about to enter upon a final phase, similar to the final religious empire predicted by Guillaume Postel,⁶ and this echoed Dee's own nationalistic and religious hopes and ideals.

Dee believed that Britain and her queen were especially favoured by God and sought the establishment of a British Empire which would bring a Christian peace to the world, with all the benefits of safe passage and security that had been the promise of the Roman Empire.⁷ His proposal in GRM for the building of a permanent navy was part of a farsighted plan to establish this empire in which Elizabeth would become the leader of a new Christendom:

I haue oftentimes...and many wayes,looked into the State of Earthly Kingdoms, Generally, the whole World ouer: (as far, as it may, yet, be known to Christen Men, Commonly:) being a Study, of no great Difficuly: But, rather, a purpose, somewhat answerable, to a perfect Cosmographer: to fynde hym self, Cosmopolites: A Citizen, and Member, of the whole and only one Mystical City Vniuersall: And so, consequently, to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall Gouernment therof, vnder the King Almighty: passing on, very swiftly, toward the most Dreadfull, and most Cumfortable Term prefixed:

And I finde...that if this Brytish Monarchy, wold heretofore, haue followed the Aduantages, which they haue had, onward, They mought, very well, ere this, haue surpassed (By Justice and Godly, sort) any particular Monarchy, els, that euer was on Earth, since Mans Creation. (GRM, p. 54)

He further notes in the margin that Britain 'might haue Contended for the Generall Monarchie' of the world. As early as 1570 Dee had outlined a plan to 'make this kingdome flourishing, triumphant, famous and blessed'⁸ and had advocated further attempts to open up sea routes to the Orient whence 'verely, might grow Commoditye, to this Land chiefly, and to the rest of the Christen Common wealth, farre passing all riches and worldly Treasure' (Preface, sig. A.1). His plans did not just encompass an increase in merchant trade. By 1582 he was heavily involved with the plans for the voyage to be undertaken by John Davis and Adrian Gilbert to discover a North-West passage to Cathay and in March of that year he interpreted an angelic reference to the new age as signifying that 'this Adrian Gilbert shall cary the name of Jesus among the Infidells to the great glory of god, and the recouery of those miserable people from the mowth of hell into which, for many hundred yeres past, and yet contynually they do fall' (Sloane MS 3188, 65a).

While any Christian message carried by Gilbert would have been entrenched in the Protestant church, Dee's vision of 'one Mysticall City Vniuersall' was not founded upon any of the particular parties on either side of the religious schism. His angel-magic was closely related to an ardent desire to see the establishment of a universal religion in a reformed and reunited Christendom. Scrying embodied direct communication between man and the angels of God and the immediacy of this relationship with the Almighty classes Dee with such unorthodox religious thinkers as Pico della Mirandola and Giordano Bruno. Bruno believed that by embracing the magical religion of the world as expounded in the Asclepius attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, the world could be reconciled

in a pristine religion of universal love and gnostic revelation.⁹ It cost him his life on a charge of heresy. Dee's concept of a universal religion did not involve an abandonment of Christianity such as Bruno advocated, but included a similar emphasis upon universal love and direct revelation from God. The Church was 'the number of those which are governed by the Holy Ghost' irrespective of their nominal religion (TFR, p. 386). The articles of Dee's faith were summarily expressed by the alleged voice of the 'Holy Spirit' in an Action of 10 April 1586:

Whosoever wishes to be wise may look neither to the right nor to the left; neither towards this man who is called a catholic, nor towards that one who is called a heretic (for thus you are called); but he may look up to the God of heaven and earth and to his Son, Jesus Christ, Who has given the Spirit of His abundant and multifarious graces to those who live a natural life in purity and a life of grace in their works.¹⁰

Although Dee satisfied Bishop Bonner of his religious orthodoxy while Mary held the throne, there is no evidence that he was a Catholic recusant under Elizabeth. It may be safely assumed that when Elizabeth took the crown Dee embraced the religious stability that came with the Anglican church. His touchstone was that of righteousness and his complaint was ever against self-righteousness. On that basis there was to him no difference between catholicism and protestantism. On the Continent he adopted the religion of the country in which he stayed. On 19 April 1585 he took 'Ghostly counsel of Doctor Hannibal, the great Divine, that had now set out some of his Commentaries upon Pymander, Hermitis Trismegisti' and the next day 'received Communion at the Bernadine's, where that Doctor is Professor' (TFR, p. 397). He was fully prepared that the angelic communications should be revealed to the worthy, irrespective of their nominal allegiance:

May, therefore, our catholic brethren who are truly Christian, faithful, and distinguished by divine charity, (at a time appointed by God) be enriched by the knowledge of this short narrative, and may they be filled with very great consolation. (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 227)

Faith in God and Christ and charity to mankind were the criteria by which Dee judged his fellows and were the foundations from which he hoped to see a reformed and universal religion constructed.

When he finally answered the request of the Papal Nuncio at Prague for a meeting, he failed to find such qualities in the emissary from Rome.¹¹ On the contrary he sensed that the meeting was a trap and denied any angelic suggestions for the reformation of the Catholic Church to which the Nuncio referred (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 232). Kelly, who was also present, went so far as to declare that the problems of the church lay with its ministers. He informed the Nuncio that if 'the doctors, shepherds, and prelates mend their ways...a great and conspicuous reformation of the Christian religion would be brought about most speedily' (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter, p. 233). While it did not help their case with the Nuncio, who evidently wished to gain evidence for a charge of heresy, it was a statement with which Dee heartily concurred. Kelly had for some time before been making confession to a Jesuit priest, but had suddenly been refused absolution unless he admitted that the spirits with whom he dealt were evil and not God's angels. On hearing about this Dee was enraged and wrote:

Surely, all pious and true catholics will be grieved with us that, whilst pure religion is so sadly afflicted, so great a scandal should have arisen in the Catholic Church from which the fruit of the true, pure, and very great charity of God (namely a remission of sins and peace of conscience) should have issued.¹²

Dee had no quarrel with the Jesuits in principle,¹³ finding them to be 'mostly devout and peaceful men', and he believed that they

too would 'grieve that...so poisonous an egg should have been laid, whence, one must fear, a horrid basilisk, a great danger to very many people, will be born' (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p.237).

Dee's vision of a universal religion even included the generally despised Jews, for he expressed a desire that his Monas hieroglyphica should convince the Hebrew cabalists that 'the same most benevolent God is not only [the God] of the Jews, but of all peoples, nations, and languages' (Monas, p. 133). Indeed the reconciliation of the Jews with Christianity was a prerequisite of the final era of world history as Tycho Brahe pointed out:

If any doe object, that the end of the world is at hand, and that therefore there will not be sufficient time to bring about a new Change, I answere, that Saint Paul doth assure us, that the Iewes shall be engrafted into the Church, before the finall consummation of the world, which (by humaine coniecture) must needs require some time before, they being scattered over the whole face of the Earth, shall be gathered into one Nation. (Astronomical Coniectur, p. 20)

A prophecy of the Jews' restoration was voiced in the Action of 5 April 1583 (fol. 77b) as one of many prophecies of the coming of a new age upon earth.

The establishment of a universal religion and a final period of harmony in the world are strongly emphasised in the Actions and the angels proclaim that the information that they are delivering to Dee and Kelly is central to the arrival of this new era. Even in the Action with Saul, Dee equated the informing angel Annael with his office as 'Chief governor Generall of this great period, as I haue Noted in my booke of Famous and rich Discoueries' (fol. 8b). According to Agrippa the angels Zaphiel, Annael, Zadkiel, Michael, Cumael, Gabriel and Raphael each governed in turn a period of 354 years and 4 months, and Dee's date of 1577 as 5540 Anno Mundi fits

into this scheme whereby the third full cycle is in progress, Annael governing between 1348 and 1702. Trithemius stated that a new age would begin in 1525, 6732 years after the Creation and assigned the angel Gabriel as governing angel of this penultimate period of the world cycle, but Dee dated the Creation 1243 years later than Trithemius (see GRM, sig. E*3v). Later in the Actions there is some doubt expressed as to whether the chief governor of this period is Baligon, Carmara (an alias of Baligon) or Annael (see 51a, 20-21 & MN21).

Kelly seems to have realised rapidly that Dee would trust him most if what the angels delivered was at least in part a confirmation of what Dee already believed and promises of the fulfilment of some of his dearest hopes. In the second day's Action that took place with Kelly as scryer, on 11 March 1582, the angel Michael informed Dee that 'the world begynns with thy doings' (fol. 11a), and during the subsequent Actions the two participants were repeatedly told that they had been cleansed of sin and elected by God to a special purpose. The angels had separated them from 'fyled and wycked persons' (fol. 17a) and called them 'our fellows, and seruants to God' (fol. 24a). They would be considered 'in this world, and in the world to come' and were 'to be ioyned so, and in mynde vnited' as if they were 'one man' (fol. 32a). The spirit called Hagonel declared that his 'tyme is yet to come' (fol. 45a) and promised Dee a power equivalent to his own to throw down princes and kings (fol. 45b). Dee was also promised the sight of God (videbis Deum) by the same spirit (fol. 49a), and that he should be 'glutted, yea filled' and 'puffed vp with the perfect knowledge of Gods Mysteries, in his mercyes' (fol. 50a). Such promises were precisely what Dee wanted to hear

and the exposition of the orders of spirits that supposedly governed the world which accompanied these promises led him to believe that he was indeed being granted the revelation of divine secrets. He was promised the ability to 'cast oute the powre of all wicked spirits' (fol. 57a) as the disciples had been (Luke IX, 1) and the secret of the coming of the new age was revealed to him by the spirit called Bynepor, who declared that there should 'begynne new worldes, new peoples, new kings, knowledge of a new Government', this never having been 'reuealed no not in these last times, of the second last world' (fol. 56b).

Central to the coming of the new era was the Book of Enoch. The book had long been lost to man, but now that a new period of universal religion and world government was approaching, it was once again revealed to man and was to be instrumental in heralding in the new age. There was to be a time 'of great miserie, to the heavens, to the earth and to all liuing Creatures' in September 1583 according to a prophecy of the angel Uriel made on 6 April 1583 (fol. 79b), but the Book of Enoch was the key to salvation. It would heal all things ('omnia resanabit') according to Raphael (fol. 62a) and held the 'holy key, which vnlocketh the secrets of god his determination, as concerning the begynning, present being, and ende of this world' (fol. 101a). Dee had been 'hardened as the flynt' by God 'to be the first erthely witnes' of these divine secrets (fol. 92b), while the Lord had already sent his angels 'to viset the earth, and to gather the synnes thereof to gither' to be 'wayed before him in the balance of Justice', for all the nations of the world should know 'that there is a GOD which forgetteth not the truth of his promise' (fol. 101a).

Dee was instructed to have all the magical instruments including

the Book of Enoch in the angelic script, ready for use by 1 August 1583 (fol. 101a) and from the Book of Enoch would 'be restored the holy bokes, which haue perished euen from the begynning, and from the first that liued'. The book would also enable 'perfect truth' to be deciphered 'from imperfect falsehode, True religion from fals and damnable errors' along with 'all Artes: which are propre to the vse of man, the first and sanctified perfection: Which when it hath spread a While, THEN COMMETH THE ENDE' (fol. 101b). All this would be achieved in one month (101b, 29). There are no records of Actions during August of that year and in the Action of 12 April 1584 the spirit Nalvage declares that he has no power after 'the first day of August next' (TFR, p.77). On 7 May 1584 Gabriel informs Dee that the calls of the 48 Claues angelicae will be delivered 'before August' (TFR, p. 117), but by then Gabriel has already answered a query by Kelly about the year of this important month ('By August next?') by saying: 'What if it were a hundred Augusts?' On 16 November 1582 it had been declared that 'the tyme of Gods visitation' was '8', and Dee speculated that this might mean 1588 or eight years from the time of the Action, 1590. The Action of 26 October 1583 seems to confirm the date of 1588, for the spirit Il declares that 'these five years to come, are the Deliverance' (TFR, p. 43). The Antichrist is declared to be alive in the Action of 12 April 1584 (TFR, p. 76), although he is not the Pope as many believe (TFR, p. 412), and the period of the 'time to come' is said to be 950 years by Gabriel on 2 June 1584. It may be that Dee's return to England in 1588 was partly prompted by the failure of these prophecies to prove true, but there is so much vagueness, contradiction and postponement in the angelic prophetic utterances that Dee's hopes are unlikely to

have been attached to a specific date. Frequently the angels accuse Kelly of wickedness in spite of his election and this is taken as a cause for events not occurring as foretold and at other times attention is diverted from a prophecy by the introduction of a large quantity of new revelation of spirits, such as the thirty 'Aethyrs'. Despite all the reversals of fortune Dee suffered in his partnership with Kelly, he never seems to have lost hope and the dissolution of the partnership was more at Kelly's instigation than Dee's. Even as an old man of eighty Dee seems to have maintained some hope of all that was promised proving true, as the Action of 17 July 1607, with Bartholomew Hickman as the scryer, shows:

After dinner (horem circiter 4 .) as Bartholomew
and I talked of divers my doings with Mr. Kelley,
a Voice produced this to Bartholomews hearing,

A Voice.....I, John Dee, I have heard you all this
while.

Thou shalt be able to do, and to see, and to understand
more than all this thou has spoken of, according as
God hath promised thee.

△. Blessed be his holy Name, and his mercies be
magnified on me, to the honour of his holy Name.
Amen. (TFR, p. *40)

Dee then shows Hickman the angelic stone with an apparent enthusiasm of remembrance of those days with Kelly, and Hickman takes the advantage by seeing Raphael in the stone who promises another journey abroad.

The motives for Dee's Continental journey lie in the promise of a new age upon earth. Dee and Kelly are portrayed as purifying the world by their celestial knowledge in visions shown on 4 May and 15 November 1582 (see fols 42a-42b and 45a) and the missionary nature of the Actions is emphasised by the election of Adrian Gilbert to some of the secrets of the divine revelations and his choice as an emissary of God's word to the people of Atlantis.

Dee's works consistently show that he was most willing to share his knowledge with others, particularly for the good of his country, the 'Preface' to Euclid being a most notable example. The celestial knowledge delivered in the Actions was less for common consumption and early in the Actions with Kelly, Dee was enjoined to secrecy (fol. 17a), but in the Action of 10 April 1586 angelic command is in agreement with his own desires:

When it was enjoined on me by God Almighty to commit those things to writing which He communicates to us from His immense goodness and most abundant grace, I deemed it my portion...to be extremely careful lest by me, or by my negligence, they be offered to the handling or the sight of the proud, those without faith, the ungrateful, the envious, the impure, or of any unworthy person. Yet, surely, we were expressly instructed from the very first beginning of that our vocation and function, and we have known ever since, that it is in accordance with our duty and most agreeable to the Divine Majesty to show those mysteries in passing, to relate them compendiously, or to give a very brief account of an action (as we call it) (transcribed or translated from our authentic original autograph), to the worthy, namely to those who are pious, humble, modest, sincere, conspicuous in Christian charity, enlightened, to those to whom words of divine life and truth are, or may be, a very great consolation, and also sometimes (by a singular divine providence or command) to certain men of yet another kind.

Dee continues by writing that he has no doubt that in the fullness of time much that he has received from the angels 'will be published and known to the world in a most abundant, manifest, complete and effective way' to the eternal honour and glory of God (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 226). The promise of a new age and a universal religion together with Dee's desire to share his knowledge with his fellow man (perhaps as much motivated by desire for renown as by a genuine philanthropy) are primarily responsible for his move to the Continent. Although he had made the acquaintance of Albert Lasky who at first promised to be a rewarding patron, there is good reason to suppose that Dee's journey to Europe was more in response to the religious and political climate

in central Europe than to any particular request from Lasky.

R.J.W. Evans notes that under the Emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian II 'the Austrian Habsburg territories supported a great range of religious opinion in the sixteenth century',¹⁴ and continues:

The further practical consequence of such variegated patterns of faith was a widespread de facto toleration: not a merit of the Reformation, but the very atmosphere in which it operated, tantamount to its lack of any clear focus. 'In affairs of religion everyone does as he pleases, and thus something like peace obtains between the parties,' observes one censorious Catholic, and the thought is seconded by a Lutheran: 'In Austria there is almost too much liberty in religion, since all those who have been banished from the rest of Germany for whatever reason flood to it with impunity.' 'At Prague, that populous and dirty place,' noted the Huguenot Prince de Rohan in 1600, 'there is no German sect of which one cannot find some trace.' After the 1520s little religious violence broke out and serious persecution was very rare throughout the century, Ferdinand's attack on the Bohemian Brethren for a few years from 1547 being the clearest case. The traditional Catholic edifice still stood, partly because it enjoyed the protection of the dynasty, more importantly because no single Protestant group had the strength or organization to replace it.¹⁵

Maximilian himself was 'remembered as a tolerant ruler who early in life so favoured the Lutherans as to be suspected of apostasy' and he patronised 'a court which, in its composition and mentality, represented the very image of educated moderation'.¹⁶ This atmosphere of toleration and learning undoubtedly impressed Dee during his earlier Continental journey for he dedicated his Monas hieroglyphica to Maximilian and travelled to Presburg to present him with a copy. In 1583 the Emperor was Rudolf II, who had by then moved the seat of his government from Vienna to Prague, and whose court was famous as a centre of alchemy, the court of William Rosenberg being a close second. If Dee was looking for a part of the world where the first seeds of the new age might grow, the Habsburg Empire might well have seemed to provide the most fertile soil. England, as he pointed out in General and Rare

Memorials, had missed many chances of becoming a centre of a new commonwealth, and had not provided him with the recognition that he sought. There is also a crucial piece of evidence noted by R.J.W. Evans that Dee had from an early time seen the Habsburg Empire as an important centre in the prophesied changes: Evans points to Dee's hand-written entries in his own copy of a prognostic almanac De coniunctionibus magnis insignioribus superiorum planetarum (Lauingen 1564) by the Czech astrologer Cyprian Leowitz:

The book contained a series of prophecies about events to be expected from 1564 to 1584; Dee evidently bought it at the time, and it is striking how he has underlined especially those passages connected with Habsburg or Bohemian history. Leowitz himself forecast some violent change to coincide with the new trigon which would enter the heavens in 1584, and he was very probably a personal acquaintance of Dee's. Besides being well known to his contemporaries in England and abroad he was the author of a tract on the casting of horoscopes to which Dee had appended one of his published works in 1558.¹⁷

When the angels' prophecies confirmed those that had been made by Brahe, Leowitz, and others, Dee's eyes must have turned towards Bohemia and the arrival of Albert Lasky may have seemed something more than mere chance.

Lasky was soon permitted to attend the Actions and for a time was given a central part to play in the coming of the new age. He was to be 'an arme vnto [God's] chosen' and when a reply was sought to Lasky's questions of whether he might succeed Stephen Bathory as King of Poland and/or gain the throne of Moldavia,¹⁸ Raphael declared that 'the Lord hath sayd: Thow shalt gouern a people: a time there is, which is prefixed: and it is the course of the sonne: Then shall it be sayd vnto him, O King' (fol. 107b). Subsequently the prophecy is extended to cover rule over twenty-one kingdoms (TFR, p. 17), and on 26 June 1583 Lasky was told in his own presence that he would have the kingdoms of both Poland

and Moldavia. A year later Lasky had fallen from angelic favour because of an unwillingness to turn wholeheartedly towards God, although the relationship with Dee was not entirely broken. By August 1584 the Emperor Rudolf was chosen to be exalted, if he would listen to God's word transmitted through the angels and Dee and Kelly (TFR, p. 220) but Rudolf's toleration of Dee's activities soon became strained and by 28 February 1585, two months before Rudolf finally expelled Dee and his company, the angels were promising Rudolf's destruction and the placing of King Stephen in his stead (TFR, pp. 380-381). The angels do seem to favour whomever seemed at the time to offer most hope of lucrative patronage to Dee and Kelly. The reasons for Rudolf's tiring of Dee's presence are made clear by a passage R.J.W. Evans cites from the Lutheran leader Budovec:

A learned and renowned Englishman whose name was Doctor De: came to Prague to see the Emperor Rudolf II and was at first well received by him; he predicted that a miraculous reformation would presently come about in the Christian world and would prove the ruin not only of the City of Constantinople but of Rome also. These predictions he did not cease to spread among the populace.¹⁹

Dee had set out for Bohemia with Lasky confident in the truth of the angels' prophecies and with a strong sense of a missionary purpose that would be justified by subsequent events. As it turned out he just became an embarrassment to be moved on while Kelly, who claimed the secret of the Philosophers' Stone, became someone worth holding on to, even if imprisonment was the surest means of keeping him.

Curiously the fortune attendant upon Dee in his pursual of the new age prophesied by the Actions is almost foretold by a passage in his 'Preface' to Euclid:

Diuine Plato, the great Master of many worthy Philosophers, and the constant auoucher and pithy perswader of Vnum, Bonum, and Ens: in his Schole and Academie, sundry times (besides his ordinary Scholers) was visited of a certaine kind of man, allured by the noble fame of Plato, and the great commendation of hys profound and profitable doctrine. But when such Hearers, after long harkening to him, perceaued, that the drift of his discourses issued out, to conclude, this Vnum, Bonum and Ens, to be Spirituall, Infinite, Aeternal, Omnipotent, &c. Nothyng beyng alledged or expressed, How, worldly goods: how worldly dignitie: how, health, strēgth or lustines of body: nor yet the meanes, how a merueilous sensible and bodyly blysse and felicitie hereafter, might be atteyned: Straightway, the fantasies of those hearers, were damp't. (sig. 4r)

Fortified by the frequently Neo-Platonic utterances of the angels who categorically state that all things are one ('Omnia vnum est', fol. 21a), Dee saw himself almost as a new and Christian Plato who could dispense to the world a wisdom and knowledge that was not even revealed to Plato himself. Unfortunately his hearers did not want the 'Spirituall, Infinite, Aeternal, Omnipotent' but rather those things that make up material success and happiness, and unlike Plato's visitors these men were in positions of power. Dee was not himself without a certain desire for materialistic welfare, but he saw this as both necessary for his search into the secrets of nature and attendant upon his Christian mission. Plato was not a hermit living sparsely in some cave; as a dispenser of God's wisdom Dee foresaw for himself a position of respected elevation. There is something pathetic in the degradation of his final years.

1. See Preface, sigs Alv-A2r; GRM, sigs Δ. 1r-e*4r; CR, pp. 20-38, and the Discourse Apologeticall.
2. All such digging came under the heading of mining rights and so had to be licensed.
3. Aubrey, Letters Written by Eminent Persons, II pt. 1, p. 312.
4. See Fell Smith, John Dee, p. 193.
5. Tycho Brahe, Learned: Tico Brahae his Astronomicall Coniectur of the New and Much Admired [Star] which Appered in the Year 1572 (London 1632), facsimile edition, The English Experience number 86, (Amsterdam and New York 1969), p. 15.
6. See Guillaume Postel, Le Thresor des Prophéties de L'Univers, edited by François Secret (The Hague 1969) and Calder, I, 789-791.
7. For a detailed study of Dee's imperialist ideas, see E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography, 1485-1583 (London 1930), pp. 75-139, and Peter French, John Dee, pp. 183-199.
8. This treatise is now BM Cotton Charter XIII, art. 39.
9. For Bruno's religious ideals, see Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London and Chicago 1964), pp. 205-359.
10. Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 245.
11. The Nuncio was Germanus or Germanicus Malaspina, Bishop of San Severo from 27 April 1583 until his death in 1604.
12. Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 237.
13. Dee wrote a letter to Burghley on 22 August 1589 proclaiming the treachery of a Jesuit named Parkins, but the letter shows no intrinsic antipathy towards the Jesuit order (Lansdowne MS 61, art. 58, fol. 159).
14. R.J.W. Evans, The Making of the Habsburg Monarchies, 1550-1780 (Oxford 1979), p. 11.
15. R.J.W. Evans, ibid, p. 13.
16. R.J. W. Evans, ibid, pp. 19-20.
17. R.J.W. Evans, Rudolf II and his World (Oxford 1973), p. 221.
18. Stephen Bathory, Prince of Transylvania was elected to the Polish throne in 1575. On his death in 1586 there were many quarrels as to who should succeed to the throne the election eventually falling upon a Swedish prince who took the title of Sigismund III. Moldavia lies in the north-east part of Roumania and between 1561 and 1563 was ruled by the voivode Jakob Basilikos who had the

'tacit support of Maximilian II, the full co-operation of the Zborowskis and Albrecht Łaski in Poland' in the introduction of Utopian reforms (R.J.W. Evans, Rudolf II, p. 108). Basilikos was murdered in 1563 and voivodes were created and deposed in rapid succession by the Ottoman Divan, but in 1600 the country was annexed to the 'Great Dacian' realm of Michael the Brave in Walachia.

19. R.J.W. Evans, Rudolf II, p. 245. To this may be added a comment in a letter from Arthur de Champernon to Walsingham dated 19 June 1584 (O.S.) and sent from Prague: 'I found an Englishman with his family at Cracow, called Mr. Dee, who, as is said, has followed Laski, quitting a certain estate for uncertain hope. It is to be feared that he will repent of it at leisure' (Calendar of State Papers: Foreign, 1583-1584, p. 558).

CONCLUSION

In his five volume collection of the writings of Elias Ashmole C.H. Josten commented of Dee's magical manuscripts:

The significance of many details, especially of the diagrams, in the manuscripts is not easily understood, and it may be said here that a future biographer of John Dee will have a difficult task in eliciting from these papers an account of the precise nature and methods of the magical system to which they refer.
(I, 186)

Since Josten made that remark there has appeared Peter French's well-documented study of Dee, but necessarily the details of Dee's magical dealings are subordinated to the study of the whole man. What I have attempted to do in this thesis is to provide the first step towards an account of the precise nature of the magical system of the Actions with spirits, but the task is by no means completed. When Dee undertook his Continental journey the system with the 49 spirits was superseded by the system based upon the roles and powers of the 30 'Aethyrs', to which the three manuscripts besides De heptarchia mystica that were discovered at the same time as Sloane MS 3188 belong. Little has been done to illuminate the darkness of this later magical system, from which other surviving artifacts, such as an engraved gold disc in the British Museum, arise.

In providing this transcript of Sloane MS 3188 with an introduction and commentary I have had two principal aims: one was to provide a transcript of a manuscript that must be read by anyone wishing to study Dee's life and which is consequently showing some signs of deterioration; the other has been to explain as far as possible the obscurities of the contents of that manuscript. Those more versed in the complexities of Renaissance occult philosophy will see influences and sources where I have seen none, but it has not been my aim to judge the place of Dee's magical

dealings within the context of the whole of Renaissance occult philosophy. I.R.F. Calder's thesis 'John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist' is still the major work on that subject, to which must be added the important research contained in the many books of Frances Yates. What I have tried to do, however, is to provide an intelligible background to the manuscript, both in terms of the generalities of Renaissance magical thought and in terms of the art of scrying.

In time evidence may come to light which proves or disproves my hypothesis of the provenance of the manuscript. Its appearance in the Sloane collection is puzzling and I would like to be certain of the answer. It is also possible that in time new information concerning the lives of Dee and Kelly may appear, perhaps from records and documents pertaining to the Court of Rudolf II, although a letter from Dr. Miro Velinský of the State Library of Prague assures me that their 'specialists reported that they know of no manuscript, written by or relating to the above mentioned authors, which could be found on the territory of Czechoslovakia'. Yet the heart of my study has always been the manuscript itself and the elucidation of the magical system it contains and I hope that all suggestions of optical fraud or cryptography may now safely be dispelled and that the nature of the surviving magical instruments may now be more fully understood.

Any detailed study of the magic of the Actions with spirits is as much a study of Edward Kelly as of John Dee. It is in the chapters giving the background to Renaissance magic and the practice of scrying and advancing the case that one of the strongest motives for Dee's involvement was his adherence to the belief that a new age was soon to dawn (itself a subject for a thesis) that I hope I

have gone some way towards answering the questions posed by the manuscript's very existence—in particular the question as to what it was that bound Dee, who knew and corresponded with so many learned men, to this strange and volatile man from Worcestershire. Amidst all the turmoil of their relationship Kelly represented to Dee the hope that his most cherished dream might come true, a hope that Dee felt no other source was able to offer.

COMMENTARY

fol. 2a.

(Folios 2a-3a are in Ashmole's hand).

1) 20th]

The use of a colon in abbreviations was common during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see Samuel A. Tannenbaum, The Handwriting of the Renaissance (republished New York 1967), p. 142).

2) Samuel Story]

Story remained in Ashmole's service until the latter's death and was employed as clerk in the office of the Comptroller of Excise. He is referred to in Ashmole's will as 'My Cosen Samuel Story' (see Elias Ashmole, His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work, edited by C.H. Josten, 5 vols (Oxford 1966), I, 161 and IV, 1800, 1832 & 1892).

4) vizt]

An abbreviated form of 'videlicet'.

5) w^{ch}]

'which'.

22th]

The superior 'th' derives from the reading of the ordinal as 'the two and twentieth' (Tannenbaum, p. 154).

an^o]

'anno'.

6) 1583.]

A period before and after both Roman and Arabic numerals was common practice (Tannenbaum, p. 141), although Ashmole generally omits the preceding period.

7) printed Booke]

A True and Faithful Relation of what passed for Many Yeers between Dr: John Dee...and Some Spirits, edited by Meric Casaubon (London 1659). Ashmole's own copy is Bodleian Ashmole MS 580 and bears signs of collation with the original manuscripts, which were in the Cotton library, and with Casaubon's own copy which is now in the Bodleian Library (shelf mark D. 8. 14 art).

8) Cawsabon]

Casaubon's name is sometimes found in the form of Causabon. The use of 'w' for 'u' is rare in Ashmole's writings, though very common in Dee's.

9) The erasure may be a superior 'ch', since the preceding ampersand is blotted and appears to be partly over another letter. Ashmole may first have written 'w^{ch}', but then realised that this suggested that the later conferences were 'bound vp in this Volume'. He then substituted the ampersand. Lines 1-9 are still ungrammatical, however, and although 'and which' would help to solve the problem, the sentence would have benefited from a total reorganisation.

10-21) 48 Claues angelicae, Liber scientiae auxilii et victoriae terrestres (as Dee entitled the work), De heptarchia mystica,

and the book of calls, Tabula bonorum angelorum invocationes are now BM Sloane MS 3191. Their significance is discussed in chapter V of this thesis. Ashmole's title of Liber scientia terrestris auxilii et victoria is unintelligible and he appears to be writing from memory.

12-16) See TFR pp. 418-419. The papers of 10 April 1586 in which the command to burn the books was given are entitled Praefatio Latina in actionem and are now Ashmole MS 1790, Art. 1. An English translation is entitled 'An Unknown Chapter in the Life of John Dee', edited by C. H. Josten, JWCI, XVIII (1965), 223-257.

13) ~~comanded~~^{ff}]

A contraction of 'commanded'.

14) The crosses refer to the marginal note.

19-20) Squares...Cross]

See Sloane MS 3191, fols 53b-54a.

24) William Lilly, the astrologer, who was born on 30 April 1602 at Diseworth in Leicestershire and died at Hersham, near Walton-on-Thames, on 9 June 1681, having moved there permanently in October 1665 (DNB).

25) freind]

'friend'. The form appears again at line 25 on folio 2b and similar inversions of 'i' and 'e' occur quite frequently in Dee's manuscript (e.g. 7a, 27).

Thomas Wale]

I have not been able to uncover any further information

concerning Wale than Ashmole gives here.

26) Ma:^{ties}]

'Majesty's.'

fol. 2b.

2) Ashmole was appointed Commissioner of Excise at Lichfield in 1644 and then at Worcester in 1645. After the Restoration he became successively Comptroller and Accountant-General of Excise (DNB).

3) Broadstreete]

Now Old Broad Street, leading off Threadneedle Street.
exchang]

Absence of a final 'e' is quite common in manuscript material of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

5) This work was first printed in 1672 by J. Macock for Nathaniel Brooke. It brought Ashmole a considerable amount of fame and the King's favour.

9) s:^d]

'said'.

14) M:^r Jones]

I have discovered no information on Mr. Jones beyond what Ashmole gives here.

15) Lumbardstreet]

Lombard Street, by the Royal Exchange.

17) Adle Streete]

Addle Street is off Wood Street by London Wall and lies close to both Lombard Street and Old Broad Street.

19) It is possible that this chest may have been used to transport all the angelic instruments, such as the Holy Table and its frame, during Dee's travels abroad. The measurements given show that it is not the same as the box in which Dee brought all his papers to be burnt on 10 April 1586 (Josten, 'An Unknown Chapter', p. 249).

22) ben]

'been'.

23) John Woodall]

John Woodall (1556-1643) lived in Wood Street after returning from abroad and worked hard to cure the plague in 1603. On 30 September 1641 he was appointed Examiner of Surgeons. He died leaving a daughter and three sons (DNB). For his influence and work see A. G. Debus, 'Woodall, Paracelsian Surgeon', Ambix X (1962) and G. L. Keynes, 'Woodall, Surgeon', Journal of the Royal College of Physicians II (1967).

23-25) The confusion over parentheses in these lines is unremarkable in manuscript material.

26) probabble]

A manuscript error rather than a conscious spelling, this orthography not being found in the OED.

27) It is unlikely that the chest would have been sold before Dee's death considering what Dee knew it contained, although some books from his library were disposed of by his daughter Katherine during his final years (Smith MS 95, fol. 131a, and Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 149a). Had she been aware that the chest contained her father's dearest possessions, Katherine would not have sold it, and were she unaware, it is hard to believe she would have disposed of it when more money could be obtained from her father's books.

MN7) Sence]

'Sense', i.e. Ashmole's sense of Mr. Wale's kindness.

80^l p Anūm]

Eighty pounds per annum.

fol. 3a.

1) John Woodall died in September 1643 and so if Ashmole is correct in saying that the discovery was made four years before the Fire of London (September 1666), the chest must have been purchased not more than nineteen years before the secret papers were found. Alternatively the papers were discovered in 1663, three years before the Fire, but twenty years after Woodall's death and the sale of his goods.

5-6) Box or Till]

'Box' refers to an open container space and 'till' is generally used to refer to a small compartment or drawer (OED). The chest was therefore probably divided into compartments, under which the secret drawer lay.

12-13) Chaplet...Cross]

There is no reference in any of Dee's writings to these articles, although they are customary properties of a natural and Christian magician. According to Agrippa the olive tree holds occult lunar properties (Occ. Phil. I, xxiv, p. 54), whereas cedar wood, of which the chest was made, holds solarian properties (Occ. Phil. I, xxiii, p. 52).

- 17) An elementary culinary practice to prevent the pastry adhering to the container in which it is baked. Concerning missing papers see Introduction pp. 10-15.

21) hapned]

'happened'.

- 24) Moorfields is just to the north of London Wall and quite close to Lombard Street.

fol. 4a.

5) + 1 +]

The numeral 1, indicating the first book.

fol. 5a.

- 1-42) Besides my other extemporary prayers and more vehement cries to God, this one [following] was used most often. I would say my morning and evening prayers asking for wisdom. In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Almighty, eternal, true and living God, reach down to help me: Lord of Lords, King of Kings, Lord God of Hosts,

hasten to my aid. Glory be to God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, for ever and ever. Amen. Teach me (O creator of all things) to have correct knowledge and understanding, for your wisdom is all that I desire. Speak your word in my ear (O creator of all things) and set your wisdom in my heart. O Lord Jesus Christ (who art the true wisdom of your eternal and almighty father), I most humbly beg your divine majesty that you deem it fitting to send me the speedy help of some pious wise man and skilled philosopher for understanding and perfecting most fully those things which will be of greatest worth in the increase of your praise and glory. And if no such mortal man is now living upon the earth who may be fit for this task, or who may have been assigned by your eternal providence to the performing of that service for me, then truly I most humbly, most ardently and most faithfully beg your divine majesty to deem it fitting to send me from the heavens your good spiritual ministers and angels, namely Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel: and (by your divine favour) whatsoever other true and faithful angels of yours, who may fully and perfectly inform and instruct me in the true and exact knowledge and understanding of your mysteries and great works (concerning all your creatures, their natural properties and best employments) and of such things as are necessary for we mortals to know, to the praise, honour and glory of your name, to my firm consolation and (through me) the consolation of the greatest number of your faithful [servants], and to the confusion and overthrow of your enemies. May this be done [through the names of] Jehovah Zebaoth, Adonai and Elohim. O blessed, most blessed and almighty Trinity, grant to me (John Dee) this petition

in such manner as will most greatly please you. Amen.

From the year 1579 in approximately this manner, in Latin or English (and furthermore in another singular and particular manner around the year 1569, sometimes for Raphael and sometimes for Michael) it was most pleasing to me to pour forth prayers to God. May God grant his wonderful mercy to me. Amen.

4) Oro]

A contraction for 'oravero'.

Vespertinaq]
K

'Vespertinaque'. It is unlikely that 'matutina' and 'vespertina' refer specifically to the services of matins and vespers, although Dee's morning and evening prayers probably contained part of these services. These two words occur in several places in the Vulgate Bible (see Psalm CXL, 2, and Exodus XIV, 24) but were also used in the Rule of St. Benedict (see Ch. XIII, 12). From these two uses the words passed into common usage among the monastic writers, but referring to the specific morning and evening services. Anyone familiar with the monastic life as it was lived in England until 1540 would naturally associate the words with the set services, but Dee was not a strict adherent to any of the orthodox churches. Furthermore he states that the prayers are for wisdom, which suggests that he had to some extent devised his own prayers, in the manner of that given here. For these reasons I have translated the words as 'morning and evening prayers', feeling that this conveys the true sense of Dee's usage.

8) Jehouah Zebaoth]

'Lord God of Hosts' is the translation accorded to this name by the Authorised version of the Bible.

11) semp]

'semper'.

saeculorū]

'saeculorum'.

12) ô rerum oīm]

'oh rerum omnium'.

12-14) Recte...fige]

These sentences are frequently repeated in later Actions as justification for the angelic conferences (see for instance 7a, 49-50).

22) Dee requests the help of angels 'very humbly' (humilime),

but it is plain that he believes that no-one on earth may help him despite his plea between lines 15 and 19.

His pride in believing himself to have reached the outer boundaries of mortal knowledge is apparent.

25) Concerning the offices of these angels see Commentary to fol. 6b and Introduction p. 117.

30) noīs]

'nominis'.

33-34) Adonay, Elohim]

The names used by the Jews to avoid pronouncing the

Tetragrammaton, translated as 'Lord' and 'God' respectively in the Authorised version of the Bible.

39) Concerning Dee's early scrying experiments, see Introduction pp. 49-54.

fol. 6a. (This page is written in a normal fashion from left to right, but I have reproduced it horizontally in order to demonstrate the spatial relationships of the notes).

1-5) Angelus...praedominans]

'The angel or intelligence^{now} governing the whole world'.

Dee notes on fol. 8b that Annael is the governor 'of this great period', by which he means that Annael governs the period of world history in which Dee lived. Over each period there ruled a different angel. Concerning these world cycles and their governors see Commentary to 8b, 26 and Introduction pp. 161-165.

Etymologia...Misericors]

'Etymology: the favoured [or] wretched mercy of God', i.e. the mercy of God shown to both the elect and the sinner.

6-10) 4. Angeli...Quaternarij]

'4 angels presiding over the four corners of the heavens, as Agrippa notes in the scale of four'. Agrippa's discussion of numbers in De occulta philosophia involves scales or tables in which each number is explained in terms of its significance in the various levels of creation (Opera I, pp. 157-200). For instance the names of God, Jehovah Zebaoth and Elohim (see 5a, 8 & 34) belong respectively to the scales of nine and five.

11) Etymologiae]

Michael: The etymology of Fortitudo Dei ('the strength of God') follows Agrippa (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv), although the Hebrew is more often translated as 'who is as God' (see Davidson, Dictionary of Angels).

Gabriel: Dee gives an etymology of 'the growing power, or the mightiness, or the increasing strength of God'. Agrippa gives 'the virtue of God' (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv) whereas the Hebrew is generally translated as 'man of God' or 'God is my strength' (see Commentary to 11b, 16).

Raphael: 'The medicine of God' in accordance with Agrippa (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv).

Uriel: 'Light of God' (not defined by Agrippa).

16) $\aleph \aleph \aleph$ et $\aleph \aleph \aleph$]

ANA & ANAH

17) \overline{coe}]

cognomine?

16-18) 'Anna, and Annah, is a particle of a suppliant and confessor. By this root [cognomine], it may be seen without absurdity to mean God of supplication and confession'.

According to later etymology Anna is a combination of AH and AN and is a supplicatory interjection, whose use may be seen in the Hebrew in Psalm CXVIII, 25 and Genesis I,3. It is variously translated as 'I beseech thee' and 'I pray thee now'.

fol. 7a.

1-2) The folio is torn at the top left hand corner and what these words were is not at all clear.

3-4) 'A faithful protestation to almighty God [and] to the perpetual memory of [this] matter, anno 1582'.

7-8) truthes naturall and artificiall]

In the Preface Dee divides the world into the supernatural, the natural and the mathematical, defining the natural as that which is 'materiall, compounded, diuisible, corruptible, and chaungeable' and perceived by the exterior senses (sig. 3v). Dee is searching for greater truths than those which the five senses can provide and his terminology here is that of the corpus of 'natural philosophy', largely gathered together by Agrippa. Natural truths are those of the world as God created it and include all occult properties and influences which Agrippa defined as having much form and little matter (Occ. Phil. I, x, p. 24). Artificial truths are those that arise from the combining of natural properties in a way that does not occur in the world under ordinary circumstances, except through the agency of man. Whereas one might learn natural truths by studying the properties, both visible and occult, of say mercury and sulphur, the lesson learned from heating them together to form mercuric sulphide would be an artificial truth.

9) frame of the world]

A common phrase. See for instance 'this goodly frame the earth' which Hamlet finds so sterile (Cambridge edition, ed. Dover Wilson, II, ii, 302).

10) Talent]

'Power' rather than 'ability'.

11) brethern and Sistern]

Obsolete forms of 'brethren' and 'sisters' (OED).

ō]

'our'.

13) languagis]

'Languages'. The 'is' plural instead of 'es' is quite frequent in Dee's writing.

sundry men]

See A Compendious Rehearsal pp. 6-8 where Dee lists many of his foreign acquaintances, all of considerable standing in the intellectual world.

14) discourse]

'Understanding'.

15) ynckling]

'Inkling'.

glyms]

'Glimpse'.

20) Enoch]

The biblical statement that Enoch 'walked with God' (Genesis V, 22 & 24) was taken to mean that Enoch communicated directly with God and his angels. This gave rise to many apocryphal books and Agrippa complained that in his day ^{books} were 'published up and down, under the feigned

Titles and Names of Adam, Abel, Enoch, Abraham, and Solomon' (Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, tr. Ja[mes] San[ford] (London 1569), pp. 116-117).

What we now know as the Book of Enoch disappeared sometime after being last referred to by George Syncellus in his Chronography around A.D. 800 and was not rediscovered until Bruce brought back an Ethiopic version found in Abyssinia in 1773 (The Book of Enoch, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford 1893), pp. 1-2). The disappearance accounts for the revelations of the square tables of numbers and letters by the angels being proposed as the lost Book of Enoch.

Moyses]

Moses saw God many times in various forms, as in the burning bush (Exodus, III) and in fire on Mount Sinai (Exodus XIX, 18), but also 'face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend' in the tabernacle (Exodus XXXIII, 11).

21) Abraham]

Abraham was prevented from sacrificing his son by the voice of an angel speaking from heaven (Genesis XXII, 11), but also saw God before the destruction of Sodom when 'three men' came to his tent (Genesis XVIII). These three men are traditionally identified as Michael, Gabriel and Raphael.

Isaac]

See Genesis XXVI, 2, when 'the Lord appeared unto him, and said, Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of'. Isaac is visited again that same night (verse 24).

Jacob]

Apart from the vision of the ladder (Genesis XXVIII, 12), Jacob meets God's angels at a place he later called Mahanaim (Genesis XXXII, 1-2) and wrestles with an angel at the place he later named Peniel (Genesis XXXII, 24). In The Zohar (Vayishlah 170b) this latter antagonist is identified as Samael ('God's venom') who is often taken to be the Angel of Death.

22) Josua]

Joshua, whom God frequently instructs, although no angelic visitors are specifically recorded in the Bible.

Gedeon]

Gideon was called to the leadership of Israel by an angel who 'sat under an oak' (Judges VI, 11).

Esdras]

Esdras saw a company of righteous souls surrounding the Son of God (II Esdras II, 42-48) and was shown many prophetic visions by Uriel (see II Esdras, IV, 1; V, 31; X, 28-29).

Daniel]

On being discovered still alive in the lions' den, Daniel informed King Darius that 'my God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me' (Daniel VI, 22). Daniel also saw Gabriel (Daniel IX, 21) and another with a face 'as the appearance of lightning' (Daniel X, 5-6).

Tobias]

Tobias was accompanied by the angel Raphael on his journey to Rages in Media, the angel assuming the name of Azarias.

sundry other]

Lot was warned by two angels to leave Sodom before its destruction (Genesis XIX) and Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego

were saved from hurt in the furnace by one 'like the Son of God' (Daniel III, 25). Samson's parents were foretold of his birth by a visiting angel (Judges XIII, 19-21).

23) disposition]

See Acts VII, 53, where the people are said to 'have received the law by the disposition of angels'.

24-25) Biblical appearances of angels are generally for the purpose of preserving life and foretelling future events. These are worldly but hardly domestic affairs, although the for telling of future births, such as of Isaac to Sarah (Genesis XVIII, 10), may be grouped under this latter title. Even when a prophet answers such domestic questions as the whereabouts of Kish's asses (I Samuel IX, 20), an ulterior motive is present, in this case the anointing of Saul as King of Israel.

26-27) The high priests of Israel are supposed to have used the stones of the breastplate described in Exodus XXVIII for divinatory purposes (see M. Gaster, 'Jewish Divination', Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 12 vols (Edinburgh 1908-1921), pp. 806-814).

27) preists]

'priests'.

29-30) prophets...Seers]

See I Samuel IX, 9: '(Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer:

for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer)'.

31) aeronomicall]

This word is not in the OED, but presumably derives from aer, 'air', and numen, 'divine will or power', and therefore means 'of celestial and divine origin', proceeding from the breath (or word?) of God.

Samuel, for Saul]

See I Samuel IX.

32-33) See I Samuel X.

35) Cis]

Kish in the Authorised version.

36) god]

'good'.

37-38) Epistle of James I, 5: 'si quis autem vestrum indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo, qui dat omnibus affluenter, et non impropere: et dabitur ei' (Vulgate); 'if any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him' (Authorised).

38) Salomon]

Solomon (see I Kings III, 5-12). Ashmole notes at this point: 'Solomons wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East Country & all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men, than Ethan the Ezrahite, & Heman, & Chalcol, & Darda the sons of Mahol. 1 Kings. Cap 4 30' (Sloane MS 3677, 8b).

40-41) See Job XXVIII, 12-13: 'But where shall wisdom be found?
and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not
the price thereof; neither is it found in the land of the
living'.

42) mediatel]y]
through an intermediary.
immediatel]y]
without an intermediary.

44) wetingly]
'knowingly'.

46) the]
'thee', a common form in Dee's writings.

47) mann^os]
A contraction of 'manners'.

48) Mittas...ducant]
'May you send your light and truth to lead me'. This echoes
Psalm XLIII, 3: 'Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam: ipsa
me deduxerunt, et adduxerunt in montem sanctum' (Vulgate);
'O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me; let
them bring me unto thy holy hill' (Authorised).
que]
'quae' (see Tannenbaum p. 40).

48-49) See 5a, 12-14.

fol. 7b.

1) some]

A contraction of the obsolete form 'somme' (OED).

2) two diuerse persons]

See Introduction pp. 52-54.

4) one]

Barnabas Saul (see Introduction pp.49-51)

12) mann]

A contraction of 'manner'.

15-16) 'The Conjurers great art, and industrie, is not so much
in raising up a spirit, as in commaunding him downe againe'
(Samuel Harsnett, A Declaration of Egregious Popish
Impostures (1603), pp. 17-18).

16) vnhard]

'unheard'.

19) kingly prophet]

David.

20) Castra...eum]

'The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that
fear him' (Psalm XXXIV, 7).

23-25) The English translation, Frier Bacon his Discovery of
the Miracles of Nature, and Magick (London 1659) reads:
'without all question the way is incomparably more easie

to obtain any thing, that is truly good for men, of God, or good angels, then of wicked Spirits' (pp. 3-4). This edition bears the notice on the title-page that it has been 'faithfully translated out of Dr Dees own copy, by T.M.'

28) preistly]

'In a priestly manner', a rare adverbial use (OED).

29) pceyve]

'perceive'.

31) here]

'hear'.

35) premisses]

The premisses implied in the visitation of angels to the Patriarchs, namely that God does not disdain to communicate with man through spirits.

38) imptinent]

'impertinent'.

39) This is probably not the very last Action with Saul, since he did not leave Dee's service until 6 March 1582 (Diary).

42) eridition]

'erudition'.

MN24) 'Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron' (Authorised, II Kings I, 4). Dee's reference of the fourth book of Kings

stems from the earlier naming of the first and second books of Samuel as the first and second books of Kings, and the present first and second books of Kings as the third and fourth books.

fol 8a.

1) Mane]

'In the morning'.

6) Chrystaline Globe]

Concerning Dee's various show-stones see Introduction pp.137-141.

11-14) The angel which Daniel saw in one of his visions is described as being 'girdled with fine gold of Vphaz', having a face 'as the appearance of lightning' and eyes 'as lamps of fire' (Daniel X, 5-6).

14-16) It is unlikely that Saul would be well versed in Hebrew, for even Dee confessed to finding the language troublesome (21b, 43).

19) a white dog]

The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy says that spirits of Mercury can appear in the form of a dog, but Annael has no connection with Mercury, being instead a governor of Venus, and so the significance of this apparition is not clear.

22,-24) he...hearing]

Dee frequently emphasises the fact that he himself hears and sees nothing.

22-26) 'In the name of Jesus Christ, who are you?'

'All power is given to me'.

'What [powers]?'

'Good and evil'.

27) M.G.]

The letters are 7mm high.

28) de Thesauro abscondito]

'Concerning the hidden treasure'. It seems that a promise of discovering some hidden treasure must have been made in an earlier Action with Saul, as it was to be made later in an Action with Kelly (see 86b ff.), and the letters M.G. probably refer to this in some way, since they appear to prompt Dee's question. They may be the initials of a person concerned (although the Diary does not list such) or of a place where the treasure was supposed to be concealed.

30) 'Do not worry, for these [questions] are of no value'.

31) skulls]

The significance of this apparition is unclear. It may be connected with the hidden treasure in some obscure way.

34-36) 'Where is your power?'

'Why do you ask about any power of mine?'

'Why? I have indicated, it does not please me'.

36) Signifi]

A contraction of 'significavi'?

37) the stone in the frame]

Not the same as the 'Chrystaline Globe' (see Introduction pp. 137-8).

39-41) 'Is any good angel assigned to this show-stone?'

'Yes'.

'Who?'

42) מִיכָאֵל]

'Michael'. Dee uses 3 for mim, but I have changed this to the more usual מ . Although Saul knew little or no Hebrew, the name could be learned from Agrippa. Dee may just have written it in Hebrew on hearing Saul pronounce the name, which had appeared in the Hebrew on the title-page of his General and Rare Memorials (1577).

43) 'Is that the good angel of whom mention is made in the Scriptures?' See Jude IX and Revelation XII, 7.

q]

'quo'.

44-46) 'Even he'.

'May it not be that I may see him and deal with him?'

'Yes'.

46) \mathcal{A}]

Annael states at line 47 that this is the character of another angel, but it is not one of the traditional signs and without the papers subsequent to this Action little progress can be made in deciphering it. It looks as though it is composed of letters from the alphabet. One might draw 'A, I, H, J, T' and possibly 'L' from the character, but there is no traditional angelic name that can be composed from these.

47-50) 'What do you wish to signify by this?'

'It is the character of another angel'.

'Why do you show it here and now?'

'For a great cause'.

Annael's last statement is typical of the many vague promises that Dee received in his angelic communications.

MN9) A constant problem during all Dee's Actions (see for instance 9a, MN49).

MN19) Since the rebinding of the MS by Sloane, many of Dee's original words which were obscured by Ashmole's binding have reappeared; hence the repetitions.

fol. 8b.

2) him that is assigned to the stone]

Michael.

the feast]

Christmas, three days after the Action took place.

3-4) These preparations and the admonition to secrecy are common throughout the angelic conferences,

5) Newyeres tyde]

In the Julian Calendar New Year began on 25 March, but Dee was already working upon his reformation of the calendar. Since references to dates as 'new style' do not occur until TFR, there is some doubt as to whether January 1st is being alluded to here, but it would be more likely that the Actions would be postponed for several days rather than for several months. Even with the Julian Calendar, January 1st was regarded as the beginning of the new year in many quarters at this time, and the inconsistencies of practice argued the need for calendar reform.

Deale]

A command to enter into a further Action.

9-10) Solarian influences were regarded as particularly beneficial in natural magic (see Occ. Phil. I, xxiii, pp. 50-63 and Introduction pp. 66-69).

14) In a later Action with Kelly a spirit named Hagonel declares: 'Banish wrath: yt was the first, and is the greatest commaundemēt' (see 50a, 45 & MN45).

to]

'too'.

15) Dee seems rather disappointed and it may be that in an earlier Action Annael promised to deliver matter of great

import, just as in this Action he has declared that great things will be shown to Dee, though by another angel.

18-19) 'Glory be to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, for ever and ever'.

24) *prepositus orbis veneris*]

'Governor of the planet Venus', as Agrippa notes, although using the alternative name of Haniel (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv, p. 414).

25-26) This reference is not to be found in what remains of Famous and Rich Discoveries and was probably in the suppressed 'secret centre' mentioned in General and Rare Memorials, which is dated from the year of the appearance of the new star in 1572 and Anno Mundi 5540 (sig. *3v). Trithemius assigned Gabriel as governing angel of this penultimate period of the world cycle of history (De septem secundeis fol. D3r) and not Annael as Dee states here. Later some doubt arises as to whether the chief governor is not rather a spirit named Baligon or sometimes Carmara (see 51a, 20-21 and MN21).

28-31) No such statement by Befafes (a spirit appearing in the Actions with Kelly) exists in the records of the Action of 20 November 1582 (55a-57b). This Action with Saul is declared to be the prologue by Carmara alias Baligon in the Action of 17 November 1582 (see 50a, MN45).

.. 9a.

3) '10 March, 11.15 a.m.'

4) Edward Talbôt]

Edward Kelly (see Introduction pp. 43-49).

5 shew]

'be shown'.

10) stone...frende]

The same as that set before Annael (8a, 37). There is no reference in Dee's writings as to whom the donor of this stone was.

12) Aliqui Angeli boni]

'some good angels'. Annael had said that Michael was answerable to the stone (8a, 42), but presumably in a later Action more angels were mentioned, unless it was the donor who first gave Dee this information. At lines 25-30 of this folio the angels Uriel, Michael and Raphael are said to be assigned to the stone.

13) Possibly the episode in the Diary (25 May 1581) when Dee looked in the crystal and saw (see Introduction p. 28).

13-15) Anchor,...Anachor and Anilos]

In Peter de Abano's Elementa Magica (contained in the Lyons edition of Agrippa's Opera) an invocation is given for use when dressing in the vestments of a magician which begins 'Ancor, Amacor, Amides, Theodonias, Anitor, per

merita angelorum tuorum sanctorum Domine' (Opera, p. 567).

Anitor and Anilos might be the same, mistaken either by Kelly misreading Abano, or by Abano mistaking his sources. Amacor could well be Dee's Anachor. The angels Ancor, Annasor, Anelos, Ansex and Amilos are to be found invoked in a scrying experiment contained in Sloane MS 3848 (fol. 3b), and so while a definite source for the names given here by Dee cannot be traced, they do seem to have a certain traditional flavour.

17) att]

'at'.

18) Dee's oratory was probably at the top of the house, as it was in his lodgings at Prague ('An Unknown Chapter', p. 240) and in most engravings of the houses of alchemists and philosophers.

20) Kelly generally saw visions in the stone within fifteen minutes of settling himself to the task.

30) Michael... nostris]

'Michael is the governor in our works'.

31) boke, of Soyga]

See Introduction pp. 146-147.

32) 'That book was revealed to Adam in Paradise by God's good angels'.

34) solus...interpretator]

'Only Michael is the interpreter of that book'.

35) Presumably this fact was revealed in an Action with Saul.

40) nr̄as]

'nostras'.

40-41) 'Request and ~~.invoke~~ our presence with sincerity and humility. Anchor, Anachor and Anilos are not to be called into this stone'.

44-45) 'These things are mostly to do with Michael. Michael is the angel who illuminates your steps. And these things are revealed in virtue and truth and not by force'.

47) Angels were believed to govern particular days and hours and therefore to respond to invocations in their hours and upon their particular day. A comprehensive list of the angels and their times is given in Abano's Elementa Magica (Agrippa, Opera, pp. 562-583). There was some dispute as to whether the hours were of equal length or diurnal and nocturnal.

49) 'Every hour is ours'.

MN49) The note indicates that Dee only regarded the spirit who gave the character (shown on fol 9b) as an illuding spirit. The Uriel of the Action preceding this moment is not doubted. Concerning the reference to the Appendix to

the fifth book see Commentary to 9b, MN3.

1. 9b.

- 1) The character measures 65mm along the top edge, 55 mm down the left side and 78mm along the hypoteneuse. None of the signs contained in the character corresponds to the customary seals or sigills of major angels and I have been unable to trace their origins, if they have any beyond Kelly's imagination.

3-4) 'This seal, engraved in gold and worn on the breast, [will act] in the defence of the body in every place and at every time and occasion'.

7) 'To God alone be all honour and glory'.

MN3) Dee raises the question of the truth of this character again in an Action of 29 April 1583 (96a, 38-44). The spirit Il says then that it is an 'Instrument appliable only to Dignification' and there is a reference back to this folio (designated by Dee as fol. 6). Then Il declares that 'the Character is fals and diuillish' (96b, 23) and proceeds to deliver another. In the Appendix to the fifth book the only reference in the two Actions of 5 May 1583 takes the form of the naming of Kelly's evil angel as Belmagel 'which hath followed [Kelly's] sowle from the beginning' (100b, 2).

20) the Seven psalmes]

The 'Penitential Psalms' which express sorrow for sin and a desire for pardon and number seven in all. They are

Psalms VI, XXXII, XXXVIII, LI, CII, CXXX and CXLI (VI, XXXI, XXXVII, L, CI, CXXIX and CXLII in the Vulgate). Pope Innocent III ordered their recitation during Lent.

sauours]

Spirits were invoked and celestial influences attracted by the use of perfumes as well as words (see Occ. Phil. IV, pp. 60-62).

21) with hand and hart]

Physically by burning the perfume and spiritually by bearing a sincere and amenable heart.

22) thorowgh]

'through'.

25) ioinctly]

'jointly'.

26) to_ugither]

Dee uses u as a hyphen and to join two words into one compound word.

- 30) The chair had first appeared while Uriel was informing Dee how Michael might be entreated (see MN15) and together with the table that appears at line 34, forms an integral part of the later Actions. Frequently Kelly sees the chair and table immediately, but the angels only after some time. To an extent the sight of the chair and table is hereafter a safeguard against illuding spirits, since being a seat of perfection (line 32), no evil spirit may abide it. The

danger remains however that evil spirits may counterfeit objects as well as spirits of goodness.

- 35) The table is apparently identical to the Holy Table that Dee was instructed to make (see Introduction pp.149-154).

fol. 10a.

- 1) This is the first command concerning the making of the Holy Table (see Introduction pp.149-154).

- 2) *Sigillum Dei*]

'The seal of God'. See Introduction pp. 118-123

- 5) perfect wax]

Wax purified by ritual as well as physically pure wax. The seal is made of undyed beeswax, which is purer than treated wax, but in magical processes all instruments and properties are cleansed by incantation, prayer and sometimes holy water.

- 6) no respect of cullours]

Uriel says that the characters on the sides of the table are to be written in yellow (line 28) and further commands indicate that the angels with whom Kelly was communicating were aware of colouration in the natural world. This phrase therefore probably means that no specific colours are required for this seal to be effective.

- 7-8) With a diameter of 9 inches the circumference would in fact be 28.278 inches. The figure of 27 'and somewhat more'

appears to have been reached by multiplying the diameter by three and regarding the result as less than true. In Billingsley's translation of Euclid's Elements of Geometry (1570) Dee appended the note that Archimedes' value of π as less than $3\frac{1}{7}$ and more than $3\frac{10}{71}$ had served well for practical purposes and 'who so is not contented, let his owne Methodicall travaile satisfie his desire: or let him procure other thereto' (fols 356b-357a). In De Architectura X, cap 14 Vitruvius used a value of $3\frac{1}{8}$, but the Renaissance offered a variety of values. Franco of Liege suggested $\frac{22}{7}$ while Tycho Brahe proposed $\frac{88}{\sqrt{485}}$, but the former was generally taken as sufficient for most purposes as appears by the works of Dominicus Parisiensis (1378), Albert of Saxony (c 1365) and Nicholas Cusa (c 1450) among others (David Eugene Smith, History of Mathematics, 2 vols (1923), II, 307). One would expect the angels to use at least a value of $3\frac{1}{7}$ and therefore arrive at a circumference of 28 inches and 'somewhat more' for the seal. The discrepancy of a whole inch furthers the argument of Dee being deceived by Kelly who evidently had a very rudimentary knowledge of mathematics. It is perhaps a little surprising that Dee makes no comment upon an inaccuracy of which he must have been aware.

- 11) The arms of the cross measure 56mm vertically and 57mm horizontally, with the longer crosspieces at the end of each arm being 5mm from each tip. The inner circle is 18mm in diameter.

The cross really comprises five crosses. Each arm itself forms a separate cross. The word AGLA is a common name of

divine power in the Middle Ages and Renaissance (see C. W. King, 'Talismans and Amulets: Mediaeval Talismans', Archaeological Journal XXVI (1869), pp. 225-235). The word is derived from the Hebrew Atha Gebir Leilam Adonai (King, p. 229), אֲתָהּ גִבּוֹר לְעוֹלָם אֲדֹנָי in Agrippa's account (Occ. Phil., III, ix, p. 335), which means 'Thou art mighty Lord for ever'.

- 12) The table was in fact $36\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $35\frac{7}{8}$ inches and stood on a frame $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. It was $\frac{7}{16}$ inches thick (Ashmole MS 1790, 55a-56a).
- 13) The two smaller seals in the British Museum measure 125mm ($4\frac{9}{16}$ inches) in diameter and are 20mm ($\frac{8}{16}$ of an inch) thick.
- 15) vttermost]
'outermost'.
- 19) four square]
Having four exactly equal sides (OED).
- 20) knops]
'Knops' or 'bosses, usually ornamental and hanging down' (OED).
- 25) See MN25 concerning the falsity of the characters which Dee was first given. They are not 'in a schedule annexed' as Dee claims at line 26; it was either removed by him on being told that they were false, or else it was bound at the end of the first book and perished with the

beginning of the second book.

27-28) In Ashmole's description of the Holy Table these letters around the border are said to be in red (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 55a).

30) The oyle, is perfect prayers]

'Oil' was frequently used metaphorically in the Bible, usually in association with gladness (see Psalm XLV, 7 and Isaiah LXI, 3). It is not specifically used as a metaphor for prayer, but the promise of Uriel that 'that oyle shalbe opened vnto you' faintly echoes the flowing of oil from rock that is afforded to God's chosen (Deuteronomy XXXII, 13 and Job XXIX, 6).

33) The diagram shows the Holy Table with the Sigillum Dei in the centre and the two farthest feet standing upon the smaller seals. The bottom of the page prohibited Dee from showing the seals on the foremost feet. The sides are labelled from the point of view of the magical operator, the designation in fronte ('in front') being furthest from him and iuxta pectus ('next to the chest') being closest to him (see also the diagram on 94b). The remaining two sides are designated 'on the left' and 'on the right'. The diagram correctly represents the basic parts of the Holy Table as it was made although the correct inscriptions were not obtained until much later (see 94b). See also Introduction pp. 149-154.

The rhombus of the diagram measures 45mm on all sides (hence the poor perspective) and the inner square marking the border measures 32mm on all sides. The circles representing the Sigillum Dei measure 17mm and 12mm in diameter respectively, while the circles representing the smaller seals are 10mm and 6mm in diameter. The rear right leg of the table measures 43mm and the rear left 5mm. The two front legs are both 36mm high and all the legs are 3mm wide.

MN2) 'Erroneously, to my ignorance; see later'. See 10b, 30-42, and 12b, 13-22. Whatever design for the seal that Dee was going to copy from an unspecified book, it was not that finally used, for the whole of the second book of this manuscript is devoted to instructions for making the seal which is represented on fol. 30a.

MN25) 'Beware, since an angel of darkness intruded himself here, as is demonstrated in the Appendix to the fifth book' (see Commentary to 9b, MN3).

fol 10b.

1) Lundrumguffa]

The name of this spirit seems peculiar to this manuscript.

3) Brymstone]

'Sulphur'. Agrippa notes that 'sulphur hath a place in Religions, to expiate ill Demons with the fume thereof', the element containing a 'naturall power thus to do', even

though the accompanying ritual might at first seem more important (Occ. Phil. III, lvii, p. 528). An example of the use of sulphur and assfoetida in a destructive ritual is to be found in the Key of Solomon (The Secret Lore of Magic, edited by Sayed Idries Shah (London 1957, reprinted 1974), p. 14).

4) thy dowghter]

Dee's daughter Katherine who was born on 7 June 1581.

- 5) Dee frequently records his pains and illnesses in his Diary, but there is no reference at this time to any aches. He did suffer badly from shoulder pains on 10 July 1581 and these continued for 14 days. It is possible that he may have felt some recurrence of this the night before the Action.

12) Maherion]

I have not found the name of this spirit elsewhere.

- 15) Robert Hilton came into Dee's service on 24 October 1581 and was perhaps the son of one John Hilton of Fulham from whom Dee borrowed £40 on 18 June 1577. Dee's servant George is not identified by surname in the Diary but left Dee's service on 7 July 1583.

- 19-20) See Tobit III, 17 and VIII, 3. Asmodeus 'fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him'.

22) a mean]

'A means' to dispose of the evil spirit.

24) the tyme of prayers]

The first of the Canonical Hours is Prime, ordained for
6 a.m.

25-26) Pri...sicut &c.]

See 8b, 18-19.

MN8) as it allso in the next action may appere]

See 10b, 37-11a, 5.

38) bet]

'beat'.

39) heary and owggly]

'hairy and ugly'.

fol. 11a.

3) ponished]

'punished'.

7) A 'K' is written underneath the 'T' of 'E.T.', thus shedding
some doubt about when Dee learned Kelly's real name (see
Introduction p. 12).

7-8) See Proverbs XXVIII, 10: 'Whoso causeth the righteous
to go astray in an evil way, he shall fall himself into
his own pit'. In Revelation IX, 1, it is stated that the
key to the Bottomless Pit is given to the fifth of the

seven angels of the presence. In Agrippa's Scala Septenarii the fifth angel is Haniel, alias Annael, (Occ. Phil. II, p. 187).

9) The superscribed erasure may be by Ashmole, if he had at first written 'sweat' and then decided it was unnecessary to do so.

11) an other]

This is Michael.

14) a sworde]

Michael is traditionally associated with a fiery sword with which he guards the gates of Eden.

16) roab]

'robe'.

21) the square Table]

The table shown in the stone (9b, 34).

26) seching]

'seeking'.

27) Frequent promises are made by the angels throughout this manuscript and in TFR that a new age is about to begin (see Introduction, chapter VI).

29) Michael is chief of the archangels, chief of the order of virtues, ruler of the fourth heaven, and generally the

mightiest of the angels in biblical and post-biblical lore (Davidson, Dictionary of Angels). Effectively he is second only to the Trinity.

32) Thow shalt see me]

It was a common belief in early times that to see God or one of his angels was to die. Jacob gave the name of Peniel, meaning 'the face of God', to the place where he wrestled with the angel and gave the reason: 'for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved' (Genesis XXXII, 30). Manoah, the father of Samson whose birth is foretold by an angel, declares to his wife 'we shall surely die, because we have seen God' (Judges XIII, 22). His wife however astutely observes that 'if the Lord were pleased to kill us', he would not 'have shewed us all these things' (Judges XIII, 23), and Michael's promise to Dee that the angel's presence will be visible is a sign of God's merciful favour.

34) Those that sowght thy life]

Evil spirits like Lundrungguffa.

37-39) 'Glory, praise, honour, virtue and power be to thee, immortal, invisible and omnipotent God, for ever and ever' (see I Timothy I, 17).

fol. 11b.

4) Dee is writing the notes that form the basis of this manuscript while seated at a desk near Kelly and the show-stone (see Introduction p. 16, note 1).

6) In each Action so far an illuding spirit has appeared.

10) Nariel]

This alternative is given in Occ. Phil., III, xxiv, p. 416.

See also Commentary to line 34 concerning the name 'Na'.

16) The angel Gabriel is here associated with 'the strength of God' (line 13) but this appellation is that given to Michael at fol. 6a (and in Occ. Phil., III, xxiv, p. 414). Dee attaches the name to Gabriel erroneously, as he points out in the marginal note to this line. Doubt exists in any case about the etymology of Gabriel's name for it may be derived from גַּבְרִיֵּל or גַּבְרִיֵּל , 'man', or possibly from גַּבְרִיֵּל and גַּבְרִיֵּל , 'strength'. Gabriel is therefore either 'man of God' or 'strength of God' depending upon the vowel points, which are usually omitted in Hebrew writings. Dee may have been misled by thinking of גַּבְרִיֵּל and גַּבְרִיֵּל , meaning 'strength', which he would recognise from the names of the Sephiroth in the Kabbala (גַּבְרִיֵּל , Geburah). His error (as it is deemed to be here) is pointed out at 17a, 13-14.

20) This man wearing the black hood represents Dee. The hood is presumably symbolic of the spiritual blindness from which the angels relieve him at line 26.

34) NA]

Agrippa notes that the name NA is the name of God to be invoked in times of trouble (Occ. Phil., III, xi, p. 371). The letters are 7mm high within a circle of 22mm diameter. See also Commentary to 12a, MN16.

38) plights]

'pleats'. In this vision Dee receives new garments and is crowned with laurel (lines 39-40) to signify his position as one of God's elect.

41-42) This action parallels the eating of the bread in the Eucharist.

MN16) 'rather Michael was so called: for Gabriel is the power of God, and therefore the certain strength, but of another grade'.

fol. 12a.

5) 'The angel of your profession'. Dee professes true learning (philosophia vera) according to his note at 100b, MN22.

8) Agrippa notes that 'the Demon of profession is given by the Stars, to which such a profession, or sect, which any man hath professed, is subjected, which the soul, when it began to make a choyce in this body, and to take upon it self dispositions, doth secretly desire' (Occ. Phil. III, xxii, p. 410). If a man changes his profession, the daemon leaves him and another suitable to that profession takes his place. This daemon may be friendly or contrary to the man's Genius (guardian spirit). Dee's marginal note refers to the chapter heading 'Triplicem vnus cuiusque hominis custodem esse, & a quibus singuli procedant' (Opera, p. 372), 'That there is a threefold keeper of man, and from whence each of them proceed' (Occ. Phil. p. 410).

9-10) See Deuteronomy IV, 4, Romans V, 1-2, I Corinthians XV, 49, and Hebrews VI, 13-19.

13) 'Praise God in his works'.

15) strength against trubble]
See Commentary to 11b, 34.

25) cursy]
'curtsy'.

26) This line seems to suggest that a ring has previously been spoken of, but it may simply be a command that Dee is to acquire a similar ring. If any forewarning of this requirement was given, it might have been in one of the visions that Kelly claimed to have outside of the Actions (see for instance Diary, 9 March 1582).

30-34) Solomon is generally reputed to have possessed a ring with which he worked many wonders, although this has been thought to be a synonym for the seal or pentagram of Solomon. In the Key of Solomon the author, supposedly Solomon himself, declares that the contents of the work were revealed to him by an angel and traditionally Michael is supposed to have been the mediator between Solomon and God (see Shah, The Secret Lore of Magic, p. 25).

33) The circles of the diagram measure 33mm and 25mm in diameter

and the square is 14mm on each side. The circle in the centre of the square has a diameter of 7mm and the central bar is 12mm long.

37) skarse]

'scarcely'.

42) Most Solomonic talismans were fashioned in gold.

44-45) The significance of the 'V' over the 'L' is not at all clear. There may be some significance lying in the kabbalistic numerical values of 6 and 30, but interpretations in this direction become vague and somewhat fanciful. Furthermore Dee does not himself pursue any line of enquiry on the significance of the letters and the ring fades in importance when the instructions are given for the making of the Sigillum Dei.

46) PELE]

The name Pele signifies 'a worker of miracles, or causing wonders' and is one of the names of God (Occ. Phil. III, xi, p. 378). See also Commentary to 12a, MN46.

MN7) See Commentary to line 7.

MN16) 'Et sequit^r: Nequa^rq Iacob appellabit nomen tuū sed Israel: quoniam cum deo & homine praeualuisti: Vt est item vocabulum Na: quod in animi molestia turbationibusq^r utimur. Sicut Moyses in numeris: Dimitte Na peccatū populi tui:

quod uos interpretatū habetis: Dimitte obsecro. Et psalmo cantesimo ac decimoseptimo: A na domine saluificia na. A na domine fortunatifica na: quod uos elegantius sic: O domine saluum me fac: o domine bene prosperare' (Johannes Reuchlin, De verbo mirifico (1494) and De arte cabalistica (1517), facsimile edition (Stuttgart 1964), De verbo p. 72).

'And it follows: thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel: for with God and man you have prevailed [see Genesis XXXII, 28]. And so it is with the name Na, which we use when in turmoil and troubled of spirit: for instance Moses in Numbers [XIV, 19]: "Na, pardon the iniquity of your people," which may be interpreted as "pardon, I beseech thee". And also it is in Psalm CXVII [Vulgate]: "Ah Na Lord, salvatory Na: Ah Na Lord, prosperity-giving Na"; which you more elegantly find thus: "Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord: O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity" [Authorised, Psalm CXVIII, 25].'

MN46) Despite much searching I have not been able to find any reference to the name Pele in Reuchlin's De verbo mirifico. The work does contain a section that deals almost exclusively with divine names and it is possible that when Dee made these marginal notes concerning the names Na and Pele, he was writing from memory and thought that the name Pele was included. Alternatively the marginal notes may have been a reminder to him to look up the names in Reuchlin's work and one might take as evidence for this the fact that he does not make any reference to which of the three books that form Reuchlin's work is to be consulted.

fol 12b.

5) See Isaiah IX, 6.

6) See Commentary on the name PELE, 12a, 46 & MN46.

9) the other day]

See fol. 10a.

10) opened his sworde]

Michael turns the blade of the sword to Kelly's view.

11) EMETH]

The Hebrew word for 'truth'. Agrippa records that it is also 'the seal of God' or sigillum dei (Occ. Phil, III, xi, p. 371). See also Commentary to MN11.

13) mervayledst]

'did marvel'.

22) perfyted]

'perfected'.

24) Dee does later question Michael's apparel, which earns him a reprimand (25a, 16-18).

30-32) Later the drawing of a veil across the vision in the stone becomes a signal for the end of an Action (see 45b, 48).

34) Dee is warned several times for trying to regulate the angelic appearances according to worldly time and incurs the angels' displeasure for doing so (see for instance 70a, 42).

39) Valete]

'Depart'.

45) [flourish]

Hereafter the end of an Action is frequently signified in the manuscript by a flourish of the pen.

MN11) 'Concerning the Seal of Truth see Reuchlin, De arte cabalistica, book III and Agrippa [Occ. Phil.] book III, chapter 11 (for the latter see Commentary to line 11). Reuchlin states: 'Ehieh sigillat per Emeth, hoc est essentia p ueritatem. Sicut nobilis ille dictator ait Eliezer Haklir אמת חתמת , Emeth est sigillum eius. Probat hoc ratio arithmetica quam imitantes si multiplicauerimus Ehieh p Ehieh surgent quadringenta quadraginta & unū, q simul sunt אמת hoc est uerū seu ueritas' (De arte cabalistica, facsimile edition, (Stuttgart 1964), III, lxia, p. 235). 'Ehieh [a name of God: I AM] seals through Emeth ["truth"]; this is through the essential truth. As that excellent teacher Eliezer Haklir says... "Emeth is his seal". Arithmetical reasoning proves this as may be seen if we multiply Ehieh by Ehieh, for there arises a total of 441, which is the same as that of Emeth, "a true thing" or "truth".'

Reuchlin uses the kabbalistic numerical value of אמת

(Ehieh) and אֶמֶת (Emeth) which are 21 and 441 respectively.

fol. 13a.

2-4) The description of this angel is consistent with his being an angel of the sun (see Commentary to line 18).

7) 'Invoke the name of God and acknowledge him'.

8) nri]

'nostri'.

Deus...nobis]

'God be merciful and bless us' (Psalm LXVII).

11-12) Not knowing the spirit's name Dee and Kelly fear that it may be an evil spirit and therefore command the spirit to reveal his name by using the powerful conjuration of the Trinity.

15-17) The circle of candle-like sparks are again consistent with this angel's position as an angel of the sun.

18) SALAMIAN]

In Abano's Elementa Magica Salamia is an angel of the sun and power is invoked for Sunday through various names of God and 'per nomina sanctorum angelorum, qui dominantur in quarto exercitu, et serviunt coram potentissima Salamia, angelo magno et honorato' (Agrippa, Opera, p. 596). The invocation is 'by the names of the holy angels who govern in the fourth heaven and serve in the presence of

the most mighty Salamia, a great and honoured angel'. The names of Salamia and Salamian are not traceable in other magical works that I have consulted, but there are a number of angels whose names bear some similarity. Selemia is one of the five men (i.e. angels) who wrote down the 204 books related by Esdras (II Esdras XIV, 24) and this name is sometimes recorded as Salemia (Davidson, Dictionary of Angels). Salmey is one of the holy angels of God invoked in the Grimorium Verum and Salmia is the name of an angel petitioned in ritual prayer for the fulfilment of the conjurer's desires (Davidson).

23) wordly]

A manuscript error for 'worldly'.

26) Mamon]

Mammon is an archdemon and the demon of avarice (see Matthew VI, 24 and Luke XVI, 13).

28) vertues Adonay]

'Virtues of Adonai'. The celestial spirits are divided into various ranks: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominions, Powers, Virtues, Princes, Archangels and Angels, although most angels hold a place in each order. Authorities differ on the order of ascendance of these divisions (a list can be found in Davidson, Dictionary of Angels, Appendix p. 336).

34) he dyeth]

Mammon's death is not to be found in traditional sources

and this reference would seem to be consistent with the prophecies of the coming of a new age that are made to Dee. In this case avarice will be no more.

35) Dee seems to have been unhappy about performing rituals of exorcism, having previously asked Uriel to discharge the evil spirit Lundrumguffa (10b, 18).

40) grisely thretting]
'threatening in a grisly way'.

45) The angel with the long arms is not identified.

47) This angel is Raphael whom Agrippa identifies as the 'medicine of God' (Medicina Dei) in Three Books of Occult Philosophy (III, xxiv, p. 414). The name is partly derived from Raphael's healing of Tobias's father Tobit (see Arbatel de magia, Agrippa Opera p. 711).

11N20) See Commentary to line 18.

fol. 13b.

1) the Angel of your Direction]

Presumably not quite the same as the angel of Dee's profession but the angel governing Dee's goal in life, or at least one of his goals (see Commentary to OCH). Agrippa does not refer to the existence of angels of direction.

UCH]

In Arbatel de magia seven spirits are given governance over

various natural phenomena. They are called Aratron, Phaleg, OCH, Hagith, Ophiel and Phul (Agrippa, Opera, p. 714). Och governs matter under solarian influence, teaches perfect medicine and converts all things into purest gold and precious stones (Opera, p. 716). He is the angel who is the ruling spirit of the Philosophers' Stone and has governance over alchemical experiments, both of which were very important in Dee's life and may be called his 'direction'.

- 8) Dee again makes the mistake to be found at 11b, 16, over the meaning of the name Gabriel, but is further confused by the fact that his angelic informant, whom he thought was the same as in the previous Action (i.e. Michael), now announces himself to be Fortitudo Dei. It is not clear, however, why Dee should be convinced that this new entrant should be the same as his informant in the previous Action, nor why he should reject his own conclusion that the angel with the sword should be Michael (11b, 24) even though Uriel had just then announced 'Fortitudo Dei, tecum semper est' (11b, 18).

- 11) Fortitudo Dei here identifies himself as indeed being Michael.

- 12) POLIPOS]

In Revelation XXI, 14, the twelve apostles are said to govern the foundations of the New Jerusalem. According to

Agrippa the fourth gate (or foundation) bears the name of Polipos (פּוֹלִיפּוֹשׁ) which is Hebrew for Philip (Occ. Phil. III, xxxiv, p. 455).

15) that day]

Either an unspecified day when great secrets will be revealed or the day on which Dee understands the meaning of the name Polipos.

16) that which I haue commaunded thee]

Dee's marginal note refers back to Annael's command 'be not to hasty in wrath' (8b, 14) which is later called 'the fyrst, and...the greatest commaundemēt' (50a, 45).

18) Ashmole's superscription relates to the end of the previous line.

24) Other names of Michael, which means fortitudo dei according to Agrippa, are conceived by men; in heaven the angel has no other name than his function, which is to be the strength of God and is therefore his being and his reason for being.

29) this]

Salamian.

34) Agrippa his boke]

See MN34. The name of Salamia[n] does not occur in Agrippa's own work but in Abano's treatise contained in the Lyons edition of Agrippa's Opera.

38) It appears from Dee's Diary that Kelly had a journey planned, which he began on 22 March (see also Introduction p. 11).

47) lamin]

A thin layer of metal, sometimes in the form of a disc, which may be inscribed like a talisman and used for magical or astrological purposes. For details of the laminewhich has survived see Introduction pp. 129-132.

49) artificially]

'by art or craft'.

MN1) libello Arbatel in ☉]

In Agrippa's Opera this work is entitled Libri Arbatel magiae, tomus primus dictus Isagoge. The sign ☉ is the astrological sign for the sun of which Och is a governor.

MN33) Clauis Agrippae]

'The key of Agrippa' or in other words his works.

fol. 14a.

1) The caret belongs to the marginal note which is in fact written vertically in the left hand margin. The top part of the page is cut short and the left hand margin is torn at the top, but it is unlikely that any writing is missing except for a heading of F.D. , the catchword of fol. 13b, at the beginning of the first line of this folio.

2-3) Michael (Fortitudo Dei) and Raphael (Medicina Dei) are indicated here.

7-8) See Commentary to 7a, 22 concerning Esdras and Tobias.

20) Kelly quite frequently had to rest after scrying and complained of headaches (see Introduction pp. 111-2).

23) Crossingly]
'making the sign of the cross'.

25) These lights had been put on the chair by Salamian (13a, 15-16).

MN) The caret at line 1 indicates that this note was to have followed that line.

fol. 15a (in Ashmole's hand).

1-7) Concerning missing papers see Introduction pp. 10-15.

6) diu^s]
'divers '.

7) fol^l]
'following'.

MN3) The erasure of this marginal note can be explained by reference to Ashmole's transcript. Concerning the missing papers at the end of the second book he wrote: 'I suppose

here were some other Actions betweene 21 of March and 28 of Aprill 1582 which belonged to the 2nd Booke, and are wanting', giving as his reason the fact that at the beginning of the Action of 28 April 1582, which opens the third book, 'Michael taxeth and threatneth Δ for his slacknes in not preparing things appointed by him (which Δ excuseth with inability)'but of which 'appointment' no mention is made in the Action of 21 March (Sloane MS 3677, 23a). Having reached this conclusion Ashmole put the marginal note (itself indicating a later time of writing than his main text on this folio) in the wrong place at first. It belongs at the end of the second book (fol. 29b). See also Introduction pp. 10-15.

fol. 17a.

In his transcript of the MS Ashmole estimates that 'about 16 lynes' are missing from each side of the first extant folio (Sloane MS 3677, 24a & 24b) and that the first leaf is 'utterly perished' (Sloane MS 3677, 21a). What remains of the Action which took place evidently occupied an afternoon and an evening (see 19b, 20, 20b, 21, & 21b, 4). The Action must have occurred between 15 March and 20 March, these being the dates of the preceding and subsequent dealings, and since two other Actions of the second book took place on 20 and 21 March and continue instructions concerning the making of the Sigillum Dei from this first Action, I would conjecture that this opening Action is dated Monday 19 March. It seems probable that the instructions

for making the seal were given over three days of intensive dealing.

- 5) The asterisk shows that a note was written in the margin here of which the vestigial lines at MN5 are all that remain. The note probably referred to the fili and filiae lucis and their sons and daughters, who are introduced between 26b, 36 and 28a, 3.

- 6) e^u]
'ever'.

- 8-10) 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord'. See Psalm CXVIII, 26, Matthew XXI, 9, Mark XI, 10 and Luke XIII, 35. The pause in the Latin may indicate that Kelly was going to say something different at first.

- 11) Michael first appeared with a sword at 11a, 14.

- 15-16) All the earlier problems concerning the design of the Sigillum Dei have been resolved and Dee has evidently received instructions concerning its form. This may have occurred in the missing leaf of this Action or in a private vision of Kelly's. The most likely time seems to be the private conversation of Michael to Kelly recorded at 13b, 44-50. Since the letters and numbers inscribed on the seal are not given until later, Dee must here be asking whether he has correctly drawn the lines within which the letters and numbers are to be placed.

17-18) According to Dee's definitions at fol. 6a the strength of God's mercy and God's medicinal virtue correspond to Annael and Raphael. One might tenuously connect 'the liuing God' with Gabriel, whose name was taken by others (though not Dee) to mean 'man of God', although the phrase is taken from the Bible (Deuteronomy V, 26 and Joshua, III, 10) and is a specific reference to an aspect of God.

20) herof]

'hereof'.

20-21) Concerning Dee's purpose to share his knowledge with genuine seekers of truth, see Introduction pp. 164-168.

22 Saints]

'Saints'.

24) fyled]

'defiled'.

27) Michael said a similar thing about Solomon's ring (12a, 37).

37) See 5a, 12-14.

fol. 17b.

6) The circle has been a symbol of eternity from very early times. In Monas hieroglyphica Dee states at the beginning that 'the first and most simple manifestation and representation of things, non-existent as well as latent in

the folds of Nature, happened by means of straight line and circle ' (Monas hieroglyphica, translated by C. H. Josten, AMBIX XII (1964), 84-221, p. 155). 'The Circle of his aeternity' has specific reference to the outer circle of the Sigillum Dei, for it contains obscurely 7 names of God (22b, 7-13) and it is symbolic of the eternal nature of God and his angels.

- 8) This appellation may be an echo of the kabbalistic definition of God as 'The Holy One, Blessed be He', a name attributed to God in his capacity as the promoter of man's moral strivings (Zohar, V, 394 Appendix).

- 11) the matter in hand]

The construction of the Sigillum Dei.

- 12) this outward circle]

The outer circle of the Sigillum Dei (see fol. 30a).

- 13) whose greatest numbers are fowre]

The circle is to be divided into four and each quarter into ten, so that there are dividing lines at the four compass points.

presently]

'immediately'.

- 15) Semiel]

Semiel is variously called Semiael (17b, 37), Semieil (20b, 45), Semyeil (21a, 12) and may also be the Semeliel whose

name appears in the seal at fol. 30a (see also reference at 29a, 22). In the marginal note to line 15 Dee notes that Semiel means 'asthough he wer the secretarie, for the Name of God'. Semiel is composed of שֵׁמ (shem) which means 'a name' and אֵל (El), 'God', and because the angel bears the 'name of God' but is not God, he is therefore a kind of 'secretarie, for the Name of God'. Gustav Davidson identifies Shemael (a different transliteration of שֵׁמ אֵל) with Kemuel, Camael and Shemuïel as 'the mighty angel who stands at the windows of Heaven listening for the songs of praise ascending from synagogues and houses of study of the Jews' (Dictionary of Angels, p. 273). Since the seal contains names of God and the angels, Semiel may be considered to be best equipped to instruct Dee and Kelly concerning them, if the etymology of his name also reflects upon his office.

24) Mighty lord]

Semiel is of a lower hierarchy than Michael.

26) I, am his Tables]

This is consistent with Semiel being 'secretarie, for the Name of God'. See also Commentary to MN41.

28) 40 white Creatures]

These creatures will each show a letter and in most cases also a number which are to be written in the 40 spaces into which the outer circle of the seal has been divided.

30) This line faintly echoes the Book of Common Prayer in the

order of service for Communion: 'For thou onely art holy:
 Thou onely art the Lorde, thou only O Christe with the
 holy Ghost, art most highe in the Glory of God the father'
 (Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book 1559 (Edinburgh 1909), p. 104).

33) two great pillers of brass]

The angel in Daniel's vision has 'arms and feet like in
 colour to polished brass' (Daniel X, 6).

MN41) 'Semiel—approximately signifies God, my name; it is so
 because these tables may be the Name of God or the Divine
Names'. This helps to explain line 26 as well as connecting
 Semiel with the praise of God's name given by the 40 creatures.

fol. 18a.

This folio is also slightly torn at the top left and top
 right. There are four guards between fol. 17 and fol. 18
 but there are no pages missing in the text.

2) commonly]

'every time'.

striking]

for 'stroking'.

5) opened his brest]

The creature opened his silk garment and displayed his breast.
 It might simply mean that he displayed his breast to view,
 as Michael 'opened' or showed his sword (12b, 10), but in
 most of the ensuing revelations the letters and numbers do
 seem to be on the bodies of the spirits and not on their
 clothes.

7) $\frac{4}{\tau}$]

In an Action of 25 June 1584, $\frac{4}{\tau}$ is called 'the Seal of the living God, (Tau with the four) which signifie the four powers of God princ[i]pial in earth' (TFR, p. 173). These four powers are Power, Strength, Mercy and Justice (36b, 9).

9) Yt Liueth and Multiplied]

Agrippa writes that 'the Pythagoreans call the Number of four Tetractis, and prefer it before all the vertues of Numbers, because it is the foundation and root of all other numbers; whence also all foundations, as well in artificiall things, as naturall, and divine, are four square'. The number of four 'also contains the mysterie of the whole Trinity', for it contains the proportions of 1:2 equal to 2:4, and 1:1 equal to 2:2. From the proportion of 1:1 we see 'the unity of the paternal substance, from which the Son proceeds equal to him' and in 2:2 we see 'the procession of the Holy Ghost from both'. The most sacred name of God, the Tetragrammaton, is composed of four letters and Agrippa thus effectively combines a Christian exegesis with the Kabbala and with the Pythagorean reverence of the number four as the 'perpetual fountain of nature' (Occ. Phil. II, vii, p.183).

11) Each of the forty creatures disappears in a different way, the significance of which is not entirely apparent.

12) It is the name of the Lorde]

The number 4 implies the Tetragrammaton which is 'the name of the Lorde'.

15) Prayse...reuerent]

See Psalm CXI, 9: 'Holy and reverend is his name'.

17) 'O God, God, our God, you are blessed now and always', which is not a direct biblical quotation but echoes many phrases of a similar nature in the Bible, such as I Chronicles XXIX, 10.

21) romayne]

'Roman'.

23) his name]

This refers to the name of the creature.

24) it is but one]

The number accompanying the letter is a single figure.

25) The dots are Dee's and indicate that he has failed to transcribe something which Kelly reported. Since he describes the various ways in which the creatures disappear except in this case, it is evident that for some reason he was unable to write such an account here.

26) The Seale of God's Mercy]

Like the phrase 'Yt Liueth and Multiplied for euer' at line 9, this phrase seems to be an epitome of the creature just seen and the letter and number which he has displayed. The act of sealing is a frequent image in the Bible for the

work of God upon man, the impression of God's word (the seal) being made upon man's heart (the wax). See for instance Psalm XXII, 14.

32) Multiplicatum...terra]

'Your name is multiplied in the earth'. According to Agrippa the number seven 'is of various and manifold power' and 'the Vehiculum of mans life...for it contains body and soul', the number 4 relating to the elements and the number 3 to 'the soul, by reason of its threefold power, viz. rationall, irascible and concupiscible'. Agrippa relates the number 7 extensively to processes of generation, gestation and growth (Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 193-194).

36) Vidimus Gloriam tuam Domine]

'We have seen your glory, O Lord'. See Isaiah LXVI, 18, and John XI, 40.

39) This letter and number occupy the fourth space in the outer circle of the seal and the significance of the number being under the letter, in contrast to the previous revelations, is explained at 21a, 24-31.

42) *a white garment*] See Commentary to 18b, 41.

43) Illius Gloria sit nobiscum]

'May his glory be with us'. Again this is delivered in the manner of an epitome of the creature with his number and letter.

45) like syluer]

The previous creature showed his number and letter on a tablet of gold, although it is difficult to see any precise significance in this. Gold is the metal of the sun and silver that of the moon, but beyond relating this to the role of the Sigillum Dei as a seal of the Creation, the reasons for these metals being shown remains obscure, particularly since the items on which the ensuing numbers and letters are shown do not allow any coherent interpretation.

47) Et...benedictus]

'And it is the number of blessed virtue'. Agrippa defines the number 22 as signifying 'the fulness of wisdom' since it is the total of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet (Occ. Phil. II, xv, p. 222).

48) Videte Angelos Lucis]

'See the Angels of Light'. A preliminary reference to the revelation of these creatures at 24b, 21-28.

like a white Cok]

Again the significance of this is obscure, but it may be tenuously related to the revelation of the letters for the outer heptagon of the seal, those on the first two sides being shown on the feathers of 'a white fowle like a pigeon' and of 'a white byrd' like a swan (see 23a, 8 & 25).

50-51) 'And I am the end and have no number. I am number in number. And every number is my number. See'. This spirit only shows the letter 'n', this being the final letter of

one of the names contained in the seal. No number is required since the lack of number itself denotes the end of the name (see 21a, 24-31).

MN6) The 'T' as it is written in the seal is nevertheless roman and not gothic.

MN12) The Holy Language referred to here is Enochian, even though the phrase is usually used to describe Hebrew (see for instance Monas hieroglyphica, trans. Josten, p. 133). As with Hebrew the last letter of the alphabet in Enochian is 'T'.

MN12-MN52) Dee here gives the Enochian names of the letters that have been shown (see fol. 64b), using the contraction 'alr' for aliter, 'otherwise'.

fol. 18b.

1) to gather]

'tog ther'.

4) Et est Vita in caelis]

'And he is life in the heavens'.

5) Et ego viuo cū bene viuentibus]

'And I live with those that lead a good life'.

6) his veale]

The veil is worn by the spirit.

- 8) 'We live. Hallelujah. O holy name'. See Commentary to line 12.
- 12) 'Blessed is the number of the Lamb'. According to Agrippa
 'six is a number of perfection, because it is the most perfect in nature, in the whole course of numbers, from one to ten, and it alone is so perfect in the collection of its parts it results the same, neither wanting, nor abounding [i.e. $1+2+3 = 3+3 = 1+5$ (5 being $3+2$) = $2+4$ (4 being $1+3$) = $\frac{1}{6} \times 6 + \frac{1}{3} \times 6 + \frac{1}{2} \times 6 = 6$]...It is also the number of our redemption, for the sixth day Christ suffered for our redemption: whence there is a great affinity betwixt the number six and the Cross' (Occ. Phil. II, ix, p. 191). Christ's designation as the Lamb refers specifically to his sacrifice for man's redemption (see Isaiah LIII, 7).
- 14) Orate invicem]
 'Pray alternately'.
- 16) Omnia data sunt a Deo]
 'All things are given by God'.
- 17) Concerning the number 22 See Comentary to 18a, 47.
- 18) 'And the end is not in him'. This may simply refer to the fact that this letter does not end one of the names hidden in the seal, but there may also be some reference to 'o' as omega and therefore a symbol of the end of all things.

19) Benedictus es tu Deus]

'You are blessed O God'. See Commentary to 18a, 47.

20) The rainbow is a symbol of God's faith with the world after the Flood (Genesis IX, 9-16) and a circle is symbolic of eternity.

21) 'May angels fall prostrate at your name O Lord'. See Hebrews I, 6.

22) 'You are the first O'. Quite why there should be reason to celebrate the first presentation of the letter 'o' is not clear.

25) ]

A triangle is a symbol of divinity and in Renaissance illustration the Tetragrammaton is often contained within a triangle. The triangle is also connected with the decad (Occ. Phil. II, xiii, p. 212) and it is possible that the letter 'a' here is meant in part to signify alpha, the beginning.

26) Et...caeteris]

'And your number lives in the rest'

27) The number of 22 is later corrected to 20 by Uriel (see MN27) and hence Dee's superscription.

29) Nomen illius est nobiscum]

'The name of that one is with us'. From this point on the underlining of the first letter of the phrases delivered by Michael on a creature's departure indicates that the next letter to be shown is the same as that underlined.

32) Creasti...tua]

'O Lord, you have created the angels for your glory'
(creasti for creavisti).

34) Et te primus Creavit Deus]

'And God created you first'. In Genesis the first creation is the heaven and the earth and the division between. The number 14 represents fusion and organisation, however (J. E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols (New York 1962), p. 224), although the disappearance of the spirit like a star may embody the creation of the heaven.

36) The letter 'a' has a numerical value of one and therefore represents unity as well as a beginning. The figure is embraced by God's unity.

37) all Clay]

The image of man as clay in the potter's hand is often used in the Bible (see Isaiah LXIV, 8 and Jeremiah XVIII, 6) and Job says that 'your remembrances are like unto ashes, your bodies to bodies of clay' (Job XIII, 12).

38) Since the number 6 is symbolic of Christ and the redemption

of man and 'altogether applyed to generation, and Marriage, and called the Scale of the world' (Occ. Phil. II, ix, p. 191), this creature seems to represent the human condition and man's relationship with God.

39) Et...tuo]

'And they are created and perish in your name'. One would expect a biblical quotation here, but this nevertheless echoes biblical thought on man's mortality.

40) fell down all into dust]

See Genesis III, 19: 'for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return'.

41) The white garment would seem to represent the spirit which binds the soul, the 'white thing', to the body. This view of man's composition is indebted to Agrippa, for Agrippa follows Platonic thought in defining the soul as self-moving and the body as unfit for motion, but then ascribes a third medium to bind them together, something which is 'as it were no body, but as it were a Soul, or as it were no soul, but as it were a body' (Occ. Phil. I, xiv, p. 33). He further defines it as 'the naturall spirit...[which] yet in some sense is also corporeall, notwithstanding it hath not a grosse body and easie to be united with the mind viz that superiour and Divine one which is in us' (Occ. Phil. III, xxxvi, p. 461, misnumbered as p. 445). This is what the Platonists called the 'celestiall vehicle of the soul' or 'the chariot of the soul'. Agrippa comments that when a man

dies 'the soul flieth away with his Celestiall vehicle, and the Genius his keeper and the Demon follow it being gone forth, and carry it to the Judge, where sentence being pronounced, God quietly leadeth forth the good souls to glory' (III, xxxvii, p. 466). The celestial vehicle is incapable of pleasure and pain, which is the inheritance of the soul. Agrippa does not state what happens to this insensitive semi-corporeal and semi-intellectual medium, but if the body belongs to the natural world and the soul to the intellectual world, one would expect the celestial vehicle to return to the celestial world of the stars.

43) 'Innocence rises to the face of God'. The vision of death shown by this spirit is much indebted to Agrippa, but is also perhaps Apocalyptic in that in Revelation white raiment is the reward of the righteous (III, 5).

44) did ouer]

'did stroke over'.

46-47) Innocentium...tuis]

'O Lord, you have seen the names and the blood of the innocent upon the earth and you are just in your works'. The first clause is reminiscent of Psalm XCIV, 21: 'they gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous, and conde n the innocent blood'. The second clause is not in fact a direct biblical quotation but recalls the claim that 'the Lord...is righteous in all his works' (Daniel IX, 14 and Baruch II, 9).

47-48) garment all bluddy]

This creature represents the martyred innocent and hence the appearance as a child in bloodstained garments. See also the spirits at 19b, 47 and 20a, 51.

48) a ball...of perfume]

The significance of this is not clear.

50-51) Numerus...rerum]

'Your number is infinite and will be the end of things'. This sentence may be occasioned by the fact that 'h' has a numerical value of 8, which according to Agrippa is the number of justice and fulness (Occ. Phil. II, xi, p. 202).

51) powre]

'pour'.

MN11-MN25, MN30-MN36 & MN49) These are the Enochian names of the letters shown (see fol.64b).

MN27) See 20b, 20 ff. where Kelly sees Uriel in a private vision and corrects errors in the letters and numbers.

MN40) This seems to confirm that Dee recognised the division of man into body, soul and 'natural spirit' which was made here.

fol. 19a.

1) and his garment flew upward]

See Commentary to 18b, 41.

2) 'There is no number to him'. The creature has shown only the letter 'h'.

3) 'All things perish before the face of God and on the face of the earth'. See Commentary to 18b, 50-51.

4) and like a water]

'and there was like a water'.

5) O benedictum Nomen tuū Domine]

'O blessed is your name O Lord'.

6) Numerus perijt cum illis]

'Number perishes with them'. I do not see why a plural is used here.

7) a great water remayn]

'a great water to remayn'. There is not sufficient evidence to suppose that this vision represents the creation of the waters or the Flood.

9) 'Light remains in darkness. Your name is Glorious'. The first sentence recalls the prophecy of Isaiah of the coming of Christ as a light in the darkness (IX, 2) and the similar statement of John (John I, 5).

- 11-12) Seven names are drawn from the letters in the outer circle of the seal and it is difficult to see any great significance in this grouping of the forty creatures, although Dee's lines around the statement indicate that he felt there must be some reason for this division. Perhaps the lack of any marginal note indicates that he failed to find any.
- 15) Trinus sum]
 'I am threefold'.
- 16) 'Blessed be the name El'. El is the Hebrew name of God ^ל~~x~~ which is noted by Agrippa in the scale of two (Occ. Phil. II, v, p. 179). Dee later declares that his favourite letter of the alphabet is 'L' since it signifies the divine name of El through its sound (¶1b, 52-53). See also Commentary to lines 19-22.
- 17) Perhaps the triple placing of the letter 'l' explains line 15. The relating of the letter 'l' to the name El also ~~makes~~ the three letters 'l' into a symbol of God's trinitarian state.
- 19-22) The cross measures 26mm high and 20mm across, the upright having a width of 3mm at the top and 7mm at the base. The crosspiece is 4mm wide. In Monas hieroglyphica Dee states that apart from the red^e_Λmption the cross signifies the quinary, the number 25, the number 50, the decad, the number 252 and several other numbers (Monas, tr. Josten, Theorems XVI & XVII, pp. 169-175). He also writes: 'moreover, the name of that letter, "El", seems to have reference to the denary

virtue of the cross also inasmuch as it is placed in the middle between the first letter of the alphabet and the very denary of the cross [i.e. the letter 'X'], being tenth in sequence from either. And since we have shown that in the cross there are two such integral parts, it is obvious (if we now consider only their numeral meaning) that out of it [the cross] grows the number One Hundred' [L+L = C, two letters 'L' being obtained from the cross, \perp and \neg] (Monas, tr. Josten, Theorem XVI, p. 171).

19) three mens heads]

Another reference to a trinitarian state.

21) 'My lips praise the Lord'. The erasure shows that Dee originally wrote laudabunt ('will praise') echoing Psalm LXII, 4. Laudabunt was originally separated by the cross and when Dee erased 'bunt', he just added 'nt' to 'lauda'.

22) Concerning female spirits see Introduction p. 155, note 1.

23) scotcheon]

'Escutcheon', a shield with armorial bearings.
to hir]
'to her'.

24) did eat it]

See 11b, 42, where the man in black (pro Dee) ate the name NA. See also Revelation X, 10, where St. John eats a book given to him by an angel.

25) Et hic est El]

'And this (or here) is El'.

28) Benedicta sit aetas tua]

'May your state be blessed'. The number 30 which accompanies the 'l' is also the numerical value of 'l' and Agrippa relates it to the baptism of Christ in his thirtieth year (Occ. Phil. II, xv, p. 223).

29) These little fires may be connected with the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples as tongues of fire, bringing them into a state of blessedness.

32) Natus est illa Lux]

'Born is that light', a reference perhaps to the birth of Christ.

33) Ille est Lux noster]

'He is our light'. See Isaiah IX, 2 and John I, 5.

36) The three letters 'n' again presumably have a trinitarian significance, although it may simply be that the creature bears three because the letter 'n' here forms the end of the holy name Innon, which is hidden in the outer circle of the seal and itself contains three 'n's.

37) Numerus tuus est benedictus]

'Your number is blessed'. The spirit in fact bears no number, but the word may also be taken to refer to the triplicity of the revelation of the letter 'n'.

38-39) 'Your number is with us: nor till now did we know his end. May you come with your number, O one in eternity'.

41) clymed on a ladder]

This may be prompted by Jacob's dream of the ladder reaching up to heaven and filled with angels (Genesis XXVIII, 12-16).

42) 'They knew him by his tongues'. The first letter is not underlined but does nevertheless indicate the next letter to be shown.

43) Benedictus...est]

'Blesse is he who is thus and thus'.

44) trenchers]

'plates'.

44-45) ]

The triangle measures 12mm on each side and 13mm across the base and is therefore intended to be equilateral. The figure forms four isocetes triangles. See Commentary to 18b, 25 concerning the triangle and to 19a, 19-22 concerning the cross, which is contained in this triangle. Yet even if the combination of the triangle and the cross and the clear indications of the numbers three and four which the figure presents make this a potent symbol, it remains of virtually no importance in relation to the rest of the manuscript. Dee makes nothing of it.

47) fyre cam out and in of his mowth]

See Semiel at 17b, 22-23 and the spirits at 20a, 39.

MN6-MN49) The Enochian names for the letters shown.

fol. 19b.

1) Et...tuis]

'And you are true in all your works'.

3) 'Rejoice all of his people, rejoice all of his people,
from this moment rejoice'.

5) Incipit virtus nostra]

'Our strength begins'.

6) The 'G' in the MS is 4mm high.

8) The marginal note explains that this is the first spirit to
disappear in this way. Subsequent spirits vanish behind
Michael, behind the chair, or simply disappear.

9) 'Live correctly all his saints'.

12) Agrippa writes that the number thirteen 'shews the mysteries
of Christs appearing to the Gentiles, for the thirteenth day
after his birth a star was a guide to the wise men' (Occ.
Phil. II, xv, p. 222). The Churches in Revelation are
Gentile and this may be significant in relation to line 14.

14) 'This is the angel of my church, who may teach him my way'.

In Revelation seven angels are ascribed to the seven churches (I, 20) and we also read: 'I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches' (XXII, 16).

14) a gyrdel]

A belt or cord around the waist.

15) a Rod] The child delivered of the woman 'clothed with the sun' in Revelation is 'to rule all nations with a rod of iron' (XII, 5).

16) a Sworde]

If this spirit does have an Apocalyptic origin, the sword may represent the 'war in heaven' between the angels and the dragon (Satan). See Revelation XII, 7.

18) leggs, like pillers of brass]

Michael first acquired these at 17b, 33.

19-20) This indicates that the Action must have taken place in the afternoon, there being no breaks in the information so far received in this second book.

21) See I John II, 15: 'Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world'.

22) 'He joined the spirit with their minds'. A reference perhaps to the Pentecost.

26) ioyned p pale]

'Joined per pale'. 'Per pale' is a heraldic term for the division of a shield down the middle into two equal halves, with separate armorial bearings, usually of husband and wife, on each side.

27) heraulds]

'heralds'.

27-29) The drawing of the heart measures 18mm high (14mm in the middle) and 17mm across at its widest point.

29) 'The number of that one is without number'. There is no number to accompany the letters since they form the end of the name 'Galethog'.

31) 'It is time. Acknowledge your God'. The sense is probably apocalyptic.

34) in the second place]

i.e. the second place on (23rd) from the space last filled (21st).

35) 'Your image, (death), is bitter'. In the marginal note Dee explains that Imago may be written with either a 'Y' or an 'I'. He wrote 'Imago' first, presumably in the notes he made at the time of the Action, but changed it to 'Ymago' in this MS, which is a fair copy, because 'Y' is the next letter

to be shown. The superscribed 'I' gives the word its more usual orthography. The whole sentence may arise from the showing of the letter 't' because in kabbalistic exposition the letter Tau is sometimes given significance in its role as the last letter of Maweth ('death') as for instance in the Zohar (I, 9). See also G. G. Scholem, On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism, trans R. Manheim (London 1965), Ch. V, pp. 158-204.

38) Iustus es malis deus nr̄]

'You are just to the wicked, O our God'. The number 15 is according to Agrippa 'a token of spiritual ascensions' (Occ. Phil. II, xv, p. 222) and the letter 'Y' was a supposedly Pythagorean symbol of the choice to be made between a life of virtue and a life of vice (Monas, trans Josten, p. 119).

39) Place it in the former place]

i.e. in that before the last occupied, the 22nd space in the outer circle of the seal.

40) Opera fidelium, Delectatio med]

'The works of the faithful are my delight'.

41) Hic est Deus nr̄]

'Here is our God'.

42) 'Behold, iniquity reigns in my house'. A letter 'o' has just been shown and in the Zoharic exposition of the alphabet the letter Ayin, which has no sound but nevertheless

corresponds in its alphabetic position to the letter 'o' in other alphabets, is refused the right of beginning the creation on account of its 'standing for iniquity' (Zohar, I, p.10).

44) very lean]

See also the creature at line 50.

full of little e]



Covered all over with letters of this type.

46) 'The Beast devoured my people, but he will perish in eternity'. This is not a direct biblical quotation, but the beast referred to must be that of Revelation XIII, 1 or that of Revelation XIII, 11.

49) 'Iniquity abounds in my temple, and the holy live with the wicked'. The 'bluddy apparell' (line 47) recalls the innocent (see 18b, 47) and the 'serpents heds' (line 47) recall the 'old serpent, which is the Devil' (Revelation XX, 2). The underlined first letter of 'Abundat' indicates the next letter to be shown, so a strict adherence to order would demand that this line read 'Abundat Iniquitas...'

MN) The marginal notes other than those at lines 7 and 35 refer to the Enochian names for the letters shown.

MN35) Gon — cū puncto]

The Enochian letter  for 'Y' has a point to differentiate it from  for 'I' (see fol. 64b, 34).

fol. 20a.

- 2) The marginal note shows that this apparition is superfluous, there being no number or letter shown. If any had been revealed there would have been no spaces in the outer circle of the seal remaining unfilled after the corrections made on fol. 20b and only one unfilled, instead of two, before these corrections were made.

- 3) 'The earth is wicked in its evil deeds'.

- 6) Angeli....sanctis]
 'His angels ministered to the saints'.

- 7) Target]
 A small shield.

- 8) Regnabit Iniquitas pro tempore]
 'Wickedness shall reign for a time'.

- 9) a great arming sword]
 A sword forming part of a set of military accoutrement or suit of armour. It is probably a two-handed sword.

- 10) The emphasis on gold in this vision may be related to the statement at line 8, gold being a source of corruption as well as the right of kingship.
 16, ouer it]
 The number is later corrected as being under the letter
 (See MN10).

12) Nulla...terrā]

'No virtue reigns upon the earth', a statement rather similar to that at line 8. The vision which follows is of a fashionable braggart.

17) Non...Caelis]

'His number is not in the heavens'. No number accompanies the showing of the letter 'n'.

18) 'The old serpent raised his head, devouring the innocent'.

The old serpent is referred to in Revelation XIII, 9 and XX, 2 (see Commentary to 19b, 49).

22) 'My kingdom (or rule). Who may oppose it?'. See Isaiah I, 8:

'He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me?'
(Quis contradicet mihi).

25-28) 'Not because he is A, but because he contradicts A. Neither a part of him nor his number is to be found in heaven. But he has an earthly number, which is a mystery'. The part of the spirit not to be found in heaven is presumably the 'A', for while the letter Aleph (or alpha) was often used to signify God, a distinction is here being made between this particular showing of the letter 'A' and the designation of God by the first letter of the alphabet. This creature bears the letter 'A' because he is in fact entirely opposed to God (see Commentary to line 29).

29) The number 666 is the number of the Beast in Revelation (XIII, 18), but Agrippa gives the number to the daemon of

of the sun called Sorath, this being the total of the numerical equivalents of the Hebrew תלול (Occ. Phil. II, xxii, p. 243). Any trinitarian significance based on the triangular form of the number 6, which is the number of Christ, is confounded by lines 25-28.

30) 'This mystery is to be revealed to you later'. It is not.

32-35) This part of the Action was related to Dee by Kelly some time later (see MN32 and 20b, 20 ff.).

32) 'The earth is disturbed with his (or her) iniquity'.

33) his face as brass]

See the vision of Ezekiel (XL, 3).

36-37) 'Arise O ministers of God, arise (I say) [and] fight: the name of God is eternal'.

39) fyre cam oute of theyr mowthes]

See the spirit at 19a, 47.

41) A misreading of his original notes of the Action must have caused Dee to begin describing the next spirit (at end of line 40) before inserting this line.

44) 'All the earth trembles at the sound of his trumpet'. The blowing of the trumpet which shall begin the Last Judgement is described by Matthew (XXIV, 31) and in Revelation (VIII-XI).

48-49) 'O God, serve your people, O God, serve your people, O
God (I say), serve your people Israel'.

50)a fyry sword]

It is just possible that this part of the vision may have
been prompted by the flaming sword which guards the way
to the Tree of Life in Eden (Genesis III, 24), since the
previous lines form an impassioned plea to God to help his
fallen nation.

51) vesture all bluddy]

See the spirits at 18b, 47 & 19b, 47.

52) Est numerus in numero]

'He is number in number'. This is explained in the following
line.

53) 'In the sixteenth century [the number five] was made very
much after the pattern of our lower-case printed s'
(Tannenbaum, p. 156).

MN2) supfuous]

An error for 'supfluous' (superfluous).

MN30) 'A Mystery to be revealed to us'.

MN51) The Enochian for the letter 's'.

fol. 20b.

1) owgly]

'Ugly', see the spirit with three heads at 19a, 19.

skabbed]

See the spirit with leprosy at 20a, 34.

3) Nunc sunt Dies tribulationis]

'Now are the days of tribulation'.

4) 'This is the foresaid number'.

5-7) The marginal note explains that Uriel corrected the vision at lines 1-4 for this one instead.

5) Audite, Consummatum est]

'Listen, it is finished', consummatum est being Christ's last words upon the cross according to the Vulgate version of John XIX, 30.

8) 'Angel prepare your trumpet'. The imperative is erroneously plural.

9) Venit Tempus]

'The time comes'. See 19b, 31.

10) This action is the same as that of the spirit at 21a, 1.

13-14) Hij...adhuc]

'These two heavenly ones are yet to come'. There are two vacant spaces in the outer circle of the seal at this stage

on account of the fact that the 33rd letter and number were delivered at a later time (see 20a, MN32). From the 31st space Dee's inscription therefore reads: n, 6/A, 5/G, h/14, o/17, s, a/5, a/24, spaces 39 and 40 being vacant. After the correction the seal then reads: N, 6/A, o/10, 5/G, h/14, o/17, s, a/5, a/24, only the 40th space being unfilled.

15) 'Go. Nature has its end'.

16) florished]

'flourished'.

27) quantit<y>]

See the ninth place in the circle where the number is corrected from 22 to 20 (18b, 27).

28) and some for place]

See the 30th space in the circle of the seal and 20a, 10 & MN10.

28-29) one letter or place omitted]

If the spirit at 20a, 2, had shown any letter or number, there would have been just one space unfilled in the circle of the seal before the corrections and none after the corrections.

30) dowed, vppon]

'doubted of'.

32) Hi j duo Caelati sunt adhuc]

See Commentary to lines 13-14 above.

34) ax Judgmēt]

'ask for judgement'.

37) 'Truth is only in God. And all these things are true'.

38) history]

In the sense of a sequence of past events.

40) descrier]

An alternative for 'scryer' (see MN39).

47) Consummatum est]

See line 5 above.

MN) [A line joins...]

Dee often uses lines to join words which are the same or phrases which deal with similar matters in order to make an immediately visible cross-reference on a folio.

fol. 21a.

1) See the spirit at 20b, 10.

2) greke ω]

Omega, the last letter of the Greek alphabet, certainly has an apocalyptic significance in its place in the last space in the outer circle of the seal (see Commentary to 18b, 18).

4) See 20a, 29.

5) put oute]

'covered from sight'.

Iste est numerus suus]

'This is his number'.

8) Omnia vnum est]

'All things are one'. See Introduction pp. 165-168 & 177.

9) The forme of the World]

The vision of the world in the stone noted at 18b, 2-3.

9-13] The circle has a total diameter of 37mm and is composed of thirteen circles altogether. The innermost circle has a diameter of 15mm and the figure 1 is 5mm high.

11-12) Semyeil]

An alternative for Semiel (see Commentary to 17b, 15).

16) Go forward]

'Proceed with the Action'.

17) 'Praise the Lord in his sanctuary' (Psalm CL, 1).

18-19) See the names extracted at 22a, 37-43 and 22b, 7-13.

20) This does not mean that each of the forty letters leads on to seven angels, but that the forty letters in total contain

the names of seven angels. A similar usage of 'euery letter' is to be found at 28a, 34.

24) Number significatiue]

A number full of significance in that it offers precise instruction for finding the next letter in the concealed name of God.

26) it sheweth removing]

'it indicates the direction'.

28) The vnder number]

The number underneath a letter.

30-31) When a letter without a number is reached, the whole name has been extracted from the circle of the seal.

34) Make experience]

'Try it'.

35) exclusively]

Exclusive of the space containing the number being counted.

46) ThAaoth]

This is later corrected to Thaoth (see 21b, 11-16).

50-51) Dee has previously referred to these angelic dealings as 'Actions' (see 7b, 39) and the designation of them by the word 'Calls' here is a case of his assuming an accident of vocabulary to be an angelic command.

MN12) The use of capitals in 'SemEIL' differentiates the two parts of the name, sem which means 'a name' and EL or EIL which is itself a name of God.

MN24) This note is written in Ashmole's hand on a piece of paper which is stuck onto the original folio in the nature of a repair.

fol. 21b.

4) his first Rule]

See 21a, 48. It is the rule which will correct ThAaoth to Thaoth (see 11-16 below).

5) Saluete]

'Welcome'.

8-9) All the names together must have a total of forty letters, although the rule against double letter 'a' means that in practice there are 38 letters in the seven names.

10-11) Some of the letters stand for numbers, perhaps according to their kabbalistic values. This aspect of the seal is not pursued.

c
12) w/ch/hich]

The margin is very tight and Ashmole wrote a superior 'ch' for what could not be seen after his binding of the MS but has since reappeared with the binding by Sloane.

16) his inward powre]

The letter 'A' signifies God and unity, having a numerical equivalent of one (see Commentary to 18b, 25, & 20a, 25-28).

18-19) Even with Dee's marginal note the meaning of these lines is obscure. In the collection of seven names the letter 'a' occurs in doubled form three times, but this does not explain why Michael states that seven names proceed from this letter. Only one name (Aaoth) begins with the letter 'a'.

20-21) The first letter of a conjunction of two letters 'a' is only to be erased when it occurs in the middle of a name; thus Aa th retains the double 'a'.

23) go]

The vision of the heart with these letters (19b, 28) in fact shows og according to normal English practice, but Dee may have interpreted it according to the Hebrew practice of reading from right to left.

24-42) The three versions of the 42 letter name of God along with their Latin translations are taken from Petrus Galatinus Columna's Opus de arcanis catholicae veritatis (see Commentary to MN29). Other versions that have been postulated by the kabbalists tend to consist of the many names of God put together until a composite name of 42 letters has been reached.

29-31) 'that is: God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost,

three in one and one in three, or trinity in unity and unity in trinity'.

32) הקדש לא]

This should read הקדש אל. The mistake is Dee's.

34-35) 'God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, yet not three gods but one God'.

38) on this maner]

'in this manner'.

41-42) Sicut...Messias vnus]

'Just as the rational soul and the flesh [make] one man, even so do God and man [form] one Messiah'.

41) anima rationalis]

Agrippa points to 'the threefold capacity of our soul, namely the imagination (imaginatio), the rational (ratio), and the mental (mens)' (see Frances A. Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age (London 1979), p. 53).

The imagination could make a man a master in an art of some kind, while the intellect (mens) could show the way to 'the secrets of divine matters', but through the reason knowledge could be gained of 'natural and human things'. It is not clear however that Columna's 42 letter name of God differentiates the soul in quite this way and the 'rational soul' may simply be contrasted to the 'sensible soul' that is shared with the animals.

44-46) In the seven names collected from the circle of the seal double 'a' occurs twice in the middle of the names and in accordance with the rule expressed at 21b, 11-16, the first 'a' is always struck out. Since the letters are numbers as well (21b, 10-11), Michael is arguing that the striking out of the 'a's does not delete their numbers from the sequence obtained from the circle of the seal. Therefore the total of the outer circle still remains 40, being composed of thirty-eight letters and two 'numbers' from the deleted 'a's; if the 'a's are reinstated 'the old rule of 42 letters' is obtained. This does all seem to be little more than some juggling with terms by Kelly in order to get 42 out of 40.

47-48) The outer circle of the seal is here also stated to be a means of binding wicked spirits, in the same way that the holy names around the pentacle of Solomon are supposed to act as barriers between the conjurer and evil spirits.

MN29) Petrus Galatinus Columna, Opus de arcanis catholicae veritatis (Basle 1561), p. 95. Columna in fact makes two mistakes: in the second name $\Pi\Gamma\Gamma$ stands, making the name total 43 letters (hence Dee's erasure of Γ at line 32), and in the first name $\Pi\Gamma$ is omitted altogether, although it may be found correctly in Book II, chap. 12 (p. 62). Both mistakes are almost certainly printer's errors.

MN44) '42 are here in potential, but not in deed'.

fol. 22a.

1) In this they were all Created]

The meaning is metaphysical; the animals were created in
'Truth', represented by the seal.

2-3) ADAMS Treatise from Paradise]

Michael means Dee's Book of Soyga (see 9a, 31-32 and
Introduction pp. 146-7).

4-6) 'Alpha and omega: the first and the last; one God alone
lives now and for ever: He is and will be: and here are
his holy names. I have spoken'. The holy names are in the
seal.

7) watcht]

'watched over by angels'.
who is euen now at the Dore]
This is probably a question.

8) Clerkson]

Kelly first came to Dee's house in the company of this Mr.
Clerkson (see Introduction p. 43).

10) 'Let us bless the Lord'.

12) The cross measures 9mm high by 6mm across, the arm being
5mm from the base.

13-15) The note in the box reads from line 15 upwards, this

being indicated by the caret. There seems to be no prefatory material to this Action.

17) 'The will of God be done'.

19) There is no reference in Dee's Diary or his other notes to the nature of Kelly's business here.

25) shitt]

A manuscript error for 'shutt'.

27) Canapie, of beaten gold]

The term 'canopy' was frequently used figuratively to describe the overhanging firmament and it may be that this vision is intended to represent the realms of heavenly purity.

28) 'Behold it is a mystery. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel' (see I Samuel XXV, 32 & Psalm LXXXII, 18).

31) an]

'and'.

34) Sapientiam]

'Wisdom'.

37-43) These are the names gathered from the circle of the seal.

The first 'a' of a double 'a' in the middle of a word is

crossed out in the first two names according to Michael's instruction (21b, 11-16). A more accurate list of the names is to be found at 22b, 7-13 (see these lines for Commentary).

fol. 22b.

1) misrekēing the numbers]

It is not easy to see how Dee made this mistake, since the only 's' in the circle has no number to lead on to 'og', it being the last letter of the name 'Galas' and the thirty-seventh in the circle. Perhaps Dee simply misread his own writing, despite what he says here.


3-6) See the rearranged order at lines 7-13. The reasons for this rearrangement are however not clear. Dee's original order of the names is that obtained by following the order indicated in the outer circle of the seal.

7-13) The only one of these names for which I have been able to find a source is 'Innon' which in the form of םןן is designated as a name of God by Agrippa (Occ. Phil. III, xi, p.371). According to the later adept, MacGregor Mathers, Innon is the holy name of an angel by which daemons are commanded to appear in Solomonic conjuration (Gustav Davidson, A Dictionary of Angels), although a common source for Kelly and Mathers is exceedingly unlikely considering the nature of the Order of the Golden Dawn.

14-15) This is an instruction to proceed anti-clockwise to fill

in the segments formed between the sides of the outermost heptagon and the outer circle of the seal (see 30a).

18-24) All these letters bearing some form of cross spell the name 'Galethog' and are placed in the angles between the outer heptagon and outer circle of the seal so that the name may be read in an anti-clockwise direction. The letters are given a more esoteric significance at 24a, 26-40.

18) The letter  is 10mm high. The number 5 is the number which the 'G' of 'Galethog' bears in the outer circle of the seal. This measurement and rule serve also for the signs between lines 19 and 23.

24) The circle around 'GG' is 10mm in diameter and the cross is 6mm high.

27) assone]
'as soon'.

32) See 21a, 8.

38) that which is in the east]
The baskets are hanging around the horizon seen in the show-stone (see 22a, 32-33).

39) Seal this]
'Seal this in your heart'?

fol. 23a.

1) the 7 partes of the circle]

The seven sides of the outermost heptagon of the seal.

3) for the tyme wilbe Long]

This statement is rather unusual since most references by the angels to 'the time', by which they mean the coming of God's kingdom upon earth, infer that it will be in the not too distant future.

Seuen, rest in 7]

Seven names rest in the seven sides of the heptagon.

4) 7, liue by 7]

The letters in each side of the heptagon are parts of names which may be extracted by writing each group of seven letters in descending rows and then reading from top to bottom (see 24b, 21-28). Thus the first seven names cause another seven to come into being.

The 7, gouern the 7]

The names as read in the heptagon are the names of seven angels who govern the angels bearing the second set of names extracted at 24b, 21-28.

4-5) And by 7, all Gouernment is]

The second set of seven names are those given in Agrippa's Scale of Seven as governing the world (Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 204-205). Each of these angels is also given governance over a planet. The unpronounceable first set of names belong,

according to Michael, to angels who govern these governors, and therefore the importance of septenaries in governance is strongly emphasised. According to J. E. Cirlot the number seven is symbolic of perfect order (A Dictionary of Symbols (New York 1962) p. 223) and Agrippa accords the number the power of representing supreme unity and of binding body and spirit (Occ. Phil. II, x, p. 193).

8) a white fowle like a pigeon]

This description suggests a dove, symbolic of peace and of the Holy Ghost.

9) 'Z' is th first letter placed in the heptagon.

7 f athers]

Each feath r contains a letter to be placed in the first side of the heptagon (see fol. 30a).

11-12) Se Commentary to lines 4-5 above.

26) a swan]

The symbolism of the swan is of great complexity. The swan is sacred to Venus, can represent hermaphroditism, and was compared by the alchemists to 'philosophical Mercury', the mystic Centre and the union of opposites. It also represents the satisfaction of a desire (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols). None of these meanings seem to be in Kelly's mind, however.

27) 'He spoke and it was done'. This echoes God's creation of the world through his word (see Genesis I, 3).

28-34) These letters fill the spaces in the second side of the heptagon in the Sigillum Dei.

39) like to a peacock]

In Christian art the peacock represents the immortality and incorruptibility of the soul (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols, p. 251) and this may be esoterically related to the role of Cumael (the third angel's name to be drawn from the letters in the heptagon) as a personification of divine justice (Davidson, Dictionary of Angels). The immortal soul must finally face the justice of God.

40-41) 'And you live with him: and your reign is with him'.

44-50) These letters occupy the spaces in the third side of the heptagon in the seal.

fol. 23b.

2-4) 'He gave them power in the heavens. His power is great. Pray'.

6) a griphen]

A fabulous animal, being half eagle and half lion with a long serpentine tail. The griffin is found as the guardian of the roads to salvation or standing beside the Tree of Life and in medieval Christian art it is commonly associated with signs tending towards ambivalence, representing for instance both the Saviour and the Antichrist (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols). No specific symbolism seems to be accorded to it here, however.

8-14) These letters occupy the spaces in the fourth side of the heptagon.

18-20) 'God is great in his angels, and great is their power in the heavens. Pray'.

21) an Egle]

The symbolism of the eagle is multifarious, but a common interpretation is that of a heavenly messenger, which taken a stage further allows the bird to be seen as representing the spirit of prophecy (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols, p. 92). Haniel is the fifth name to be drawn from the letters in the heptagon, and while Gabriel is traditionally the angel of annunciation, the role has also been given to Haniel, alias Annael (Davidson, Dictionary of Angels). The bird can therefore be seen as a suitable bearer of the fifth set of letters.

25) These letters occupy the spaces in the fifth side of the heptagon. The circle measures 41mm in diameter and the squares measure 6mm.

28-29) 'Your messenger is great in the heavens. Pray'. There remains doubt as to whether these pronouncements by Michael with each show of letters are introductory or valedictory, but if the latter, the words may clearly be related to Haniel's role (see ⁿCommentary to line 21 above).

30) Basket]

A singular for a plural.

- 36) Uriel takes over the exposition from Michael because the sixth name to be extracted from the letters is that of Michael himself. Michael is therefore 'here' in name and 'not here' in presence.

- 38-40) The phoenix is symbolic of all processes of destruction and rebirth and the bird which Kelly sees certainly resembles a phoenix in its sparkling fiery qualities. The action of the bird, however, strongly argues that it is a pelican, which in this portraiture is a most potent symbol of the Redemption and of service to one's fellow man:

The Pellican, for to reuiue her younge,
Doth peirce her brest, and geue them of her blood:
Then searche your breste, and as you haue with tonge,
With penne proceede to doe our countrie good:
Your zeale is great, your learning is profounde,
Then helpe our wantes, with that you doe abounde.

(Whitney's Choice of Emblemes, edited by Henry Green, facsimile reprint (London 1846), p. 87).

A bird which is a mixture of phoenix and pelican may be interpreted as symbolic of the rebirth of man through Christ's sacrifice, although the precise nature of any intended connection with Michael, whom Dee defines as 'the strength of God', is not clear.

- 43) The square measures 24mm on each side and the segment of the circle measures 14mm at the base. The sixth side of the heptagon in the Sigillum Dei reads 'i i e e l l l', so the

letters are intended to be read clockwise, beginning at the top left corner.

MN36) See 24b, 23-24.

fol. 24a.

- 2) 'He gave to the angels power in the light of heaven'.
- 4) The revelation equivalent to Michael's name now being past, Michael himself returns to continue the exposition.
- 6) a strange fowle with many wings]
Save for the fact that all winged creatures represent spirituality, the symbolism of this creature remains obscure.
- 8) The circle measures 32mm in diameter. The letters are to be read anti-clockwise from the top 'e'.
- 9) 'And God joined them in one'.
- 13) There is no specific function of explication assigned by tradition to Uriel.
- 16) The title of 'fellows' again emphasises the election of Dee and Kelly by God.
- 17) This is equivalent to Dee's customary prayer of 'recte sapere' etc. (see 7a, 49).

24) the 7 angles]

The segments between the heptagon and the outer circle of the seal.

26) Those 7 letters]

See 22b, 18-24.

the 7 Seats of the One]

Seats (sedes) are an order of Angels mentioned in Augustine's Civitas Dei and may be equated with the more common order of Thrones.

27-28) Even if the crosses which accompany the letters are meant in each case to stand for 'El' (see Commentary to 19a, 19-22), the names of these '7 secret Angels' remain veiled. The 'G', 'A' and 'H', each with a cross, might represent Gabriel, Annael and Haniel, but Annael and Haniel are customarily alternative names for the same angel and in such a sequence one would also expect the names of Michael and Raphael, if not Uriel as well. While there are several angelic names which begin with the first six letters of the name Galethog and which also end in 'el', there is no recorded septenary of angels that I have found which comprises ~~7~~ angels whose names begin with these letters, and I have found no angelic name which begins with 'og' and ends in 'el'. The names of these '7 secret Angels' are not revealed in any later Action and Kelly's lack of further explanation is probably deliberate.

28) in substance]

'in essential nature, with regard to the divine being of God', a theological usage (OED).

29) in forme]

In Scholastic philosophy 'form' was 'the essential determinant principle of a thing' (OED).

29-30) Inwardly to the HOLI GHOSTE]

Agrippa writes that the number 7 is 'consecrated to the Holy Ghost, which the Prophet Isaiah describes to be seaven fold, according to his gifts viz. the spirit of wisdom, and understanding, the spirit of counsell, and strength, the spirit of knowledge, and holiness, and the spirit of the fear of the Lord' (Occ. Phil. II, x, p. 197).
See Isaiah XI, 2.

32-33) the 7 inward powres of God]

See Commentary to lines 29-30 above. If those seven qualities are not referred to here, then these powers only add further to the vagueness and obscurity of this passage.

36) qualifieth]

'gives quality to'.

38) ONE in SEVEN]

The one name Galethog is supposed to contain the names of the '7 secret Angels'.

38) He is twice THREE]

The marginal note corrects this to 'twice three and one'.

Agrippa notes that the number seven 'hath a Unity, as it were the coupling of two threes' (see Commentary to 18a, 32).

fol. 24b.

1-2) The numbers accompanying the letters in the segments between the heptagon and the outer circle of the seal are those that are found with the letters that make up the name of Galethog in the outer circle.

8) See John I, 5.

14) The parte]

The heptagon.

16-17) See Proverbs III, 32: 'for his secret is with the righteous'.

22-28) The names of the seven angels between lines 22 and 24 are obtained by reading downward and are the names of the Angels of the Presence according to Agrippa (Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 204-205).

29) the number of 72 Vertues]

Despite Dee's assumption in the marginal note to this line, it is not clear whether the 48 letters (excluding the final cross) lead collectively to the 72 virtues or whether each letter individually represents 72 virtues, making a total of 3456. In the former case the method by which the names

are supposed to proceed remains obscure and it is perhaps no accident that no further exposition of this point is given. The angelic order of Virtues is not usually to be found numbered except for its seven governing angels, and the reference may rather glance at the 72 angels who bear the name of God shemhamphorae. A clear explanation of how these 72 names are gathered from Exodus XIV, 19-21 is to be found in C.D.Ginsburg, The Kabbalah (London 1865) pp. 50-54, and they are also listed in Davidson, Dictionary of Angels, p. 345. Yet even if these names do act as a source for this angelic pronouncement, no connection with the cross and 48 letters in the heptagon of the seal is evident.

30) The names of the virtues are not revealed.

38) In Ashmole's transcript this line bears a marginal note in which Ashmole writes: 'This I suppose was spoken by Michael, though the noting by whome is omitted in the originall' (Sloane MS 3677, 39a).

44) Man is frayle]

See Psalm XXXIX, 4.

MN21) Uriel does not appear among the seven governing angels whose names are contained in the outer heptagon of the seal.

MN26) In an Action of 25 June 1584 it is explained that 'the earth is the last, which is with the Angels, but not as the

Angels, and therefore it standeth in the Table of the seven
Angels, which stand before the presence of God in the last
 place, without a Letter, or number, but figured by a Crosse'
 (TFR, p. 173).

MN29) See Commentary to line 29.

MN44) This note refers to the suggestion that the books of
 Lord Monteagle are in danger (see 25a, 1-4).

fol. 25a.

3) L. Mowntegles]

William Stanley, the third Lord Monteagle, died in 1581 and
 the fourth Lord Monteagle was William Parker, who inherited
 the title through his mother, the daughter and heiress of
 William Stanley. Parker was born in 1575, and so Dee is
 referring to Stanley and is presumably attempting to
 purchase books once owned by Stanley and now for sale as a
 result of his death.

M^r Mort]

The identity of this man remains hidden, but it is probable
 that he was acting as an agent for the sale of Stanley's
 books.

4) whereof mention is made before]

If any earlier mention was made it was presumably in the
 missing page at the beginning of the second book. Dee's Diary
 states that on 22 March 1582 'Mr. Talbot went to London, to
 take his jorney', evidently to see Mr Mort about the books.

12) a Trumpeter]

See the spirits at 20b, 9 and 21a,1.

13) heare]

'hair'.

14) The sownd therof]

In contrast to the previous spirits with trumpets this one evidently does blow upon his.

16) There are two carets for the superscription, one being before the comma after 'Skryer'.

17) This warning was given at 12b,24.

18-20) 'And this is his glory, which will not be shaken by the wicked. What do you want? Δ Next to the will of God, the wisdom necessary for us' (see 7a, 49 and 24a,17). The speech-heading of Michael is misplaced but the curved line to the left of lines 18 and 19 indicates that it should be at the line above its present position.

21-24) 'The wisdom of the world is nothing [see Job XXVIII, 12] but will perish in eternity. May the eternity of the Lord come, from all parts of the world. Come, come, if God Adonai wills. Perform your office Phanaël'. Phanaël is here given the office of blowing the last trump.

24) Phanaël]

I have found no other record of this angelic name, but Phanuel ('the face of God') is an archangel of penance and often equated with Uriel. Along with Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, Phanuel is designated as one of the four angels of the presence, when those angels are not deemed to be seven in number. In the Sybilline Oracles he is one of the five angels who know all the evils that men have committed, which makes his office of blowing the last trump here particularly appropriate.

31) Mone and sterr[s]

'Moon and stars'.

32) Multiplex est Deus noster]

'Our God exists in many forms'.

33-34) Seuen...erth]

For an exposition of the number seven in relation to heavenly and earthly bodies and events see Agrippa, Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 193-202.

34-35) seuen...body]

The number four relates to body and the elements and the number three appertains to the soul. The number seven therefore 'contains body and soul' (see Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 193-194 and Commentary to 18a, 32).

36) The number seven 'hath a Unity, as it were a coupling of two threes' (Occ. Phil. II, x, p. 194).

37) See Commentary to line 36 above.

38) The name YHSVH (Jhesu), which is the wonder-working name of Reuchlin's De verbo mirifico, consists of five letters and is the name to be called upon in 'the time of grace' according to Agrippa (Occ. Phil. II, viii, p. 189). The Son of God may also be found in the number six contained in seven (see Commentary to 18b, 12).

38-39) the proportion of the Holy Ghoste]

Agrippa writes that in the proportion of 2:2 the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son may be seen (Occ. Phil. II, vii, p. 183). The Son and the proportion of the Holy Ghost are contained in the number seven in the constituent numbers of 5 and 2 and in the number 4 (2:2) which remains after the number of the Trinity has been extracted.

40) thy 7 Trumpets]

'And I saw the seven angels which stood before God: and to them were given seven trumpets' (Revelation VIII, 2).

41) thy 7 Angels]

The seven angels of the presence, who have the seven trumpets and have or are the seven thrones referred to at line 40.

42) See line 33 above.

fol. 25b.

4) Uriel was designated as possessing an office of explication and instruction at 24a, 13.

7) 'Such is our God'.

12) 'Our God is one, God, our God'.

13-14) The joining of the pillars symbolises unity in seven (see 25a, 36).

15-23) These letters form the name underneath the first side of the heptagon in the Sigillum Dei.

23) *Μυστηριον* est]

'It is a mystery'. *Μυστηριον* is closer to the Latin 'mysterium' than the correct Greek *Μυστηριον* .

30-34) These pillars are sent by evil spirits, in the same manner that illuding spirits kept intruding in the Action of 10 March 1582 (9a-10b).

31) 'The evil one perishes with the wicked'.

33-34) 'Such is your audacity Satan, but our God lives'.

36) NON SVM]

'I am not'. The marginal note indicates that these pillars

are not to be heeded.

38) SVM]

'I ~~am~~', equivalent to the holy name יהוה (Ehie) which God spoke to Moses from the burning bush (Exodus III, 14). These pillars provide the next name for the seal.

44) B T Z]

The first three letters of the second name, written under the second side of the heptagon in the seal.

45) cumfet boxes]

'cumfit boxes', cumfits being sweetmeats such as preserved fruit or pickles (OED).

46) 'These are the secrets of secrets'. The phrase echoes 'the holy of holies' (sanctus sanctorum).

fol. 26a.

1) 'Invoke his name or we can do nothing'.

3) K A S E]

The remaining letters to be written under the second side of the heptagon.

7) 'Thus, O Lord, thus, thus'.

8) the Table]

The Sigillum Dei.

9) Laudate...aeternum]

'Praise the name of the Lord who lives for ever'.

11) Ipse]

Literally this means 'himself', but it is rather the Latin equivalent of the Tetragrammaton, the holy name of God which means 'he is'.

12) 'And your mercy is great O Lord' (see Psalm LXXXVI, 13).

16-17) These letters are placed under the third side of the heptagon in the seal.

19) 'The Lord is to be found in his number' (literally 'placed in his number').

22) 'I live like a lion in their midst'. Christ is called the 'Lion of the tribe of Juda' in Revelation V, 5.

23) 'And your power is great everywhere'.

25-28) These letters are placed under the fourth side of the heptagon in the seal.

27) 'This is not except by prayer'.

31) Serpens...serpentem]

' I am the serpent and have devoured the serpent'. The

second serpent is Satan, but the first is God, the serpent being symbolic of energy and, when biting its tail, also of eternity (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols).

32) 'You are the serpent to both good and evil, O Lord'. Since all things proceed from God, evil exists only by his allowance.

34-36) These letters appear under the fifth side of the heptagon in the seal.

37) 'The number of that one is known to none'.

41) 'I am the penetrating fire'. This sentence recalls the Pentecost.

41) Et sit nobiscum O Deus]
'And may it be with us O God'.

45) I apered]
The letter 'I' appeared.

46) $\frac{21}{8}$]
The marginal note states that this should read $V \frac{21}{8}$.

49) Angels like little Children]
The names of the Sons of Light, the Daughters of Light, and their sons and daughters are to be extracted from the letters delivered by the pillars and these angels are

presumably representative of them.

fol. 26b.

1) N]

This is the last letter of the sixth name to be written under the heptagon of the seal, the others having been delivered at 26a,43-46 (with the exception of the V that was omitted in error).

2) 'Thus, thus, thus [is] our God' (see 26a,7).

6) 'The end'.

7) 'God [is] our joy and light'.

10-14) The seventh name for the seal is delivered here.

11-12) This vision seems to represent the Creation, although it could equally well be seen as representing the chaos on earth that follows the blowing of the trumpets for the Last Judgement in Revelation.

13) Consummatum est]

See 20b, 5 & 47.

16-17) 'One, one, one; all flesh fears his voice'.

19-20) See 14a,20 and Introduction pp. 110-112.

21) shold do well]

'would be all right'.

27) stoles]

'stools'.

flowre]

'floor'.

28) him]

Kelly.

32-34) 'Approach, daughters of goodness: behold your God comes
near: come'.

35) On female spirits see Introduction p. 155, note 1.

36) a wreath] *a cordet of twisted silk (OED).*

39) 'Write what you see'.

40) a blue tablet]

The colour blue 'stands for religious feeling, devotion and
innocence' (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols). The colour is
appropriate considering what the tablet bears. Unfortunately
there is no apparent reason why these spirits should also
be dressed in green, the colour of fertility.

41) EL]

See Commentary to 19a, 16.

41-48) The names delivered here are written in the angles formed

by the interwoven heptagon in the seal.

MN32) 'The daughters of goodness or the little daughters of light: see the following page'. Dee generally refers to these spirits as filiae lucis, 'the daughters of light'.

fol. 27a.

1) Nos possumus in Caelis multa]

'We can do many things in the heavens'.

3) your next place but one]

Inside the angles of the intertwined heptagon rather than in the heptagon itself.

5) 'Approach little daughters of light' (see 26b, MN32).

6-7) Adsumus...stas]

'We come, O you who stand before the face of God'. Michael is one of the angels of the presence.

8) Hijs nr̄is benefacite]

'Do well by these our [chosen] people', referring to Dee and Kelly.

9) Factum erit]

'It shall be done'.

10) Valete]

'Go'.

- 11) The erased 'E' shows that Dee originally began to write 'E.K!', as Kelly was relating the vision to him.
- 11-13) 'And the Lord said, come sons of light, come into my tabernacle. Come (I say), for my name is exalted'.
- 15) The Daughters of Light were attired in this manner but in green silk (26b,35-36).
- 16-22) These are the seven metals associated with the seven planets. Gold is the metal of the sun, silver that of the moon and copper that of venus. Tin belongs to jupiter, iron ('yern') to mars, quicksilver to mercury and lead to saturn. The order in which the metals are shown is a little peculiar in that one would expect a descending order of baseness or an order related to the order of the planets, but this may only be achieved by swopping the places of the tin and the quicksilver. When this is done, a descending order of baseness, also c rresponding to the Copernican system less the earth, is achieved.
- 24) 'Although they are generated at one time, still they are one thing'. The caret refers to the marginal note which would change the sentence to read: 'although they are not generated at one time', thus making more sense. The lines concern the Aristotelian conception of matter being ultimately all one matter, but taking an infinite variety of forms. This concept lay at the heart of the alchemical theory of transmutation, which ^{sought to} change the form of matter (see F. Sherwood Taylor, The

Alchemists (London 1951), pp. 12-17).

26-34) These names are written in the arms of the intertwined heptagon.

34) 'Act for them [i.e. Dee and Kelly] when the time shall come'.

35) Volumus]

'We will'.

36-37) 'Great is the glory of God amongst you. He will be for ever. Hallelujah. Go'.

39-40) 'God said: let my name be remembered, but let yours be forgotten'; not a direct biblical reference.

42-44) 'Come, come, come, daughters of the Daughters of Light, come; you who will have daughters, come now and always'.
'Qui' should be quae.

MN5) See Commentary to 26b, MN32.

MN11) 'The Sons of Light'.

MN43) 'The daughters of the Daughters [of Light]'.

MN44) A third generation of Daughters of Light does not make an appearance.

fol. 27b.

1-2) Dixit...Adsumus,]

'God said: I have created my angels, who may destroy the daughters of the earth. We are come'. The 'daughters of the earth' are presumably evil spirits, in opposition to the Daughters of Light, but they make no appearance in the Actions.

2) 7 little wenches]

These are the second generation Daughters of Light.

3-5) They are dressed like the Sons of Light (see 27a, 14-15).

6) Vbi fuistis vos]

'Where were you?'

6-7) In terris...glorificatis]

'On earth with the saints and in the heavens with the glorified'.

9) The significance of this speech impediment is obscure.

11) Non...hoc]

'This mystery may not yet be known', referring to the objects in the hands of the spirits. In contrast to 25b, 23, the Greek mysterion is now in Roman letters. This cannot just be a case of Kelly mixing up the Greek and Latin words, since it was Dee who wrote mysterium in Greek letters at 25b, 23.

12) white Ivory]

I cannot discover any traditional symbolism attached to ivory but purity is evidently represented.

13-19) These names occur inside those last delivered in the
Sigillum Dei.

20-21) 'What may you do for these? We will be with them in all their works'. Again the spirits offer aid to Dee and Kelly (see 27a,34-35).

22) Valeas...Caelis]

'You are worthy and you are great O [you] in the heavens'. The letter 'O' is both vocative and symbolic of God's perfection and eternity, being a circle. Furthermore the 'O' may refer to God's role as omega, the end of all things.

25) 'And he sent the sons of the Sons [of Light] teaching in Israel'.

26-27) 'The Lord said: come to my voice. We are here'.

27) 7 little Children]

These are the second generation Sons of Light.

28-30) The scholarly dress conforms with the role of these spirits as teachers (line 25 above) and purple 'provides a synthesis comparable with, yet the inverse of, violet, representing




power, spirituality and sublimation' (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols, p. 52).

31) 'What is done among the sons of men?'

32-34) 'They live in evil (they said) and we do not have a place with them, such is their injustice. Woe unto the world because of offences. Woe unto those from whom the offences come. Woe unto those with whom we are not'. The second and third sentences are derived from Matthew XVII, 7.

35) The three cornered tablets are symbolic of divinity (see Commentary to 18b,25). Since the names delivered between lines 37 and 47 'grow from' the names written under the sides of the outer heptagon of the seal and these are the second generation Sons of Light, the green colouring may be justified in terms of fertility and growth.

37) E]

Agrippa writes that among the kabbalists 'there is yet another fashion of Characters, common to almost all letters, and tongues, and very easie, which is by the gathering together of letters; as if the name of the angel Michael be given, the Characters thereof shall be framed thus. In Hebrew  , in Greek  , in Latin  , (Occ. Phil. III, xxx, pp. 443-444). The writing of 'EL' as such a compound letter is a simple example of this tradition.

37) Nec...Mundus]

'Nor is the world afraid at my name'.

37-47) These names are written in the inner heptagon of the
Sigillum Dei.

38) Nullus...meam]

'None shall see my face' (see Exodus XXXIII, 20).

39) Non...dicā]

'The virgin is not [living] on earth with whom I may speak'. This phrase and the name 'Aue' recalls the Annunciation by Gabriel to the Virgin Mary.

42-43) Tanta...illo]

'Such is the weakness of the holiness of the day. The righteous have deserted him'. 'Diei' is probably an error for 'Dei' ('of God'). The first sentence is hard to make sense of, but may be pointing to the fact that man must turn to God of his own accord; God does not compel man to follow his ways (compare with Donne's Holy Sonnet XIV, 'Batter my heart, three person'd God'). In Latin 'Liba' means a sacrificial cake and it is possible that reference is being made to the Host.

44-45) Opera...me]

'The works of their hands are in vain; but none shall see me'.

47) Ecce...vuiuo]

'Behold—Hagonel—I live with those that are yet holy'. The 'e' and 'l' of Hagonel are written as one composite letter (see Commentary to line 37 above).

MN47) 'See book four concerning this Hagonel'. Hagonel later instructs Dee in many matters.

fol. 28a.

1-2) Hij...Doctrina]

'These have imitated my doctrine. In me is found the doctrine of all things'.

3-4) Imitauerūt, for Imitati sunt]

The verb 'to imitate' is correctly passive in Latin: imitor.

5) Non curat numerum Lupus]

'The wolf does not care for (or pay attention to) number'. This would appear to refer to Kelly and in this respect the comment on the biblical use of wolves in metaphor which is to be found in Cruden's Concordance under the heading of 'Wolf' is illuminating: 'In a country where a large part of wealth consisted of flocks of sheep the habits of wolves became thoroughly well known, and were often used as symbols of such habits and actions of mankind as might bear a resemblance to them'.

6) Ne...virtutem]

'He does not take away the least virtue from virtue'. 'Virtue' is being used in both a particular and a general sense and the line may be paraphrased as 'not even the smallest virtuous act of those who lead righteous lives goes unnoticed by God'.

7-8) 'Be with them. Be (I say with them). Be (I say) with me. Go.' This is spoken to the spirits. The first closing parenthesis has evidently been misplaced and should come after 'say'.

10) 'It has been said at this time'.

13) See 24a,13. 'Interpretate' is an error for 'interpret'.

14-15) 'Vr. All understanding is from the Lord. Mi. And his name is Halleluyah'. 'Hallelujah' means 'praise Jah', Jah being one of the names of God.

17-23) This table is incorrect, the correct version being given at 28b,34-40. The erasures are very faint and the corrections are made in pencil and I suspect that they were made by Ashmole. Since Dee shortly received the correct version there cannot have been great need to correct the first example, whereas Ashmole may have wanted a convenient comparison of the two versions for his investigations into Dee's magic.

Even when the numbers in the table are explained as letters, most of the names remain unpronounceable.

27-28) 'Blessed is he who keeps his names secret'. In Revelation secret names are also given to the elect (II, 17) and the angel called Faithful and True has another name which is said to be secret (XIX, 12).

29-31) The names of these angels who stand next to the seven angels of the presence are obtained by reading from the top left corner diagonally downwards from right to left. The first name is S/AB/ATH/I $\frac{21}{8}$, or Sabathiel ($\frac{21}{8}$ standing for 'el'). The seven names obtained in this way are Sabathiel, Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semeliel, Nogahel, Corabiel and Levanael (all numbers except $\frac{21}{8}$ represent simply the letter 'l').

32-33) 'Holy, holy, holy is he, our God'. Compare with Revelation IV, 8.

34-28b,1) The further names to be extracted from the table are those of the Daughters of Light, their daughters, the Sons of Light and their sons.

34) Every letter]

Not each individual letter, but the entire table allows the names to be found (see 21a, 20).

36) Every daughter her daughter]

Every daughter of the Daughters of Light.

36-37) bringeth furth a sonne]

This suggests that 27a,44 should read filios, 'sons', rather than filias, 'daughters',

MN13) 'Uriel's office'.

fol. 28b.

2) the God of seuen]

See 24a,26-42.

4-7) 'The voice of the Lord in strength. The voice of the Lord in decorum. The voice of the Lord reveals secrets. In his temple let us praise his name El.'

10-11) The names of the Daughters of Light are to be found by reading the table diagonally from the top right corner from left to right. Each diagonal produces a name: El, Me, Ese, Iana, Akel , Azdobn, Stimcul (see 26b,41-48). The last name is the diagonal from one corner to the other (what is here called the 'one Centre').

12-13) The names of the Sons of Light are obtained by reading from the bottom left corner diagonally upwards from left to right: I, Ih, Ilr, Dmal, Heeoa, Beigia, Stimcul (see 27a,26-33).

14) These principles allow the names of the second generation sons and daughters of light to be obtained. The names of the second generation daughters are found by reading from the top left corner diagonally from right to left, ignoring the numbers: S, Ab, Ath, Ized, Ekiei, Madimi, Esemeli (see 27b, 13-19). The names of the second generation Sons of Light are obtained by reading from the bottom right corner diagonally upwards from left to right, using the transliteration of the number in the bottom right corner only: El, An, Ave,

Liba, Rocle, Hagonel, Ilemese (see 27b,37-28a,1).

18-20) Dee is to look for a letter over an 8.

19) vnder neth]

'underneath'.

22) This first name is 'El'.

24-25) The number 8 occurs under the letter 'l' in the 17th place of the outer circle of the seal, but also under 'o' in the 24th place.

27) See Commentary to 27b,37.

28) 'The name of the Lord lives for ever'.

34-40) This is the corrected version of the table.

34) Viuit in Caelis]

'He lives in the heavens'. Presumably each of these phrases that follow is intended to reflect upon the supposed meaning of these unpronounceable names.

35-40) Deus...tabula]

'Our God. Our leader. He is here. Light in eternity. He is the end. This table is true'.

41-42) 'This table is true, and is partly known to us and partly unknown to all. Look further'.

43) in the second place]

'In the second line'.

44) The name of the Second Daughter of Light is 'Me', but the 3⁰ represents 'l' in the derivation of the name of Hagonei from the table. The transliteration of the numbers is based upon the letters with which they occur in the outer circle of the Sigillum Dei. The position of the dot indicates that the letter is to be found above the number and the first example in the seal is to be found in the 15th place of the outer circle.

MN25) 'El' and 'l' are argued as being one and the same (see Commentary to 19a,16 & 19-22 and Monas Hieroglyphica, edited by C. H. Josten, p. 171).

fol. 29a.

1) The 26[.] by I is the beginning of the fifth unknown name of God in the table. The point above the number indicates that it is to be found above a letter and 26 occurs over 'l' in the 14th space of the outer circle of the seal. The transliteration is not used in obtaining the name of the fourth second generation Daughter of Light (Ekiei), but is used in extracting the name of Zedekieil from the table.

3) The only time the number 21 occurs in the outer circle of the seal is in the 25th place, under the letter 'e'.

6-7) '[God's] virtue is with you. Pray'.

10-11) 'Our God's angels of light. And he placed his angels
in their midst'.

18) The table actually reads 'Sabathiel'.

19) The name of this angel is more normally found as 'Zedekiel'.

26-27) The names are written inside the inner heptagon, Zabathiel
having a letter placed on each side of the figure and the
remaining names being written in a circle around the inner
pent cle.

45) This cross measures 8mm high by 6mm across, the arm being
5mm from the base.

47) The dimensions of this cross are the same as those of the
cross at line 45 above. The final 'e' and 'l' of Levanael
are written one over the other.

MN10) 'Angels of Light'.

MN24) Corabiel is one of the angels of the first heaven who
rules in the west and who may be invoked on Mondays
according to Abano's tables (Agrippa, Opera, p. 580).

fol. 29b.

1-3) 'God saw that his work was good and he ceased from his
labours. It was done' (see Genesis I, 31).

5-10) This is an expanded form of the liturgical blessing
(see Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book 1559, p. 105)

11) These Angels]

Sabathiel, Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semiel, Nogahel, Corabiel
and Levanahel.

12) the Lightes of the .7. Circles]

The seven planets on their spheres. The angels assigned to the planets by Agrippa are those whose names are extracted at 24b,22-24 (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv, p. 414), but he also gives them governance over the world (Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 204-205). At 23a,11-12, Kelly was informed that the angels whose names were extracted at 24b,22-24, governed the earth and here a different septenary is being pronounced as governors of the planets, although there is a divergence from Agrippa.

14-16) Uriel is sometimes included as one of the Angels of the Presence

16) 'I have spoken'.

20-21) 'May the name of the Lord be blessed from this moment and continuously for ever and ever'.

fol. 30a.

The drawing of the seal has a diameter of 195mm (7.7 inches).
The inner bands are 7mm wide and the inner pentacle has a

thickness of 2.5mm (0.1 inches).

- 1-3) 'The Seal of God, called AEMETH or EMETH ['the truth'] of God'. There seems little point in the Hebrew being written twice since the vowel points are the same in both cases, although they are intended to represent the two possible versions of Aemeth and Emeth. The transliteration of the aleph becomes in this case purely a matter of preference.

fol. 31a.

- 1-6) 'The third book of mysteries. 28 April 1582. The third book. The fourth book'.

- 3-4) The third book also contains an Action of 29 April and an Action of 4 May (36a and 42a).

- 5-6) These lines are in Ashmole's hand and arise from the fact that he designates the title page of book four (44a) as beginning the fifth book and assumes that the fourth book begins with the Action of 4 May (see Commentary to 42a, 1).

fol. 32a

- 2) my Complayntes]

It is evident from lines 10-12 that Dee had been experiencing considerable difficulty in performing the tasks set for him by the angels, such as the construction of the lamine and the ring.

6) one Action, in one person]

The communication of the angels is directed towards one mind, that of Dee and Kelly together (see line 7).

9) This reference to slackness and Dee's subsequent excuse caused Ashmole to believe that some papers were missing from the end of the second book (see Introduction p. 11).

13) A great hill of gold with serpents]

This vision lends itself to alchemical as well as religious interpretation. The hill may be symbolic of the Philosophers' Stone as well as just divine wisdom and while in religious symbolism the serpent is the devil, in alchemical symbolism it has the same significance as the dragon, representing 'matter in its imperfect unregenerate state' (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 145). The vision would therefore represent the goal to which Dee aspires (wisdom or the Philosophers' Stone) beset by troubles (the serpents as evil) or by impurities (the serpents as unregenerate matter).

14) a mighty great water]

In alchemical symbolism the dragon or serpent has to be slain 'which means that the metals...have to be reduced to a non-metallic condition' (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 145). This is achieved by boiling and distillation, various 'waters' being produced. The great water may, however, simply be a symbol for the destruction of the hill and serpents, thereby implying the transience of worldly things and ambition (see line 17).

19) The lamine is probably to be covered by red silk like the seal and the Holy Table (see 10a, 18-21).

19-23) The triangular sketch measures 26mm along the top and 29mm down the vertical side; it is intended to be isocetes but is not completely on the folio.

21) the Ring]

Presumably this is the ring bearing the name PELE (see 12a, 33) although line 23 does suggest some large circle of which no reference is extant in the manuscript.

23) It is inconceivable that the ring bearing the name PELE should be so large as to accommodate this kind of reduction, but it is not easy to see what else might be referred to here.

27) PELE]

See Commentary to 12a, 46.

28) Venite Ese]

'Come Ese'. Ese is the third of the Daughters of Light.

29) Fire is an emblem of God's word (see Jeremiah XXIII, 29) and of the baptism of the Holy Ghost (see Matthew III, 11).

30) The 'thing' is a 'figure' which changes into the two Daughters of Light Ese and Iana (see line 37).

31-32) 'Praise the Lord in the heavens. Pray'.

34-35) 'Come hither Ese. Come hither Iana'. Iana is the fourth of the Daughters of Light.

36) 'He gave you a show in your tables'. Dee uses the word 'show' for visions or displays of tables by the angels and spirits and I take demonstratio to be its Latin equivalent.

38) lightened]
'shome'.

41) 'From these come created things and these are their names'.
The first 'these' refers to the tables that are to follow and which will be known as the Tables of Creation.

44) 'Number one', the table at fol. 33a.

48) septem...2^o.]

'The seven Daughters of Goodness [see 26b,MN32], in book two above' (see 26b, 41-48).

MN19) [simpler]

This word is not entirely legible and this is the nearest that I can come to making sense of it, unsatisfactory though it is. This might be paraphrased as 'no further details were given of the lamime'. Ashmole's transcript offers no solution as he has just copied the letters as best he could, ending with the same flourish or slip of the pen as the original. The first five letters are

the most certain.

fol. 32b.

1) the first Shew]

This is a vision of part of the first table, given in its complete form on fol. 33a. For ease of reference to parts of these 'tables of creation' I shall adopt a system as if the constituent squares were lettered consecutively across the top and numbered consecutively down the completed table. Thus this 'first Shew' would be A1.

3) The second]

This second square is A2 of the completed table on fol. 33a.
in like wise]

Since there is no cross in this square, this must mean that it was likewise 'wyped oute' by the finger.

4) The third]

Square A3 in the table on fol. 33a.

5) This figure is to be found in square G2 of the first table.

It is not clear why the squares between A3 and G2 receive no individual reference.

6) The two Crossed ones]

This probably refers to square H2 where two letters 'B' are separated by a cross, although it could be B2.

7) The next]

This refers to either all those between H2 and H3 (i.e.

all those in the third line down except for the last) or,
 if 'the two Crossed ones' referred to B2, to all those between
 C2 and H3. It seems most likely that the specific meaning
 of 'the next' is 'the next line of squares'.

8) This is square H3.

9) This line refers to square A4.

11) The square with $\begin{smallmatrix} G \\ M \\ + \end{smallmatrix}$ is F4 in the table.

12) that he let stand]

This square was not blotted out.

13) Five]

Presumably five of the Daughters of Light.

burnt]

Either 'destroyed' or 'made appear with fire'.

The diagram is G4 and H4 in the table.

14) This diagram occupies the squares A5, B5 and C5 in the table.

16) The places are very black]

The letters seem to be of a bright colour or gold (see line 5)
 against a black background, although Ashmole's description
 of the Holy Table gives the lines of the tables as blue and
 the letters, numbers and diagrams as red (see Introduction
 p.137).

17) Finis Tenebrarū]

'The end of darkness', an accompanying phrase suitable to a 'table of creation'.

18) the little woman]

The Daughter of Light who has presented the table (32a,38).
the clowde]

The 'myst' which appeared at 32a,40.

19) mery]

'merry'.

20) comprehended]

This word not only bears the meaning of 'understood' but also of 'included' and 'contained'. In the creative process the first table represents 'the end of darkness' and there seems to be a reference to John I, 5: 'And the light shineth in darkness: and the darkness comprehendeth it not'. See also Genesis I, 4, in which light is divided from darkness.

22) .6. other Tables]

These are shown on fols 33a, 33b, 35a and 35b.

28-29) 'A good beginning in his name and it is', or 'and the beginning is good in his name' if the 'et' is misplaced.

32) 'Come daughters of the Daughters of Light, Ese'. Either Ese or Iana showed the first table. After this summoning six of the second generation Daughters of Light appear.

Ese is one of the first generation daughters, however,
and it is strange that her name should be called here.

- 33) Dee's marginal note to this line indicates that he failed
to hear or transcribe something here in his original notes.

- 34) white apparell]

The second generation Daughters of Light were clothed
in 'white silk robes' at their first appearance (27b,3).

- 38) This figure represents the Trinity, showing three proceeding
from one (three words 'vnus' from one 'V') and one
contained in three ('vnus' meaning 'one'). The letter 'V'
also contributes to this meaning since the Hebrew Vau
has a numerical equivalent of 6, which represents unity,
the binary and the ternary (1 + 2 + 3). See Commentary
to 18b,12 and Reuchlin, De verbo mirifico, sigs e4v-e6r.

- 39) It is not clear which of the second generation daughters
this is.

- 40) a ball of light]

This must represent Light, created on the first day of
God's great work. Much of the symbolism accompanying the
showing of the ensuing Tables of Creation may have an alchemical
significance and in this field the ball of light would
represent fire and divine wisdom (for a comparison of
the six days of the Creation and alchemical processes, see
Introduction pp. 135-136).

42) Dies primus]

'The first day'.

43) Vbi est Tabula?]

'Where is the table?'

44) Est]

'It is'.

47) Three faces]

Another symbol of the Trinity.

ouer]

'At the top'.

49) three cullours]

The emphasis is again upon a trinitarian state. The mixture of red and white may symbolise the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son, white representing purity and red representing martyrdom. There may also be an unspecified connection with the red and white stones of the alchemical process.

MN32) 'The daughters of the daughters, Ese, see book two above'.

See 26b,41-48 and 27b,13-19.

fol. 33a.

- 1) Numerus Primus]
'Number one', in Ashmole's hand. This table measures four inches square and was to be placed at the top of the Holy Table (see Introduction p.134). The significance of the letters and figures remains obscure, if indeed there is any real significance. The frequency of the letter 'B' probably relates to the 49 spirits whose names all begin with that letter (see the table at 40a).

The first square (A1) of the table bears a resemblance to square B4 in the table at fol. 35a, the numbers being half those in the later table and the positions of the letters and numbers being reversed (see Commentary to fol. 35a).

The figure in square F4 of this table is similar to the last line of the table at 24b which ends M G †, the letters beginning the names of Michael and Gabriel (see 24b, 28).

- 3) This second table has a diameter of $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches and was to be placed in the upper right corner of the pentagram in the Holy Table.

The three interlocked circles in the top left corner of the square represent the eternal state of the Trinity (see 34a, 14). The same may also be represented by the numbers 1, 2 and 3, and by the circle containing those numbers. The letter 'A' probably stands for alpha (see 34, 16) and the 'LV' may somehow refer to ending (see 34a, 16), if only through the last and innermost name in the Sigillum Dei, Lavanael. Alternatively the letters may represent Annael and Uriel, reading 'LV' from right to left in Hebrew fashion.

J. E. Cirlot attributes to the square within a circle the significance of the 'quaternary in the universe: the material principle within totality' (Dictionary of Symbols, p. 119) and to the inverted triangle the significance of the 'ternary--involutive' (p. 117). The design is appropriate to a Table of Creation as the material (the quaternary) and the spiritual (the ternary, whose involution may be equated with Agrippa's definition of the soul as self-moving) are seen contained within the universe.

6-7) In the Action of 29 April 1583 the spirit Il declares that 'the 7 Tables of Creation...apperteyn to the 7 kings and Princis' (96b, 1-2) and that the '7 Characters...are propre to euery king and Prince according to theyr order' (96b, 7-10). The kings and princes referred to are the 49 spirits listed on fol. 40a.

8) Conciliation]



A bringing together into harmony, presumably of man and God and his angels. The tables are defined as such instruments at 96b, 6-7.

9) wher my Character is fashioned]

The character given to Dee at fol. 9b is declared as false at 96b, 23. No new one is fashioned but he is informed that the Table of Dignification (97a) contains his character Δ in every corner (102a, 42).

fol. 33b.

Each table measures 4 inches square. I cannot reach any remotely

satisfactory conclusions about any interpretation of these tables, except to point out two possible references to alpha and omega: firstly the A — 0 in square B2 of the first table, and secondly  , the opposite of the  shown at 18b, 25 (see Commentary), in square B1 of the lower table.

fol. 34a.

1) a strong sounding]

'a loud noise'.



3) a sterre]


The centre of the second table contains a three pointed figure like a small star.

6) O honor...eris]

'O honour, praise and glory be to you who are and will be'.

8) seuen priks]

There are six points, above the '1', the '2' and the '3', below the  and  , and beside the '7' in the second table.

The seventh is either that making the circle on the left into the astrological figure of the sun () or in the centre of the three pointed star, although the latter is probably just a point left by the compasses in the drawing of the circle. These 'priks' are not related to those which indicated letters from numbers in the outer circle of the Sigillum Dei.

14-16) Vnus...Origo]

'He is one, he is three; he is in each angle and comprehends all things. He was, is and shall be to you. He is the end and the beginning'. 'Vobiscum' would perhaps make more sense

than 'vobis' ('and shall be with you'). The three interlocking circles in the table represent the unitarian and trinitarian states and the 'A' probably represents alpha, the beginning. How the 'LV' or anything else in the table might represent 'the end' is not clear (see Commentary to 33a, 3).

17) 'I was: I am what I was not', reading 'fui' for the second 'sum' (see MN17).

18) 'There was not light and now there is'. See Genesis I, 3.

21-22) This signifies chaos and the turmoil of the waters over which the spirit of God moved (Genesis I, 2) before separating the light from the darkness and on the second day creating the firmament.

27) a woman]

Another of the second generation Daughters of Light, the second of these to appear.

a ball like glass]

At 32b, 40, a 'ball of light' was shown. The creation of the sun and moon is not noted until 34b, 21, however, and so perhaps these two balls are not meant to signify those planets. In the order of the Creation the second day saw the division of the waters above and below the firmament of heaven, which is essentially the creation of a universe into which the earth is to be placed. The limits of the universe may be symbolised by the 'great white Globe' at line 32 ^{(see 34b, 20-24),} / in which case the 'ball like glass' may be the firmament. If the symbolism is

alchemical, the ball and globe probably represent vessels in which matter is to be heated and distilled. Alchemical vessels took a variety of shapes, but the essential parts were a furnace or heat-source, a receptacle for the boiling liquid, a condenser, and a receptacle for the product. Sometimes the condenser and the first receptacle were all of one piece (for sketches of equipment see Taylor, The Alchemists, pp. 38-43, 48 and 140). The evidence for such an interpretation is slender, however, being merely the vision at line 36.

32) a Table]

The third table first shown at fol. 33b.

35) Ecce signū Incomprehensibilitatis]

'Behold the sign (or seal) of incomprehensibility'. The last word may rather mean 'that which is not able to be comprehended by man'.

36) The division of the waters occurred on the second day of the Creation. The vision also seems to represent distillation.

37) The erasure occurs because the words should precede rather than follow a vision; hence the flourish before the repetition.

39) See 32b, 44.

40) This is the third of the second generation Daughters of Light.

41) a little rownd ball]

This becomes the earth (line 42). The earth is created on the third day and the land separated from the waters (Genesis I, 9-10). In alchemy the third stage is separation which is repeated until 'Erth remayn benethe' (see Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (Los Angeles & London 1972), p.171).

44) Fiat]

'Let it be done', a word frequently attributed to God in the Creation.

45) This is the fourth table, the lower one on fol. 33b.

47) 'Write. It is the truth'.

48-50) In Genesis man is not created until the sixth day and woman not until after the seventh day. In alchemical symbolism, however, the marriage of male and female is very common. Sometimes these are gold and silver, sometimes mercury and sulphur (Taylor, The Alchemists p. 148; Shumaker, Occult Sciences, p. 172). This marriage occurs during the fourth stage of the process, 'conjunction', after the 'earth' has been obtained by separation. The splitting of the woman into male and female seems to represent this marriage in reverse.

fol. 34b.

2) Venito Vasedg]

'Come Vasedg'. There is no such name amongst any of the spirits of light. 'Vasedg' looks like a word in the Enochian

language, but if so, it is one whose meaning has not been left to us. The next woman to appear is the fourth of the six second generation Daughters of Light who first appeared to show the tables at 32b, 32-34, and is therefore either Ekiei or Madimi. 'Vasedg' seems to bear no relation to either of these names.

4) 'The life of these is from my hand'.

6) a rownd]

'a circle'.

7) O Lux Deus $\overline{\text{nr}}$]

'O light, our God' or more probably 'O our light is God'.

8) Hamuthz Gethog]

'Gethog' is one of the names derived from the outer circle of the Sigillum Dei (see 22a, 39). 'Hamuthz' again seems to be an Enochian word of whose meaning there is no record; it may however be a compound word partly derived from the Enochian 'ham', 'creature'.

7-10) The circle of the figure has a diameter of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the inner square has sides measuring 1 inch.

9) This woman is the fifth of the second generation Daughters of Light to appear.

13) two vmaequall partes]

The creation of the sun and moon (see MN21).

13-14) 'The other part' is made into the stars. The creation of the sun, moon and stars took place on the sixth day according to Genesis.

16) the other woman]

The woman who appeared at 34b, 3, who is to show the sixth table (the lower on 35a). The woman who steps in front of her is to show the fifth table (the first on 35a).

18) Lumina...tuae]

'These are the lights of your understanding'.

19) Fere...numerus]

'This number is scarcely to be believed by anyone'. Presumably this means the number of the stars (see lines 21-22).

25) The cross measures 43mm. It indicates a return to the sequence of events which began this folio, the showing of the sixth table.

28) The birds were created on the fifth day according to Genesis. In the fifth stage of the alchemical process, putrefaction, the matter turns to a liquid pitch. This is frequently symbolised by a corpse, and according to biblical imagery man is but dust or clay and shall return to that state. The 'corpse' loses vapours but will be revived by 'celestial virtue', this process being symbolised by ascending and descending birds (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 149).

29) the bosse]

The centre of the table.

31) fatch]

'fetch'.

32) 'They are multiplied for your use'.

fol. 35a.

The first table measures 4 inches square and the second has a diameter of 4 inches with an inner square of 3.8 inches. Square B4 in the first table on this folio is probably related to square A1 in the very first Table of Creation shown (see Commentary to 33a) and is also to be found written at the right hand side of a table from which divine names of 91 parts of the earth are obtained in tabula bonorum angelorum (Sloane MS 3191 fol. 54a). This table of divine names was revealed to Kelly on 25 June 1584 at Cracow and expounded in later Actions but the precise significance of $\frac{b.6}{4.5}$, which is crossreferred back to this fifth Table of Creation, is never made clear (see TFR, pp. 172-173). The table in tabula bonorum angelorum also has at the top left corner the figure $\overset{''''}{T}$ (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 53a), which Dee here relates in the marginal note to the $\overset{+}{T}$ of the Sigillum Dei (see Commentary to 18a, 7). The marginal note cannot have been written before the Action of 25 June 1584. The erased drawing of a table is a repetition of square B1 of the second table on this folio.

fol. 35b.

The table is 3.3 inches square and the circle has a diameter of 0.9 inches. The significance of the letters and numbers remains obscure.

fol. 36a.

2) 'All rejoice at the end'. The last of the Tables of Creation is to be shown.

3) a woman]

The sixth second generation Daughter of Light to appear.

4) h rbes, and plants]

In Genesis the trees and plants were created on the third day, but the creation of Eden is not assigned to any specific day (see Genesis II, 8). See also Commentary to line 10.

6) 'It is the work', or perhaps 'the work is'.

7) This table is the seventh, that on fol. 35b.

7) one, all in white]

The seventh second generation Daughter of Light perhaps, since they first appeared clothed in white (27b,3).

10) A tree is a symbol of the whole alchemical process since it 'grows out of the earth, the mineral, and bears fruit, which is spiritual, having the power to become wine, which yields

a spirit' (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 150). If this interpretation is followed, the darkness which is cast up into the globe (line 9) may be seen as representing the mystery at the heart of the matter.

13) 'He will overshadow your footsteps with the light of truth'.

14) The Actor]

i.e. he who does, in the sense of 'creator and architect of the universe'.

15) Disposer]

God is here seen as creator of order, who looks after the needs of the world (see 'disposition' at 7a, 23).

16-17) Create you new vessels]

This is not a biblical quotation, although man is frequently likened to a vessel in the Bible (e.g. Psalm II, 9; Acts IX, 15).

18) out of the stone]

The sword appears to come out of the stone, but unlike other later visions there is no certainty that the vision is indeed outside the stone. The phrase 'in manner' declares that this is only what appears to happen.

21) the yard square Table]

The Holy Table.

21) the Wax]

The 'clean purified wax' for the Sigillum Dei. See 10a, 6.

22) the Character]

The lamine (see 9b, 1 and Commentary to 32a, 19).

ar motioned]

'are moved or commanded' ('ar' for 'art').

23) Gloria...amen]

The initials stand for 'gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto, sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum' (see 8b, 18-19).

27) the Tables following]

Those on fols 37b, 38a and 41a (see 39a, 26-28).

31-32) 'And he placed them in his ministry. What do you lack?'

33-34) 'The wisdom and knowledge necessary for us to be able to serve God to his glory'.

35) 'To have wisdom is a gift from God. To have knowledge comes from the Creation and created things'.

36) 'Come Daughters' [of Light].

43) pforme]

'perform'. Concerning the keeping of this vow, see 39b, 40-47.

47) the lower world]

The spirits that govern the resources of the earth are now to be shown. These spirits may be used for practical benefits, being of the lower order and with due rites subject to man's command (see 36b, 1-2).

fol. 36b.

5) see 36a, 36.

6) these Tables]

These are shown on fols 37b-38a.

8) The Whole Gouernment]

The whole government of the lower world, not of the heavens.

) Powre, Strength, Mercy, and Justice]

These are signified by the ⁴T in the Sigillum Dei and the ^{'''}T of the marginal note to fol. 35a, being 'the four powers of God princpial in earth' (TFR, p. 173, 'princpial' sic).

12) the first knowledge]

See 36a, 35, where wisdom is defined as coming from God alone whereas knowledge may be gained from studying God's creations. This 'first knowledge' is wisdom from divine revelation.

18) All the 7]

The seven Daughters of Light (see line 5 above).

24) a bright Circle]

This probably signifies God surrounding the macrocosm.

27) The outer circle has a diameter of 3 inches (75.5 mm) and the penultimate circle a diameter of 2.9 inches (73 mm). The inner circle is 2.6 inches (66 mm) in diameter and the centre cross measures 0.7 inches (18 mm) square on each arm.

f 1. 37b-38a.

Part of this table is not extant. Even when the manuscript came into Ashmole's hands these folios had suffered, for in the left margin of his transcript he wrote: 'the spaces not filled up were decayed and broken away in the Original' (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 57b). The table in Dee's MS has an inner diameter of 10.3 inches (260 mm) and an outer diameter of 11.1 inches (281 mm), although these measurements are not consistent at all points of the circles. Each arm is intended to be three inches square, although the sides vary from 2.9 inches (73 mm) to 3.3 inches (83 mm). I have noted in red those letters and numbers which appear in Ashmole's copy (3677, 57b-58a) but have since been destroyed in Dee's manuscript.

The Table provides the names of the 49 governors. Each name begins with the letter 'B' and the remaining letters are discovered by finding the appropriate letters in tables 2-7. Each letter of the first name is preceded by the numeral 1, each letter of the second by the numeral 2, and so on up to 49, the order of letters being that of

the tables 1-7.

It is possible to an extent to reconstruct the missing parts of the table, but since there is no rule for individual placings within each small square in tables 2-7, the correct positions of the missing letters in the original cannot be ascertained. The letters missing from the numbers in the second table are 'A' to go with 15 (Babalel), 'L' to go with 23 (Blisdon) and 'A' to go with 17 (Bazpama). The letter 'N' with no number was preceded by 36 (Bnapsen). '43R' is incorrect since the forty-third spirit is named Blumaza. A correction is made in the marginal note where '12R' (Branglo) is changed to '13R' (Brisfli) and '43R' to '30R' (Brorges). Allowing '43R' to be a plain error, the missing letters and numbers are '13R' (Brisfli), '30R' (Brorges) and '41A' (Bartiro). If the marginal corrections were made the missing letters and numbers would be '12R' (Branglo), '41A' still an '43L' (Blumaza). See also Commentary to 39a, 29.

In the third table there is also a number of partially filled squares that can be reconstructed. The 'A' should be '6A' (Bamgal), '19A' (Bragiop) or '37A' (Bralges), although the latter may be discounted since '7A' should clearly be '37A'. The '8' is part of '38R' (Bormila) and the 'V' should be '5V' (Blvmaza). The other missing letters and numbers are '4S' (Besgeme)? '44G' (Bagenol) and '48R' (Barfort). '35R' is incorrect and should be '35L' (Baldago).

The right hand marginal note to the fourth table seems superfluous since '11' is already in the table. The erasures on the bottom line are a result of Dee's having originally omitted to write in '340'. The remaining tables are all correct if the corrections in the seventh are observed.

fol. 39a.

1-20) In these lines each of the subdivisions of the table on fols 37b-38a is given a particular significance. The first table represents wisdom; the second, government; the third, nobility; the fourth, trade; the fifth, the quality of the earth and the seas; the sixth, aerial motions and the seventh, wisdom of a ~~divine~~ nature. For later corrections to this exposition and the relation of the seven tables to the seven kings and princes among the 49 spirits, see Introduction pp. 124-126.

7) The significance of the fourth table is extended to include the waters at line 49, the seas being the principal vehicle for England's trade.

12) Qualitie]

'Essential intrinsic nature'. The significance of the fifth table is reduced simply to that of earth at line 50 (see also MN12).

18) The wisdom of God is likened to fire in the Bible (e.g. Matthew III, 11).

21-22) the State of the whole earth is known]

Wisdom, government, nobility, the four elements and their associated users and inhabitants are represented in the tables.

23) Composed for euer]

'Created eternally'.

26-28) See 36a, 25-27.

29) These letters and numbers are the first two in the fourth row down of the second table. Evidently only six figures and letters were given at first, the last space being left vacant, although on correction the sixth number and letter were moved to the seventh place and the new letter and number (30N) were placed in the sixth space (see lines 34-41).

33) 'You may not see this without reason'.

34-41) The marginal note explains that Dee later decided to insert this account here while making his notes into the fair copy that comprises this manuscript.

38) ∴.]

The dots refer to the marginal note which explains the omission here.

41) 30.N]

This should be '36N' (Bnapsen). The 30th name is Brorges.

44) [her] his]

'Her' is written under 'his'. At 36a, 36 the showers of these tables were defined as the Daughters of Light.

46-52) The symbols of the books, crown, robes, water and animal, herbs, fan, and fire represent respectively wisdom, government, nobility and the four elements (see lines 1-20).

49) Aq̃]

Aqu, 'water'.

aīal...colorū]

'A living four-footed animal of all colours' (animal quadrupes vivu omnium colorum).

50-52) T rra...Aer...Ignis]

'L rth...air...fire'.

101. 39b.

1) 'Go forth in his name, who sent you here'. This is not a direct biblical quotation, but it calls Christ sending forth the disciples to preach the word (Luke IX, 1-6).

3) Fontayn]

'Fountain'.

19-20) The superscription by Ashmole is a result of 'teacheth' being lost in binding. The repetition of 'he teacheth' is probably deliberate.

21) the Excellency]

i.e. of the instruction.

26) perseth]

'pierces'.

30) vppon 7 equall numbers]

There are 7 tables containing an equall number of spaces,
seven rows by seven.

34) The number '29' in its first occurrence is corrected to 49,
since 'generall names ' erbraces all the spirits. No reason
is given why the first 29 should be more important than the
rest, and it is a number that does not bear any traditional
ignificance.

35) quantitie]

This refers to the number before each letter, since letters
preceded by the same number are put together to make the
names of the 49 spirits.

36) with addition]

By collecting together each letter preceded by the same
number.

38) A name's description is again caused by the tight
binding. The name is Baligon.

39) the]

Kelly (see MN59).

43-44) Kelly must take himself to the world in that he must
apply himself to worldly matters, but also forsake the world
in that he must marry and cleave solely to his wife.

46) contrary to my vow and profession]

This suggests that Kelly, like Barnabas Saul before him, was a preacher, although there is no further evidence of his ordination.

50-51) 'To God in the highest [be] all honour, praise and glory for ever and ever'.

MN31) 'See the particular table of these forty-nine collected names on the following page' (40a).

fol. 40a.

1) 'Collected table: containing the names of 49 good angels, by Dee'. See Introduction pp. 124-129.

fol. 41a.

1-2) 'A coordination of the 49 good angels thus set out by John Dee'.

The table has a total diameter of 7.7 inches (197mm) and each ring is 0.2 inches (4mm) wide. The 49 angels are divided into groups of seven and each group is allotted a planetary sign. These are from the top: venus, the sun, mars, jupiter, mercury, saturn and the moon. The governing angels of these planets are traditionally Haniel (or Annael), Michael (or Raphael), Camael, Zedekiel (or Zadkiel), Raphael (or Michael), Zaphkiel and Gabriel. The corresponding metals are respectively copper, gold, iron, tin, mercury, lead and silver (see 27a, 16-22). The numbers written on the outside of the circles refer to the angels in the order in

which their names have been obtained, as does the inner circle of numbers from 1 to 49. Baligon is therefore the first in this order.

The dotted lines with 'iste est caeteris' ('and so on') indicate that the prince of each group (the second named) belongs to the king of the next group (the first named). Thus Bornogo is prince to Bobogel, Befafes is prince to Babalel, and so on round the circle (see Introduction pp. 124-126 and Sloane MS 3191, 46b-50a).

fol. 42a.

1) Liber < 4.>]

See Introduction pp.14-15 and Commentary to fol. 44a.

14) 7 Bundells]

See the seven baskets at 22a, 23.

faggots]

The term could be used for a bundle in a general sense (OED).

They are wrapped in silk of various colours (line 33).

15) superaltare]

A portable consecrated stone for use on an unconsecrated altar or table (OED).

16) Senser]

'Censer'.

21) plighes]

'pleats'.

26-27) This man is Christ, the 'one eye, and somtyme Three'
having trinitarian significance.

32) sweating]
See line 13.

35) The bundles contain specimens of all living creatures, as
did the ark, although there seems to be no precise significance
in this.

37) The 'little hill of flaming fyre' may represent a source of
divine wisdom, particularly in relation to the significance
attached to the vision of the two birds following.

38) taketh of]
'takes out'.
a little byrd]
The 7 baskets at 22a, 23, all contained birds of some sort.

39) hoouerth]
Sic for 'hovereth'.

41) to be open before]
'to have his garment open in front.'

42) spotted with blud]
This represents Christ's wounds.

49) The small bird undergoes a transformation, increasing in
size and beauty through the blessing of Christ. This vision
is to be interpreted in terms of what gifts God will
bestow upon Dee and Kelly (43a).

51) 'Thus, thus, thus our God'.

52) Multiplicabit...sua]
'He will increase all things by his blessing' (see 34b, 32).

MN49) in sequentibus libris]

'In the following books'.

MN53) This symbol is a version of the chi-ro, a monogram for the name of Christ.

fol. 42b.

3-4) The birds represent Dee and Kelly who are joined together as one (see also 32a, 6-7).

5-6) See Commentary to 42a, 49.

10-11) There is no change in the quality or nature of the bird, only a change in its size. This could be taken to mean that the transformation that Dee and Kelly will undergo through and for Christ will not be any drastic change of state, such as to a spirit form, either through death or in a Faustian way.

12) a voyce]

The voice is like that of Michael (MN12).

15) I, AM]

This is the name by which God identified himself from out of the burning bush to Moses (Exodus III, 14) and is the Tetragrammaton (יהוה , 'he is') in the first person singular (אהיה). See Martin North, Exodus, a Commentary (London 1962), p. 43.

19) It is in vayne to stryve]

This does not mean that man's efforts are of no consequence, but rather that man's power is nothing in comparison with God's and that it is vain to strive against the will of God.

21) 'Progress and advance in virtue and truth to the honour and glory of God'.

22) our Cauillations]

'Our' should be 'your' (MN22).

24) i.e. what Dee has written here is the answer.

25) to the Infirmitie]

'To the infirm'. The noun is used generatively in the sense of those who may be classed under the condition of infirmity.

31) The taking of the stars and giving of them to the other bird who replaces them signifies celestial knowledge passing through Dee and Kelly.

35-37) Dee and Kelly are to purify the world through their celestial knowledge.

38-43) braue]

'finely dressed' (see 20a, 12-15). Dee and Kelly are to overcome the corrupt rulers and overthrow them, but the pure and needy will not suffer.

41) Seely]

'Spiritually blessed, deserving of pity, poor' (OED).

45-46) I cannot satisfactorily interpret this vision of four resurrected kings except as the four cardinal virtues (justice, fortitude, prudence and temperance) or the four principal powers of God that Dee recorded at 36b, 9.

fol. 43a.

1) qui < ck >]

'alive'.

2) in good liking]

'friendly'.

3) If the four resurrected kings represent the four virtues or the four principal powers of God, we see them here spreading through the world to the four 'corners' of the earth.

6) gryped]

'gripped'.

7) [̄caret̄]

A word, perhaps 'other', appears to be missing before 'Fowle', but the margin is torn and the word is not extant. The rejection of the metals signifies the rejection of worldly wealth, although it may be a rejection of ordinary metals in the search for the Philosophers' Stone.

9) an old mans head]

If the stone at line 12 is the Philosophers' Stone, then the head signifies the storehouse of knowledge and wisdom that must be penetrated before the stone may be found.

11) in steede]

'instead'.

12) Tennez ball]

'tennis ball'.

13) These colours all form part of the alchemical process. The white stone is produced from the black matter obtained during the process of 'putrefaction' and the red stone is obtained from the white. The corrosive acid used to dissolve gold was often symbolised by a green lion, green 'no doubt because of the color imparted to it by the copper compounds always present as impurity in the mixture of gold and silver' (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 151). Whether such reference is intended by the ~~vision~~ is not clear.

16) The achievement of the Philosophers' Stone corresponded to the ~~achievement~~ of a high degree of wisdom and purity, alchemy being as much a spiritual quest as a physical science. The eating of the stone is similar to the eating of the name Na at 11b, 41-42.

19) The emphasis on gold signifies that the achieving of the Philosophers' Stone is accompanied by spiritual worthiness, gold being a symbol of purity and wisdom.

22) 26 Crowmes of Gold]

The significance of this eludes me.

24) Sachels]

'Satchels'.

palmer's bags]

Palmer's were pilgrims who had made the journey to the Holy Land and as a sign thereof carried a palm leaf or branch. The term did become debased to mean any pilgrim, however. Palmer's wandered through the country begging food and shelter, having adopted poverty as a way of life, and their entire possessions would be contained in a bag.

25-26) The gold signifying wisdom is to be sown in the world.

The image of the seed is very powerful in alchemy, since 'the alchemist who melted up gold with silver and copper [need not have] necessarily regarded himself^{as} in any way falsifying gold; for he probably believed that the gold acted as a seed which, nourished by the copper and silver, grew at their expense until the whole mass became gold' (Taylor, The Alchemists, pp. 34-35). This is also the essential principle of 'projection', the turning of base metals into gold through the Philosophers' Stone; the seed of gold in the base metal, all matter being different only

in form, was encouraged to grow.

32) Open strong locks]

Do not turn back even if the way ahead appears to be barred.

38) See the two birds coupled at 42b, 3-4, and also 32a, 6-7.

39) By whome]

By the glorious man, Christ (see 42a, 26-27).

40) To achieve wisdom and/or the Philosophers' Stone.

41-43) The two small birds have been transformed into large beautiful birds and then into crowned men.

44) Secrecy is commanded.

45) This is spoken to Kelly (MN45) and presumably refers to his oath to perform what Michael commanded, that is to take a wife.

fol. 43b.

1) Ashmole's addition is written on a piece of paper attached to the folio as a repair.

8) my.]

A contraction for 'them'.

9) May not a n o..]

In his transcript Ashmole writes 'May not an o.....'
presumably for 'an other' (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 65b).

11) honest]

After binding the MS Ashmole could presumably only see the
'h' of this word. In his transcript he writes 'any honest...'
since part of the sentence was missing, this presumably
being the word 'man' (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 65b).

15-16) Benedictus...eius]

'Blessed is the Lord in his gifts and holy in all his works'.
This is not a direct biblical reference.

fol. 44a.

2) 'The fourth book of mysteries', 'the third' being erased.

Ashmole designates this as the fifth book (line 8), having
decided that book four is that which contains the Action of
4 May 1582 (fols 42a-43b).

5) 'After the reconciliation with Kelly' (see Introduction pp.12-15).

6-7) 'Be merciful unto us, O God, and forgive us as we forgive'.

See the Lord's Prayer, Matthew VI, 12 (Dimitte nobis debita
nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris).

fol. 45a.

Ashmole writes that 'the first leafe in the Originall is wanting which takes vp two leaves of my writing, & therefore I have left so much space for it' in his transcript (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 67a). See also Commentary to 46a.

1) Hagonel]

Hagonel is the sixth of the second generation Sons of Light (see 27b, 47). Baligon, whose alternative name is Carmara, is the first of the 49 spirits listed on fols 40a and 41a. The identity of this Hagonel and the equation of Carmara with Baligon are however a little confused for in Sloane MS 3191 (De heptarchia mystica, ch. 7) King Carmara and Prince Hagonel are to be invoked on Monday (fol. 47a) while King Baligon is to be invoked on Friday (fol. 49b). Carmara governs the understanding of all sciences while Baligon governs all aerial actions and particularly Dee's show-stone later given by the angels (see 59b, 33-46). Hagonel governs the first and second generation Sons of Light (see lines 6-7 and Sloane MS 311, 47a) and all the operations of the earth, and is clearly therefore not the same as that Hagonel who is the sixth of the second generation Sons of Light. The issue is partially resolved at 45b, 23-26.

4-5) Evidently there are 6 spirits standing beside Carmara who is facing Hagonel, but Hagonel is one of their number, thus forming 'the 7'.

5-9) The drawing stands 40 mm high and the spear or flagstaff is 3 mm wide at the base. The flag measures 14 mm high and

17mm across. The flag to the right measures the same across and is 12mm high.

6-7) 'Your power reigns in the sons [of light]. Behold the sign of [your] works'.

6-7) The **inverted** 'C' and 'B' in the flag stand for Carmara and Baligon.

8) **euersted**]
'upside down'.

9) **aversed**]
'back to front'.

10) The woman is depicted on the flag at 47a, 12.

12) the armes of England]

From the time of Richard I to Edward III the arms of England were **gule three lions passant guardant in pale gold**.

Edward III quartered the arms of France in token of his claim to the French throne. Thus the arms showed two quarters with the gold lions on red, and two quarters with the gold fleur-de-lis on blue, and these remained the royal arms until the end of Elizabeth I's reign (see Boutell's Heraldry, edited by C.W. Scott-Giles and J.P. Brooke Little, revised edition (London and New York 1966) pp. 20-21 and Plate V). These arms are roughly represented in the right hand flag at lines 6-7.

The confusion at the end of this line of text results

from Dee having originally written 'old' above 'semed', using a double stroke to indicate that they belonged to the same line of text. Ashmole then erased 'semed' and wrote 'seemed old' above the line after binding the manuscript.

13) Adhuc...est]

'There are yet two, and it is not time'. Hagonel ('the man') means that there are two more parts of the work to be delivered (see 49a, 18) which are the Second Book of Creation and the appendix to that book (see 46a, 19-25).

14) avauuced]

'advanced'.

18) The Sonnes of men]

The Sons of Light and their sons are being referred to here, since in De heptarchia mystica Dee follows a transcript of line 18 and part of line 19 with a table of the names of the two generations of the Sons of Light, and further writes the word 'light' above 'men' (Sloane MS 3191, 40a).

21) My tyme is yet to come]

The line which joins this sentence to the vision at line 43 indicates that the time to come concerns an era of wisdom under the aegis of philosophers (see also the line connecting line 6 with MN42).

22) the first of the twelve]

This definition is not explained later and the key may be in the missing folio. The reference is not to the apostles.

24) The symbol of the seal Barees is the astrological sign of the sun and the alchemical symbol of gold.

26) onely Kings]

individual kings.

30) The kings who carry the evenly balanced scales represent the just rulers of the earth.
cownterpeysed]
'counterpoised'.

31) hong]

'hung'.

The kings carrying the uneven balances represent the unjust rulers.

33) sowre and hevy cowntynance]

'sour and heavy countenance'.

37) Vera...Impuria]

'True...impure'. According to the dots there are 21 in each company.

41) 'The true are with those that are true, and the impure with those that are impure'.

42) Princes of Nature]

Those that follow are like scholars, being dressed in black gowns and carrying books and measuring sticks. They are 'princes of Nature' in that they hold and enquire after the secrets of Nature.

48) Lucem]

'Light'.

49) Mundi tenebras]

'The darkness of the world'. The two companies of scholars represent those who have received divine revelation and have achieved understanding of God's creation, and those who have not and remain in intellectual and spiritual darkness.

MN18) 'The Sons [of Light] and the Sons of the Sons [of Light], in book 2 above' (see 27a, 26-33, and 27b, 37-28a, 2).

MN44) Geom~~a~~trae]

'Geometers, land-measurers'.

Note at the foot of the page) See Introduction pp. 124-126, fol. 46a, 1-8, and Sloane MS 3191, 46b and 47b.

fol. 45b.

1) After 'Lucem' there is a repair to the folio by Ashmole, but whatever was written upon it is no longer legible, In his transcript Ashmole puts a marginal note of Hagonel (see MN1) and line 2 is clearly spoken by this spirit.

4) 'I am the first and fourth Hagonel' (see Commentary to line 24).

5) Pri: Quar,]
for Primus et Quartus.

7) The first]
The kings at 45a, 26.

8) tell the priks of the last 8]
The figure is presumably a number 8, but in order to comprehend the reference I suspect the missing folio at the beginning of this Action would be required.

9) science]
'knowledge'.

12) [†]Ho]
This sign represents Carmara.

13) I am his Minister]
The marginal note explains that 'minister' should read 'prince'. Hagonel is speaking here. In Sloane MS 3191 Carmara is the king whose prince is Hagonel and they are to be invoked on Mondays. The note in the right hand margin states that Carmara is the king to be invoked 'in generall', although more particularly the king is Blumaza, whose office is undefined but related to Mondays (Sloane MS 3191, 47a-47b; see also Sloane MS 3188, 46a, 1-8).

14) ue augme...]

Part of 'haue augmented', but the rest is missing. In De heptarchia mystica we find 'augmented' but Dee has underlined it with points and written 'subiected' over it (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 33a).

16) Despite Hagonel's stating that he will show Dee what these weapons are, they are not in fact clarified.

18) The three, of eche side]

There were six spirits accompanying Hagonel at 45a, 4.

24-25) There are evidently three other Hagonels, governed by this Hagonel who is placed before the other three because he rules them, but is also additional to the other three. He is therefore the first and fourth Hagonel.

34) The second assembly consisted of nobles (45a, 35).

37) The third assembly consisted of scholars or philosophers (45a, 42-43).

39-40) vbi...est]

'Where there is not glory, neither is there goodness nor any good thing'. The glory is presumably of God.

41) seuen of the seuen]

The seven second generation sons of the seven Sons of Light (see MN42).

44) E.[T]K.]

A 'T' is written under the 'K' of 'E.K.' Dee was more used to writing 'E.T.' for Edward Talbot.

45-47) Vox...Mundi]

'A voice which it is not fit for men to hear; but they with their sons have praised God. Blessed is he who is the only begotten son and the glory of the world' (see John I, 14).

48) The black cloth signifies that the Action is ended.

MN3) Hagonel is standing forth from Carmara and the six other spirits and evidently his appearance has been described to an extent in the missing folio. According to 48a, 29, Hagonel is wearing a coat shorter than that of his fellows.

MN12) 'Hadonel' is an error for 'Hagonel'.

MN25) $\bar{a}i$]

'aliter', otherwise.

MN42) See 27b, 37-28a, 2.

great Circle following]

This is a table which Dee received from Kelly (see 49a, 19) but there is no copy extant, although Dee must have intended to keep it with the Actions.

fol. 46a.

This is in Ashmole's hand and is written on a piece of paper

measuring 252mm across and 77mm high which is bound into the MS. The writing is in two columns, the right-hand column beginning at line 12.

- 1-8) Ashmole conjectures from the note at the bottom of 45a that the functions of Blumaza and Bobogel were described in the missing folio at the beginning of this book. Bobogel is the king to be invoked on sundays and governs wisdom; his prince Bornogo governs the knowledge of metals (Sloane MS 3191, 46b). Blumaza is the particular king to be invoked on mondays (as opposed to the general king Carmara), but no description follows his name in Sloane MS 3191 (fol. 47b). Blumaza's prince is Bralges, who governs invisible subjects.

- 4) 5: May 1583]

See 102a, 27-32 and 103a, 1-2.

- 9) ]

This diagram probably represents Carmara's 'triple crown' (see note at foot of fol. 45b).

- 10) app^s from sev^dall]

'appears from several'.

- 11) fol. 2.a. & b.]

Fols 45a and 45b were foliated by Dee as '2'.

- 12-15) 'Note, as Michael and Vriel, at the begynning of these revealed mysteries, were present, and gaue Authority to

Carmara to order the whole Heptarchicall Reuelation; so,
 at the Conclusion, they appeared agayn and Raphael with
 them; and Michael concluded the second boke of this particular
 Reuelation Heptarchicall, with these words following
 [m rginal note: Michael. Nouēb. 19.] Merciful is our God,
 and Glorious is his name' (Sloane MS 3191, 33a). See 57b, 11.

13) p^s sent]

'present'.

15) Revelacow]

'Revelation'.

17-18) This book is designated the fourth book (44a), although
 Ashmole gives it the title of the fifth book due to the
 heading of 'Liber 4' on fol. 42a. In De heptarchia mystica
 it is called the second book as it forms the second
 chapter of that work, though in a condensed form.

19-25) The Action of 16 November 1582 (47a-48b) is the first
 book of the Book of Creation (see 48b LH marginal note
 and 54b, MN8). The Action of 15 November (45a-47b) may also be
 included under this title. In De heptarchia mystica (Sloane
 MS 3191, 33a) Dee writes: 'lib^o Creationis 1^o. Principes
 loquebatur magnalia Dei: in secundo, Reges maxime hoc
 faciunt' (in the first Book of Creation the princes spoke
 of the mercies of God: in the second, the kings performed
 this).

19) m^Dginall]

'marginal'.

22-23) The note concerning the appearance of Michael, Uriel and Raphael has a marginal note in De heptarchia mystica of November 19 (see Commentary to lines 12-15 above). The appearance in fact took place in the Action of 20 November, which begins at 55a (see 57b, 11).

25) See Sloane MS 3191, fol. 33a.

fol. 46b.

This is written and signed by Frederic Madden (see Introduction pp. 3-7).

fol. 47a.

The text continues from 45b.

4) 'Praise and honour be to immortal and almighty God, now and always'.

MN2) The marginal note has been largely destroyed and was so when Ashmole bound the MS. Those parts in pointed brackets are taken from Sloane MS 3677, but the rest is still in Ashmole's hand.

6) Die ♀]

♀ is the astrological sign of venus and also the sign for Friday.

7) He with the triple Crown]

Carmara.

8) the rod]

Evidently in the missing folio Carmara was holding a rod of office, consisting of three parts diversely coloured, two parts being black and one being red (see 58a, 12).

10) Ille...Venite]

'For he is God. Come'. It is uncertain whether the 7 figures here are the same as those at 45a, 4.

12) This is the same flag as that at 45a, 6, except that now the picture of the woman (45a, 10) is also shown.

16) two to come]

See 45a, 13.

20-21) Heptagonum stellare]

'The star-shaped heptagon'.

Copper]

This is the metal appropriate to venus and fridays (see MN20)

21-25) The heptagon has a radius to each outer angle of 18mm.

The three sets of numbers follow the same order as those on the table at 41a (see Commentary to 41a).

21) The first Holder]

Hagonel, whose seal is in the first angle of the heptagon.

21) Ille nosti]

'You have got to know him'. I assume that the nominative case of 'ille' is an error. Hagonel has already been introduced.

23) The second holder is Bornogo, who is the minister to Bobogel's government and is to be invoked on sundays. He has the power to perfect nature and possesses knowledge of all metals (see lines 25-28 below and Sloane MS 3191, fol. 46b).

24) doth reverence]

The pirit bows down.

26) my seale]

Bornogo's seal is shown in the heptagon on fol. 48b.

29) Actually]

Here the word carries a sense of 'actively'.

of the first of the twelue]

Hagonel calls himself 'the first of the twelve' (45a, 22) and Bornogo is defining himself as proceeding in some way from Hagonel.

30) Second of the Seuen]

Bornogo is the second of the 7 spirits holding the heptagon. All these spirits are princes (see 48b) and Bornogo is also the second of the first septenary in the table at 41a.

31) The folio is cut very close on the right hand, so there may once have been a drawing of the seal, although there is none in Ashmole's transcript. The seal is shown in the heptagon at 48b.

35) The third spirit is Befafes, who is also called Obelison and who governs the seas (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 48a). His king is Babalel who governs all to do with water and they are both to be invoked on tuesdays.

36) I drowned Pharao]

Befafes is claiming that it was through his agency that Mo es parted the Red Sea and then closed it again over Pharaoh and his host as they pursued the Israelites (Exodus XIV).

39) and it is .8.]

In the marginal note to this line Dee computes that if this means 'th tyme of Gods visitation' will occur in eight years' time, it will fall upon 16 November 1590. He reflects, however, that 88 years may be meant (i.e. 1670). See Introduction, Chapter VI.

MN22) Bagenol is the prince of Friday. Although his office is not defined, his king Baligon governs all aerial actions. Since Carmara is also Baligon (45a, 1), Dee is attempting to equate Hagonel and Bagenol (see also 58b, MN44 and MN46).

fol. 47b.

2) enstruct]

'instruct'.

5) Christ walked upon the waters of Lake Galilee (Matthew XIV, 25 and Mark VI, 48).

5-6) sealed me w<ith>his name]

See 2 Corinthians I, 22, and Ephesians I, 13 & IV, 30.

6) Thow hast written me]

Befafes has not declared his name here, although Dee has written concerning him in the tables at 40a and 41a.

9) skur d]

'Scourged'. This probably refers to the Flood.

10) pr<int>]

Possibly this should be 'printed', referring obliquely to the rainbow as God's sign that the Flood would not happen again.

12) feathers]

These are strongly inappropriate to a prince of the seas, but Michael also appeared with feathers at 11a, 16.

15) See 45b, 48.

17) 'To God alone be all honour and glory'.

20) Carmara has his own chair, different to that of Michael.
one and the other]

This should read 'one on the other' (MN21).

22-23) Dee and Kelly are facing each other across the table
on which the stone rests.

24) The fourth spirit is Butmono. He is here given government
of the earth, but in Sloane MS 3191 he is given charge
over the life of living creatures (fol. 49a), which office
is given to Blisdon at 48a, 10 below. In Sloane MS 3191
Blis on is given government of the earth and his king is
Bnaspol, while Butmono's king is Bynepor (Sloane MS 3191,
48b-49a). See however 48a, MN17 below. The order given in
Sloane MS 3191 is the result of later changes (see 55b, 46-48
and 56b, 24 ff. below).

28) members]

'limbs'.

29) bis]

'twice', noting the repetition of 'all things'.

30) there]

Sic, for 'their'.

32-34) In Revelation John sees the bottomless pit and 'there
arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace'
(IX, 2). The beast also arises from this pit (XI, 7), but is

finally bound and cast back in as Sathan (XX, 3). There may be some play on Satan's name of Lucifer. Since Butmono here governs earth, the bottomless pit is part of his charge.

36-38) Dee's constant need was for money, He is promised access to buried treasure and later this search took a great part in the content of the Actions (see Introduction pp.157-60).

38) Wordling]

Sic, for 'worldling'.

45) It seems that most spirits of earth are bound there against their wills.

46) the myddest of my self]

See the marginal note to this line.

47) The seal is d scribed as having power to bend spirits of earth to Dee's will (48a, 1-2). Presumably the seal would have to be engraved upon a talisman.

fol. 48a.

vnlok]

1) 'Unlock hidden places or secrets' (see 43a, 32).

3) This is the first appearance to my knowledge of the names of any of the 49 spirits in any document.

- 4) Being a good spirit, Butmono finds it distasteful that he should have charge of the bones of the wicked, as well as the just.
- 8) This spirit is prince Blisdon, whose king is Bnaspol and who is to be invoked on Wednesday (Sloane MS 3191, 48b). Concerning his office see Commentary to 47b, 24.
- 9-10) See Commentary to 47b, 24.
- 11) The Image of One excepted]
Blisdon is here given power over all living creatures except man, who is in God's image.
- 17) Blisdon's seal is shown in the heptagon on fol. 48b.
- 20) my Violl]
The vial of oil (see MN21) appears to indicate an appointed span of time; presumably there is no connection with oil as prayer (see 10a, 30)..
- 23) What Dee asked or spoke of here is not recorded.
- 27) The sixth spirit is Brorges, prince to king Bnapsen, and is to be invoked on Saturday. Bnapsen has the power to cast out wicked spirits, but the office of Brorges is not recorded in Sloane MS 3191 (50a). The fire that issues from Brorges is probably related to such an office of exorcism.
- 29) This refers to Hagonel (see 45b, MN3).

30) owgly, grisely]

'ugly, grisly'.

33-34) Noui Januam Mortis]

'I have known the gate of death'.

35-36) Et...Dixi]

'And the glory of God pierced the walls of the wicked. I have spoken'. This would be a suitable saying for a spirit that has power to cast out wicked spirits.

40) ey sight]

'eyesight'.

41) Mysteria...imprimate]

'Impress these mysteries on your minds (or souls)'.

MN10) 'In living prayers'. Each life is seen as a prayer to God, or as a prayer from Blisdon to God (see line 17).

MN17) See Commentary to 47b, 24.

MN18) 'The virtue of his office'.

MN37) Prince Bo=]

Sic for 'Prince Bro='.

fol. 48b.

1) all Blew]

This symbolises the office of the next spirit, described at line 8, blue representing the air and sky.

1) beholdeth]

'Holds on to', obsolete form (OED).

4) This last spirit is Bralges, who is the prince to King Blumaza and is to be invoked on Monday, as are Carmara and Hagonel. Bralges governs invisible spirits and all powers that cannot be seen (see line 8 below and Sloane MS 3191, fol. 47b).

5-6) Dee and Kelly are on opposite sides of the table on which the stone is laced (see 47b, 22-23).

10) like little snakes]

These are or represent the invisible spirits under Bralges' power.

11) the seale]

Bralges' seal may be seen in the seventh angle of the heptagon on this folio.

12) the]

'thee'.

14) Blot out suspition of us]

It would seem from this command that Dee was not particularly happy with the offers of daemonic help. He may have expressed some private doubts to Kelly.

20) reseruing]

'Keeping from the knowledge of others', obsolete form (OED).

24) Highest to the Lowest]

The marginal note refers to the tabula collecta, indicating that 'from the highest to the lowest' may mean all of the 49 spirits.

29) 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord our God' (see Isaiah VI, 3, and Revelation IV, 8).

30-32) 'Blumaza is king over the kings of the earth and they are his first prince and his ministers, as I conjecture'.
The kings of the earth act collectively as a prince to Blumaza's kingship. This probably refers to a comment in the missing folio.

33) The heptagon has a radius of 42mm to its outer points.


MN6) See 57a, 30-38.

MN7) 'Dominion' should read 'in the air'.

MN14) Exchue]

'Eschew'.

MN20) 'The secrets of God are not to be revealed to men'.

MNLH) 'Carmara calls this first part one book in the fifth page following, with this sign  ' (see 51a, 33 & MN33).

fol. 49a.

2) The Cloth]

The black cloth drawn across the stone signifying the end of an Action.

4) The M n with the Crowne]

Carmara (see 47a,7). The identity of the figure is also signified by the crown over 'man' at line 6.

5) Diaph nitie]

Transparency.

8) like a seame]

The 'narrov path' at first looks like a line showing where two rt of the globe might be joined together.

9) superficies]

'surface area'.

9-10) The path goes from the lower point of the globe equivalent to th south rn hemisphere up to the topmost point, where on a gl be of the world the north pole would be.

11) The chair appears to be on the globe, about on eighth of the whole height own from top or north polar region (see line 13).

12) eigth]

Sic, for 'eighth'.

14-15) Unless there was some specific reference in the missing first folio to this book, Carmara must mean the introduction of the seven princes who held the heptagon (the vision of the kings, nobles and philosophers was interpreted by Hagonel).

16-17) Nam... \overline{nro}]

'For he is one and indivisible. Glory, glory, glory be to our Creator' (\overline{nro} for 'nostro').

18) Two partes are yet to come]

See 45a, 13 and 47a, 16.

19) the round table]

See 45b, M42. The table is not extant.

21) 'Come, let us step by step repeat the works of God' (see lines 55-56).

22) The first of the .7.]

Hagonel.

24) 'These are your lessons, which you do not yet understand' (see MN24).

26) 'God is one and our work is one' (\overline{nrm} for 'nostrum').

28) 'We are ready to serve our God'.

30) In Sloane MS 3191 Prince Blisdon, who governs the earth (an office given to Butmono at 47b, 24), is said to govern 42 ministers (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 48b). In fact each prince here is accompanied by 42 spirits.
 this order]
 Seven rows of six, as shown between lines 32 and 35, but see 49b, 38.

33) The figure with the cape (the short coat) is 25mm high and represents Hagonel. In Sloane MS 3677 Ashmole wrote in a marginal note that 'Carmara, Crowned was placed on his head, but scraped out' (fol. 74a).

33-36) Et...sunt]

'And my name is my whole number, nor is there reproach in our number. Mos s named us. Just as the power of these men is, so is that of these women, and while their power is not one, yet they exist in unity'. The men and women are the Sons and Daughters of Light (see MN36).

37) Dee thinks the sentence should begin with 'tam' to form a comparison in conjunction with 'quam'.

39) Quatenus...vestrorū]

'How great is this vanity of yours?'

40-42) 'You knew [nosti for 'novisti'] these numbers to be in God, in the world and in the lesser world. In God, that is

with us: in the lesser world is to say with you'.

43-49) 'Your mind is joined with knowledge [see 42b, 3-4, and 43a, 38]. It is sown in the presence of philosophers [Phōs for 'philosophos'], and that greatly, concerning Nature, which is not with you but with us and it is by our power. You will see God. You have seen our works, the works (I say) of his hands. We will be moved by the finger of G d. He came from God. He was a man among men: for he is yet with them. And his power gives force, virtue and being not only to us, but to our works'. This speech recalls the unity ascribed to Dee and Kelly through the knowledge of G ' ecrets and proclaims the unity of all things that proceed from God.

50) Inhu ta... ua rit?]

'Wh t i it that your unburied (incorporeal?) soul seeks?'

51) Ab ... st]

'By arth, by an; it is said by an'. This would seem to refer to man's creation from the dust of the earth (see in particular John III, 31 and I Corinthians XV, 47).

55-56) This n t is joined by a line to line 21. Carmara is repeating the exposition of the spirits of the heptagon to some extent, although this time using the round table that Kelly had 'sent' to Dee (see 45b, MN42). The confusion is over the offices of the fourth and fifth princes (see Commentary to 47b, 24).

MN6) $\bar{a}l]$

'alias' or 'aliter'.

MN18) 'This...twice, on the right(?)...Two are yet to come
an it is not time'.

MN29) See 3 a, 47-48 (the spirits holding crowns and robes).

MN31) \bar{e} racing]

'embracing'.

MI 40-48) 'lu b rs'. 'Natur '. 'The power of God'.

fol. 49b.

1) to s d]

'Tr ted roughly, haken, teased' (OED).

2) skap d]

'sc '.

5 6 S e 3 a, 47- 8. The crowns signify wisdom, the three-
qu rter crowns temporal rule, and th robes nobility.

7) pfect]

'perfect'.

9-10) balls of gold]

These may signify orbs of state.

18) Our workmanship is all one]

See 49a, 26 and 36.

19) Each day is divided into periods of four hours related to the seven groups of six, or more properly six groups of seven (see lines 38-41 below).

19-20) Euery part occupyeth a part]

Each of the six groups is responsible for a four hour period (but see Co mentary to line 23 below).

21) with Kings]

This may r fer either those spirits who are kings or to temporal kings (see 51a, 18).

23) the first place]

The first roup at ine 32 below number seven and there is some confusion as to whether the table is composed by six groups of seven each showing a line which is to be read horizontally, or whether the first of the first group of six shows the first letter in that line, the first of the second group shows the second letter and so on, so that the letters delivered by each group of six are those which are read v rtically. If the latter is the case then responsibility for each four hour period of the day is divided among members of each group of six. This doubt as to how the table is composed means that 'the first place' could mean either the first line of letters read horizontally or the first line of letters read vertically, though from subsequent tables the former is more likely.

24) Depriuation]

'Change'. The second six are to be used when it is desired that something be removed or changed.

25) residue]

The remaining groups of six (or seven?).

30-31) and so of the second six]

Either the second six all showed their letters or this refers to the first of the second six.

31- 2) The source of these letters is explained at 59a, 10-20.

Th error of OFSNGLL instead of OESNGLE was discovered when th source was explained and the correction was then s perscribed here.

3 -41) The dispo ition of the spirits could be seen as either

sev n grou_s of six or six groups of seven depending on wh ther the columns were arranged vertically or horizontally.

An unmarked change has taken place however, as can be seen by comparing the rows of dots at 49a, 32-35, with the table of letters on this folio, and by 50b, 28, what was here called 'the first six' is being called 'the first 7'.

44) the hand]

There is no indication as to whether this should be 'left' or 'right' hand.

50) See 49a, 26 and 36, and line 18 above.

52) The 'O' is the second letter of Bobogel.

53) 'Thow' is the catchword for the next folio. Bobogel is the first name of the second septenary in the table at 41a, which gives rise to Dee's question. The numbering of each septenary on the inside of that table, whereby Bobogel belongs to the first septenary, may date from this time.

MN18) 'So he said on the previous page, our work is one' (see 4 a, 26).

MN40) 'In six and seven are all things' (see 54a, 32).

MN52) See the table at fols 37b-38a.

fol. 50a.

2) The table at fols 37b-38a is to be compared with the missing table. Although Ashmole's diagram seems to represent the table at 41a, the latter table does not contain a man with a sword (see line 5 and MN9). The missing table must have resembled that at fol. 41a, however; indeed the latter may partly be a copy of the missing table.

3) for er Tables]

See 37b-38a, 40a and 41a.

4) that of 7 tymes 7]

The table at 41a with its seven septenaries.

the rownd Table]

The missing table 'sent' to Dee by Kelly (see MN5).

5) the point of his sword]

See Commentary to line 2 above.

6) the Bees]

The letters 'B'.

7) B.1. B.2. B.3. B.4. etc]

See the table at fols 37b-38a.

8-9) The names of the 49 spirits all begin with the letter 'B'.

10-17) Unfortunately this description of the missing table does

not give enough information to provide a reconstruction.

Lines 10-11 indicate a similarity with the table at 41a.

21) my instructions]

See 39b, 29-38, though the instructor there is Uriel.

MN17) In the table at 41a the name Bobogel is the eighth name

and 'O' is the second letter of that name. In the missing

table 'O' is evidently the ninth letter in a circle which also contains numbers.

MN22) See 45a, 1-3 and 19. Dee had received instruction

but from Uriel (39b, 29-38).

27) **♄** is the astrological symbol of **saturn** and the sign for Saturday.

29-30) The confusion over who gave Dee instruction is now resolved by Carm ra pointing to the unity of God's angels and spirits (see lines 38-39).

37) The Strength of God]

This is to be understood literally and not as an appellation of the angel Michael.

45) See 8b, 14.

46) rayng]
'reign'.

47) euidēt]
'evi nt'.

MN32) There is no reference on fol. 45 to Carmara's rule being till the end of time, although Hagonel, his prince, states that his time is yet to come (45a, 21). There must have been a more exact reference in the missing folio at the beginning of this book.

fol. 50b.

1-2) See 49a, 30-32.

5) See 49b, 31-42.

7) The first]

Hago el who presented the 42 spirits.

8) Th 7 next him]

The spirits who spelt the name OESNGLE. They are responsible for God's gifts to those that rule according to God's laws (see lines 9-10 below and 49b, 20-23).

12-13) 'It rei n , it r ighs, it reigns, Oh iniquity reigns on the face of the whole earth. The heart of man is filled with vil nd v nitie '.

14) 'It oegin , f r t ir n w pover b gins, not without it being giv n to th , n r...'

15) Vid qua s]

'S e, I g [you]'.

16) b tch]

'A swelling or boil' (OED). Corruption of the soul is represented by corruption of the body.

17) the residue]

The remaining 35 spirits of the 42. This slightly contradicts the definition given at 49b, 24-25.

19-20) The first seven spirits work in unity, but the remainder work individually.

23-24) See 49a, 29, although they were there numbered as six
(see MN19).

29) AVZNILN constitute the second seven.

30) There are 6 names under the subjection of Hagonel, each
name containing 7 letters (49b, 31-42).

31) The seal of Hagonel, called Barees (45a, 23).

33) The seal stands for seven, which with the 42 makes a total of
49. It is not clear who this seven are.

36) See Commentary to lines 23-24 above.

40) where his fate stood]

The tables shown by the 42 spirits wherein a letter was
displayed were made 'vpppon the place of theyr standing'
(49b, 28). The first was 'O'.

42-43) Prince Hagonel ('presupposed') with six names (49b, 31-42).

44) some]

'sum'.

49) they]

A manuscript error for 'theyr'.

MN11) 'Theyr new power begins'.

MN47) Praxis]

'Action' (Greek).

fol. 51a.

1) or one of them]

One of the 42 may be used, since all 42 have in general the same office.

4) The prince referred to is temporal.

5-6) See 46a, 1-4 and 48b, 30-32. 'Yesterday' indicates that it is not Hagonel's government over kings that is being referred to since that information was delivered on the same day as this evening Action.

10) the Princis of Creation]

The princes in the table at 41a.

17) Dee is elevated in being chosen to receive such knowledge.

18) Philip II was King of Spain from 1556 to 1598. What Dee's purpose is remains unknown, but it is probably connected with geographical discovery. In 1580 Dee had obtained 'the royalties of discovery all to the North above the parallel of the 50th degree of latitude' and it was in the autumn of 1582 that plans for Adrian Gilbert and John Davis to make a voyage in search of a North-West Passage to Cathay (China) were being formulated by Dee, definite arrangements being made and Walsingham being informed in January 1583. Since the Pope had divided all the world's

discoveries between Spain and Portugal, Philip II would undoubtedly figure in the early planning, both as a political obstacle (Dee presented to Elizabeth two parchment roles detailing her Titles to Foreign Lands on 3 October 1580) and as a possible ally. See E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography, 1485-1583 (London 1930), Chapter 7, especially pp. 134-139.

20) Generall prince, Gouvernor or Angel]

Dee at first takes this to be Baligon, the presiding king of the 49 spirits, but in the marginal note thinks it may rather be Annael, who is 'chief governor generall of this gr at perid' (see 8b, 25).

23) my name]

Carmara or Baligon (see MN23).

24) him, which was shewed the yesterday]

Hagonel.

26) his six perfect Ministers]

OESNGLE, AVZNILN etc (49b, 31-42) or possibly the other princes who held the heptagon (see 48b).

30) those tables]

Those at 49b, 31-42. Dee is receiving instructions for ceremonial daemonic magic.

32) the first Character]

The seal called Barees (see 45a, 23). The marginal note still includes the cross with it (see 48b, marginal note RH of heptagon).

34) the Table]

The Holy Table.

36) the Ring]

The ring bearing the name PELE (see 12a, 34).

37) The lamin co prehends Dee's name by being in the form of
th le t r lta.

38) as is affore sayd]

See 9b, 3.

45) these T bl s]

Th se at 41b, 31-42.

49-50) This is a note at the bottom of the page and not part
of the ain text.

MN23) See 57a, 37.

MN33) See Commentary to line 32 above.

MN34) See fol. 10a.

MN38) The stone to be used for scrying in this particular ceremony is not mentioned by Carmara here, but is brought by an angel at 59b, 17-46.

fol. 51b.

1) advancement:]

'advancement'.

2) The advancement of God's glory with Philip II is undoubtedly connected with the proposed expedition to find a North-West Passage and that Adrian Gilbert should use the voyage in part to spread the word of God to the heathen (see 65a, 35-37). In 1511 Dee had written a great volume in Latin on the propagation of the Christian faith among the infidels of Atlantis (De modo Evangelii Jesu Christi publicandi, propagandi, et billiendi inter Infideles Antlanticos). The work was in four books, the first addressed to Elizabeth, the second to the Privy Council, the third to Philip II and the last to the Pope (CR, p. 26, item 17).

5-6) See 32a, 10-12, where Dee complained of lack of 'habilitie' to make the table, ring and lamine. It seems that during Kelly's absence between May and November the work did not progress any further.

7) with this]

'with this'.

9) Chargis]

'Charges'. See Dee's customary form of 'princis' for 'princes'.

11-12) See Dee's earlier noting of the tripartite nature of
so e of the angelic revelation at 48a, 18-19.

17) the im g of God as a shield to the righteous is com on in
th Bible (ee for instance Psalm XXXIII, 20 and Proverbs
XXX, 5).

19-20) Kelly i here confirmed in his position as Dee's scryer and
partn r in c l ti l knowledge.

21) th Prince]

Qu n Elizabeth. D 's situation was made difficult by his
l ck f m ney and t continual disappointments of not being
p ointed t the livings he r requested (ee Introduction
p. 26).

33- 4) 'Prai , honour, glory, virtue and rule to God in the
highe t'.

39) This Action began at 7 pm (see 50a, 27).

41- 2) 'Come Bobogel, king and princ of nobility. Come with
[your] ministers. C e (I ay), come fortified with your
satellites'.

43) thumming]

A roaring noise. This is the first time that Dee confesses to being in any way affected by the appearance of a spiritual creature.

MN3) 'The great mercy of God conceded to Dee himself' (ipi for ipsi).

MN11) 'Observe these three things'.

fol. 52a.

1) heade]

'heed'.

2) Both thy ey and hand]

This suggests that Dee may actually see the 'contrarie powers', which he never does, although it may be understood as meaning just that he will see the effects of such evil spirits.

4) ioly]

'jolly'.

4-5) See the spirits at 20a, 12-16 and 42b, 38-40.

5) rapers]

'rapiers'.

6-7) rownd hose of veluet vpperstoks]

Bobogel is wearing trunk hose with canions. The canions were

a tight-fitting extension of the trunk hose covering the thigh, separate nether-stocks being worn. The canions were often decorated with lace trimmings (see Iris Brooke, A History of English Costume (London 1937) p. 90. Her sketch of co tume of 1585 (p. 85), which I have simulated below, is very close to the d scription of Bobogel's dress.)



9) put vn r his gyrdel]

Put un er his belt for greater security.

pantofells]

A tyre of slipper. The word could be applied to every sort of undershoe and was in common use from c1570 to 1650/1660 (OED).

pynsons]

A thin shoe of somekind, of which there is no existing description. The word became obsolete after 1600 (OED). In

Bobogel's case it seems that they are in addition to the pantofles, so they may be soft shoes worn inside pantofles which are for outdoor use.

11) ruffyn like]

'ruffian-like'.

18-19) 'Let us act according to the will of God. He, our Go , is truly noble and eternal'.

20) Once again 42 letters are to be delivered.

27) I cannot d uce any particular significance in the way each grou of piriits disappears.

53-56) The circl has a diameter of 49mm and an inner diameter of 43mm (2 inches and 1.8 inches). The origin of the letters is explain d at 59a, 21-25.

MN1) Cave]

'Beware'.

MN38) dictata]

'Instruction' or 'dictation': Dee's first notes to the Action of which this MS is a fair copy.

fol. 52b.

12) 'To God alone[be]all honour and glory!.

18) ^{He}Ho is not here a speech-heading, but an identification of
'he'.

19) the standing furniture]

The chair and possibly the table and globe.

21) one]

Bobog 1 (see line 49 below).

26-31) The sketch is 47mm long and 10mm wide at its broadest point.

There are 49 dots u₁ on it, representing the 7 pipers and
the co pany of 42.

28) bobbed]

'mocked, scoffed at, mad a fool of' (OED).

30) table]

This is evidently that shown at 52a, 53-56 .

35) fardingales]

A hooped c ntra₁tion to spread the skirt around the waist.


wemen]

'wom n'.

39-40) 'Just as the evil praise you, God, God, our God, so do
the good'.

43) Dee received these letters at 52a, 20-26.

45) Bobogel is the eighth name in the table at fol. 41a.

46) The 'great Circle' is the missing table and must have provided the character for Bobogel which is recorded in Sloane MS 3191 as  (fol. 41a). The reference to the heptagon ('the Table with 7 angles') is erased because it is an error, the heptagon showing the characters of the princes and not the kings.

47-48) See 48b.

49) Nomen eū est Bobogel]

'My name is B bogel'.

51-52) 'Bobogel — king; Bornogo — prince'. They are to be invoked on sundays (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 46b).

fol. 53a.

2) Prince]

Thi is used figuratively since he is a king.

4) Science]

'knowledge'.

7) frustrate]

'frustrated'.

9) praters]

'Talkers of idle and foolish things, boasters.' It is significant

that the instruments they play are wind instruments.

10-12) These prayers appear to make the same sound (i.e. that of truth) which only Bobogel and some of his ministers can truly make (see 52b, 39).

16) what I assure]

'what I encompass and rule', or else 'what I weigh' in the sense that there is no deception in Bobogel.

17) Ordinationem... let]

'Raise the order of infinite power'.

19) the first letter]

LEE for LVAR.

20) O...Deo]

'O unit in Nature and in God'.

21-22) O...s]

'O equality of God and Nature. Go in God, Nature from God and itself'.

23-24) Concito...Naturae]

'His history without number. Yet with us he is at one and the same time the fountain and head of Nature'.

25) and become, all One Man]

See 19a, 19, another symbol of trinitarian unity.

25-29) This figure would seem once again to represent Christ (see the 'glorious man', 42a, 26 ff.), who as God made flesh unites earth and heaven.

30) Veritas...est]

'The truth which is sought is ours'.

32-34) A knowledge of organic and inorganic matter was essential in alchemy and it is perhaps significant in alchemical terms that on foot should seem to be of lead, this being the cutlery base metal on which the alchemists tried to project. The figure has a foot of lead and presumably a crown of gold (line 28) and his apparel is composed of both the organic and the inorganic. Alternatively (or perhaps in addition) the foot of lead may signify base wisdom (lead is the metal of saturn) in contrast to the divine wisdom represented by fire at line 28.

34) Aposiopesis]

A rhetorical artifice in which the speaker comes to a sudden halt as if unable or unwilling to proceed.

The sketch to the left is 15mm high.

35) 'Blessed be he who [is?] the light of my head'. The 'etc' implies that the remainder of the sentence is well known but I can find no biblical parallel.

37) 'One in head, one in breast, one in the feet'. This must

refer to the constitution of this one man from the three spirits.

38) stept out 9]

These are the other three ternaries, who with that of LEE, ake up the four ternaries at 54a, 17-20.

40) Jentlemā]

'Gentleman'.

2) not to l te]

Bo ogel paused, but not overlong, before repeating Dee's nam .

44) th fir t Ternarie]

This is the first ternary of the nine, but the second ov rall, representing the letters NAR of LEENARB.

46-48) 'We vill. We can. What not?'

49) Faciamus...societate]

'Let us do what they have done, for w are three; we are Adam by society' i.e. they are en.

50-53) This ternary is rejected by Bobogel (see 54a, 18).

Although they try to emulate the ternary LEE, they can in no way do so. Although the body of the compound man that they form see s like gold (53b, 1), there is no strength or substance in the figure.

11N34) The astrological symbol for saturn and the alchemical symbol of lead.

fol. 53b.

5) BLN]

The 'B' of LEENARB and the 'LN' of LNANAEB (52a, 30-31).

6-8) 'From him. Throu h him. With him'.

9 & 12) Qui...Vanum]

'Whoever is without these three...will work in the church
f God in vain'.

lea<ni...>] 'leaning'.

10) Apo iop is]

See 53a, 34. B b gel pauses in the sentence which begins at line 9 and ends at line 12.

13) <b....>]

'bodi s'?

17-18) th place becam fayre]

Th peo,le in the globe are cleansed through penitence
(see MN17).

19) a triangular stone]

A pyramid (see marginal sketch).

20) A mill powered by a horse walking in a circle around the two millstones fixed to a central axle.

23-26) What the white ball, the flaming sword and the fine linen hat-band should signify is not clear. The flaming word recalls the angel (usually thought to be Michael) who guards the gate of Eden (Genesis III, 24) and is customarily a symbol of purification (Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p. 324), but this sheds no light upon the other two objects.

28) to him ward]
'towards him'.

34) clyft]
'Cleft'.

36) 'They are always, and their food is one'.

3) vicissim]
'In turn'. The resulting combination of letters is LBELEN, those of the first ternary being here underlined.

43) ANA]
From LNANAEB (52a, 30-36).

44) Ab illo sed]
'From him, but' (see line 6 above).

45) Cum illo sed]
'With him, but' (see line 8 above).

48) brauer]

More ostentatious.

49-50) Aliqui...Digni]

'Some [have] such things [i.e. fashionable clothes] on account of worthiness, [but] others [have] such things because they are not worthy'.

51) Per illu]

'Through him' (see line 7 above).

||rayle]

This belongs to line 50 ('appa=rayle').

53) See lines 13-14 above.

fol. 54a.

1) This ternary tries to emulate the third, but fails to do so, just as the second failed in its emulation of the first.

2) Cahos]

'Chaos'.

3-4) See 53b, 23-24.

6) The hole must have opened again after closing (53b, 34).

9) Et...ignis]

'And because they were lacking in ardent fire'. The fourth

ternary has tried to attract the attention of the people in the same way as the third, but they have nothing substantial to offer.

11) apparail]

'apparel'.

12) See 53b, 46-48.

15) Fawt]

'Fault'. Probably in his first notes the first and second ternaries were linked together and the third with the fourth.

21) Omnes...illo]

'All belong to Nature, but not in him' (contrast with 53a, 20-22). Not all the ternaries are divinely inspired.

22) The O ren yning]

12 points have shown the four ternaries and there are then for 30 spirits remaining of the original 42.

23) the relected Cumpany]

The second and fourth ternaries (see lines 18 and 20 above).

26) See 52a, 49.

27) This company is neither intrinsically good nor intrinsically evil, but only according to how they are used (see MN27).

28) 'We are the seven gates of Nature, and of he who knew
God' (i.e. Adam). The last phrase explains their neutrality.

30-31) the rest of the 30]

23 spirits are left in this company after the disappearance
of seven in white smoke. The disappearance of these 23 in
black smoke indicates that they also are rejected by
Bobogel.

32) In seto... nia]

'In six and even among all things' (see 49b, MN40).

33) The six]

The first twin twins.

5) the n]

'the sun'.

rule]

'rolled'.

36) the small narrow race]

The upper part of the path traced on the globe described
at 4a, 7-13.

40) 'The one who formed these [i.e. the six] is the second
in the heptagon', i.e. Bornogo, prince to Bobogel (see
fol. 48b).

41) See 49b, 31-42.

41-45) The spirits LEENARB—AOIDIAB each govern a four hour part of Sunday as the spirits OESNGLE—LABDGRE did of Monday. Their use is similar (see 51a, 30-35).

45-48) There is considerable confusion over the division of parts of the day among the 42 ministers of each prince. At 49b, 31-42, each of the six groups of seven of Hagonel's ministers were allotted a period of 4 hours, while Hagonel's seal represented a further seven spirits including himself (see 50b, 31-34). In the case of the 42 ministers of Babalel and Befafes, each group of seven also governs a four hour part of the day while the king and prince are responsible for the whole day (see 55b, 25-26). A similar division is made with the ministers under Bynepor and Butmono (56b, 14) and Bnaspol and Blisdon (56b, 44-45). The division here of the spirits under Bobogel and Bornogo does not make sense. Even allowing for the fact that each group of seven letters was earlier referred to as groups of 'six' (see 49b, 30) the division cannot be made 'as before' if 'the first six of the six orders' (line 45) refers to LEENARB or if the 42 ministers are to be divided into seven groups of six rather than six groups of seven. It seems most likely that the intention is that six groups of seven (LEENARB—AOIDIAB) are each given a four hour period of the day (as at 49b, 31-42) and that 'the first six' (line 45) should refer to spirits represented by the seal of Bornogo other than Bornogo himself, as was the case with Hagonel (50b, 31-34).

49) See 50b, 40.

MN52) vide ante 3 folia]

'See three folios before' (see Commentary to lines 41-45 above).

fol. 54b.

4-6) These spirits know God ('one in heuen') and all things to do with man and the world.

7) These few spirits reflect the nature of heaven.

9) See marginal note.

10) vse of the...]

It seems from what follows that Dee is asking a general question about the instructions he has been given for commanding the spirits.

14-15) See the first ternary LEE at 53a, 25-29. This ternary transformed itself into 'One Man' composed of herbs and metals.

18-20) The 'purpose and intent' is yet to be revealed.

21) 'I have spoken'.

24-27) 'Come, come (I say), approach. Come, king. O king, king, king of the waters, come, I say come. Great is

your power, though mine is greater. Our God remains, rules as, and is that which he was and just as he was'.

28) Then cam one]

Babalel.

29-31) 'We are ready to praise the name of him our creator.

The name (I say) of one [who is] now and living. These things are obscure to clouded minds [but] true and manifest to true and perfect [minds]'.

32) Ecce adsunt]

'Behold, they are here'.

35-36) left arme...righ<t>arme]

This refers to the sleeves of his garment.

41) Babalel governs the waters and with his prince, Befafes, is to be invoked on tuesdays (Sloane MS 3191, 48a).

43-48) The origin of these letters is explained at 59a, 26-33.

47-48) 'Let all (omne) that lives praise God, one and three in all eternity (aeternum)'.

47) The 'A' of AOONMAN should be 'N', this correction being made later.

MN25) 'The king of the waters'.

fol. 55a.

7) at an ynche]

'close at hand', obsolete (OED).

8) Ha Sir ha]

There seems no reason for the hyphens joining the words.

9) Multin]

The name does not occur again.

10) skipiak]

'skipjack, a pert shallow-brained fellow' (OED).

12-14) Babalel is dressed as before (see 54b, 34-36). It is appropriate to his office that he should seem to stand upon water.

16-18) 'Come prince of the seven princes who are princes of the waters. I am a powerful and wonderful king in [respect of] water, whose power is in the depths of the waters'.

19-21) Princeps...Heptagonon]

'This prince is the third prince in the heptagon' (see 48b).

The prince's name is Befafes.

21) 'Heptagono' is the correct Latin form.

22) Heptagonωμ]

'Heptagonom'. 'Heptagonon' would be 'heptagonωυ'.

22) verè...dixi]

'Truly, plainly and clearly have I spoken'.

23) 'You have measured the waters?'...'It is done'.

24) The doubt is not specified.

25) See Commentary to lines 34-35 below.

26) Phers]

'Philosophers'.

28) I was with Salomon]

Michael also claimed to have been with Solomon (see 13b, 17).

Scotus]

While Joannes Duns Scotus (1265?-1308?) would tend to be a more familiar name to Kelly, this most probably refers to John Scotus (fl. 850), author of De divisione Naturae, who argued the unity of nature proceeding from God through the creative ideas to the sensible universe and being resolved into its first Cause.

29) 'I was [known] in respect of my powr'.

30) Mares]

'The Seas'.

Since]

'Since then'.

34-35) Unless there are some unrecorded incidents of Kelly's scrying, these lines must refer to Actions with Barnabas Saul or one of the other possible scryers.

38) the fifth of the Seuenth]

In the Action of 5 May 1583 Dee asks Uriel about this statement of Befafes and receives the following reply:
'He speaketh so of him self, in respect that he shall be the fifth that shall be Vsed. In consideration of Nature he is the fifth, althowgh not consequently in the Order of Operation' (103a, 5-7). The 'Order of Operation' refers to the use of the Holy Table.

39) Obelison the wicked]

This spirit is presumably the direct antithesis of the Befafes Obelison. He is not mentioned again.

40-41) Redemption is here offered to evil spirits and angels as well as to man. See also 57a, 17-19.

43) The AEgyptians called me...Obelison]

I have not been able to trace any source for this statement.

45) A pleasant deliverer]

What language should produce this etymology is not apparent but the word appears as 'obelisong', translated as 'as pleasant deliverers' in the Fourth Call or Key of 48 Claves Angelicae (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 4b; see also TFR, p. 109).

48 Claves is in Enochian with an interlineated translation.

46) The former 7]

Those who came in with Babalal (see 54b, 42).

49) They are spirits of the waters.

52) becomethh]

Sic for 'becometh'.

54) Maij <.1.>]

This should read 'Maij 5' (see Commentary to line 38 above).

There is no Action of 1 May 1583 and Ashmole must have misread Dee's manuscript.

MN46) Circlets are more proper to princes.

fol. 55b.

1-2) Clouds, hail and snow are water in the atmosphere and
come under the governance of these spirits.

9) vprorre]

'uproar'.

25-26) See 54a, 45-47.

29) Dee wishes to know the hour at which the day might be said
to begin. It could be at midnight, 9 am , first light or
some other significant time.

32-36) 'God gave life to all creatures. Come, come fire, come
 life of mortal things (I say) come. Approach. God reigns.
 O come. For he reigns alone and is the life of the living',

37) These are Bynepor and Butmono who govern the general
 condition of the world and the life of all living creatures.
 They are to be invoked on thursdays (Sloane MS 3191, 49a).

38-40) This king and prince govern the life and breath of
 living creatures and the 'smokes' of their 42 ministers
 may represent the breath of life (pneuma) and the sparks
 the inner 'fire' or energy in living creatures.

41) red, as blud]

This has a clear significance to the life of mortal creatures.

46-48) See Commentary to 47b, 24. There is no Action of 5 May
 1582 and Dee is referring to the Action of 5 May 1583 where
 he received instructions for a new Character (101b, 20-22 &
 102a, 38-43). These new instructions confirmed that the
 Character given to him at 9b was the work of an evil spirit
 and here he puts the confusion between Butmono and Blisdon
 down to another illuding spirit (see MN46).

fol. 56a.

5) Verè beatus]

'Truly blessed'.

7) yo^r,]

'your'.

B B A L P A E]

The 'P' is written over an erasure and there is a 'p' in the right-hand margin. The source of the letters is given at 59a, 34-42.

8-9) This king Bynepor begins the fourth septenary but is the twenty-second of the collected 49 spirits in the table at 41a.

20) 'To the giver of all good things [be] unceasing and immense praise'.

25) The only explanation I can give for the vision of running water is that it is one of the essentials for life.

29-30) Bynepor governs the general state of things in the three levels of vita suprema, superior, and infirmia (Sloane MS 3191, 49a).

32) He that Measureth]
God (see MN32).

36) 'Generally' should be erased in favour of the superscription 'generaltye'.

41-43) 'The highest, "middle" and lesser planes of existence are measured by my hands' (see Introduction pp. 66-73).

44) Despite Bynepor's great office and power, he is not self-created, but of God and his power is given by God alone.

45) I dubble life from One]

He is responsible for procreation and the multiplication of life beginning from Adam. 'One' may however signify God.

MN32) 'God spoke'. 'Ipse' is used as a Latin equivalent of the Tetragrammaton. See also John I, 1-3.

fol. 56b.

5) the second last world]

This time is regarded as the penultimate era in world history (see Introduction pp.162-170).

8-10) 'He entrusted life and gave power of being to me, to live and be glorified(?) eternally by all things everywhere'.

11) m<or....>]

'mortals'?

14) the rest as befo<re.>]

The manner of using Bynepor and the division of the 42 spirits (presumably with 7 contained in his seal) over the parts of the day follows the pattern that has been established with the earlier kings and princes.

16) See marginal note.

19-20) Bynepor governs the state of the world and the breath of life and so brightens the world and is welcomed by the people.

24) This king and prince are Bnaspol and Blisdon, who govern the earth and are to be invoked on wednesdays (Sloane MS 3191, 48b). At 47b, 24 the office of governing the earth was given to Prince Butmono.

29) Vgly people]

These are 'spirits of perdition' which guard treasure in the earth (see 57a, 1).

33-41) This circle has an outer diameter of 78mm (3.9 inches) and an inner diameter of 66mm (3.5 inches). The source of the letters is explained at 59a, 43-46. OOGOSRS should be OOGOSRB, the correction being made after the explication at 59a, 43-46 although De heptarchia mystica retains OOGOSRS (Sloane MS 3191, 42b).

33-46) See Prince Butmono at 47b, 35-36: 'Behold the bowels of the earth are at my opening'.

38-39) he in whome I am]

God.

47) vide lib^o 5: 1583. Martij 26]

On 26 March Dee asked Raphael whether he might use Blisdon

and his ministers to unravel the secrets concerning buried treasure which were contained in a scroll brought back from Northwick Hill in the Cotswolds by Kelly after he had been guided by 'a spirituall creature' (see 61a and 63a, 36-39). Despite the statement here that 'they are and shalbe at thy comaundement', Raphael would not sanction an invocation of the spirits.

47-49) Vide...26]

'Concerning these things see [the Action of] 26 June [1584] in the Cracow Book'. In this Action at Cracow a further table was said to contain four good angels with 'power over Metals, to find them, to gather them together, and to use them' and also 'the Princes of those wicked ones, that stood afar off in the Table of the Creation', this being a reference to the 'Vgly people' at line 29 (see TFR, p. 180).

MN6) 'Behold all new things'.

fol. 57a.

- 3) Bnaspol is the king of the fifth septenary and the 29th of the 49 spirits in the table at 41a.
- 4) Prince Blisdon is the fifth name in the heptagon at 48b and the 23rd in the table at 41a.
- 8) 'Come, where there is no rest but the gnashing of teeth'. They 'which do iniquity' will be cast 'into a furnace of

fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth'
(Matthew XIII, 42). See also Matthew VIII, 12.

9-10) No spirit issuing fire appeared in the Action of 19 November the day before. The only spirit who appeared then who in any way resembles this one was the compound figure formed by the fourth ternary with the 'chaos of faces' (54a, 2). A fiery spirit may have appeared to Kelly in a private vision on the 19th November whose appearance he related to Dee. The description does however fit Prince Brorges who appeared on 16 November (see 48a, 27-28).

14) and the etc]

The appearance of the princes and kings has been described before and they are all pretty much the same. The king here is Bnapsen and the prince is Brorges and they are to be invoked on saturdays (Sloane MS 3191, 50a). While Bnapsen governs practisers of magic and with^ccraft and has the power to cast out wicked spirits, no office is assigned to Brorges, although his earlier appearance at 48a suggests that his office should be similar.

15) as I haue sayd before]

It was Hagonel who punished 'lyers, witches, enchanters, Deceyvers, Blasphemers' before (45b, 31-32) and Dee's marginal note here indicates his awareness of the discrepancy.

17-19) Some spirits who were once evil will be redeemed (see 55a, 39).

23) The outer diameter of this circle is 64mm (2.5 inches) and the inner diameter is 54mm (2.1 inches). Within the circle there is an unskilful picture of a demon with his hair like flames (in red ink) and with sharp teeth. The origin of the letters is explained at 59a, 47-54, but according to that explanation the table should read: BANSSZE, BYAPAGE, BNAMGEN, BNVOLOS, BLBAPOO, BOBEPEN.

24) fode]
'food'.

25) A word is missing after 'sempiternall' (see MN25).

26) Bnapsen is the 36th name in the table at 41a, but Brorges is the sixth prince in the heptagon at 48b, Bralges being the seventh and last. Brorges is the last if Bralges is counted as the first (see MN27RH) but this then makes the numeration of the preceding princes incorrect.

30) 'Come you who are under my power'.

35) Carmara governs all aerial actions under the name of Baligon . Why he should interpose here, however, is not entirely clear.

36) of the last Ternarie]

ANA (see 53b, 43). In an Action of 5 May 1583 Dee questioned this phrase of Carmara and received the answer: 'he is the ende of the Three last corruptible times: wherof, this is the last' (103a, 18-20). The last ternary wore 'brave' apparel and were rejected by Bobogel (see 53b, 48 & 54a, 20).

38) Carmara is to be invoked on mondays but on fridays in his alias of Baligon.

39) the last before]

Bnapsen and Brorges.

40) the Fifth]

Bnaspol and Blisdon.

MN27) If Bralges is the first, then his king Blumaza must also be first; therefore the sixth division of the table at 41a and the seventh point of the heptagon at 47a are both numbered as 1 in addition to their correct numbers. Since Baligon represents the last table of 42 ministers he is also both first (as Carmara) and seventh in the table at 41a. In the Action of 5 May 1583 Dee was told that 'Blumaza is the first, in respect (And so all the rest, are the first in respect) of their own being' (102a, 29-30).

MN30) See 48b, 8.

fol. 57b.

1) This circle has an outer diameter of 76mm (3 inches) and an inner diameter of 63mm (2.5 inches). The letters are explained at 59b, 1-5.

6) For, so I call it]

The angels and spirits are not bound by human concepts of time.

11-13) See 46a, 12-15.

15-16) This triple division corresponds to the vita infirma, vita superior and vita suprema (see 56a, 41-43 and Introduction pp. 66-73).

17) This line seems to refer to God rather than Annael as Dee suggests (MN18), although Annael is the angel governing this period of world history (see 6a).

21-23) 'Glory, praise, honour and eternal jubilation be to our God [who is] omnipotent, the best and the greatest'.

26-29) All the other kings and princes governing each septenary have appeared except for this pair.

MN14) Prima pars Artis Triplicis.]
'The first part of the threefold art'. See 58a, 37-41.
in Esse]
'in being'.

fol. 58a.

2) the first table]

The Holy Table.

3) red and grene]

It is difficult to extract any precise significance from the colours of the cloth, but green customarily represents fertility and red usually denotes majesty, violence or the life-giving principle. In alchemical terms green can represent solution and red is the colour of the achieved Philosophers' Stone. (See Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols and Taylor, The Alchemists).

10) See 57b, 5.

12) See 47a, 8-9.

14-20) 'O how great is the infirmity and corruption of man, who scarcely has faith in [God's] angels, his good angels at that, or even in God? The corrupt of the world have in them all worldly things, the dregs. O our God, our God, (I say) our true God with his true angels and those who serve him is always true. Ask what you will. I have spoken, and what I have spoken is overshadowed by truth, justice and perfection'.

21) Ecce]

'Behold'.

22-23) Hic...Per hoc]

'Here...Through this'.

24-25) 'And by the end of the measure, you will measure us and our power. Do [it], I say. What do you want?'. The drawing of the rod or measure is 27mm (1.1 inches) high.

26-27) parabolically]

'In the manner of a parable'. Dee here presumably resolves some of his doubts (see line 10 above).

33) negligēt]

'negligent'.

35-36) 'In the shadow of death there is no equality. For nothing is obscure which you have received through him. Perform'. This statement refers to Kelly, through whom the angels have communicated. Dee and Kelly are the elect of God and therefore not equal with other men.

37) See 57b, 14-16.

38) There are seven septenaries of spirits.

39-40) Again the universe is divided threefold into different planes of existence.

42-43) The seven kings are the first of each septenary in the table at 41a.

46) The characters of the kings were in the missing table but are to be found in De heptarchia mystica (see Introduction pp. 125-126). The names of the second generation Sons of

Light are here taken by Dee to be the characters of the kings (MN48, central) and they are to be found in the more complicated characters assigned to each king in De heptarchia mystica (Sloane MS 3191, 46b-50a).

fol. 58b.

1) See 27b, 37-28a, 2: the second generation Sons of Light.

5-6) of my self being the First]

Carmara ([†]Ho) is also Baligon who is the first of the 49 spirits (see table at 41a).

8) and lawfull]

This should read 'and unlawful' (see MN8)

9-10) The first point of the heptagon at 48b contains only the seal of Hagonel and no accompanying name.

10) S..]

'Six on'?

11) the Globe]

The missing table which Dee received from Kelly (see also 59a, 1-2).

18) wart]

An error for 'wast'.

the most perfect forme]

A reference to the table at 37b-38a perhaps.

22) There are seven seals but only six names in the heptagon at 48b.

23) The names are to be found in the tables at 40a and 41a.

24-25) See MN25.

27-30) Unless the name of Marmara occurred in the missing folio at the beginning of this book, Dee has not noted it, only Carmara.

35) See 55a, 20, although the distinction may first have been made in the missing folio at the beginning of this book.

39) to weete]
'to wit'.

40-46) The kings and princes, signified by the crown and circlet are here related according to their numbers in the table at 41a.

44-45) modo retrogrado quasi]

'As if by a retrograde step'. See the dotted line that connects the king Bobogel to the prince Bornogo in the table at 41a.

53) Novēb. 23.]

This is the date of the note being made.

MN8) myshard]

'misheard'.

MN25) impfect]

'imperfect'.

MN40) 'This sequence is made by adding 7. Thus adding 7 to the number 43 gives 50, a number greater than 49 by one, which may signify the first king, Baligon' (\overline{pt} for 'potest' or its subjunctive mood). Having proceeded around the circle of the table at 41a, Baligon, who occupies the first place occurs again as the 50th.

MN41) 'This sequence is made by adding 7. Therefore if 7 is added to the number 37, we find 44 to be the next prince' (g^o for 'ergo'). The 44th spirit is Bagenol. Both this marginal note and the one above separately link all the kings together and all the princes together, but neither succeeds in showing the relationship in the table between the kings and their princes.

MN46) See MN44. The statement 'My Prince is in myself: which is a mysterie' was not in fact spoken at all, unless in the missing folio at the beginning of this book. Nevertheless the memory of such a statement led Dee to think of Baligon's prince as the anagrammatical Baginol instead of the correct Bagenol. At the existing beginning of this book however, Hagonel said: 'the Sonnes of men, and theyr sonnes are subiect vnto my cōmaudemēt. This is a mystery'

(45a, 18-19) and there is an attendant marginal note to the speaker of 'Bagenol' (MN16). If Carmara is also Baligon, then Hagonel is also Bagenol. It is unusual for Dee to be inaccurate in his cross-references, but the admission 'as far as I remēber' suggests that he was unable to find the statement 'my Prince is in myself' when he looked for it himself.

MN46 RH) This correctly links Bagenol (the 44th spirit) with Baligon (the first).

MN41 RH) See Commentary to MN46 above.

MN44) See Commentary to MN46 above.

fol. 59a.

1-2) Nalvage first appeared in an Action of 11 February 1584 and was responsible for delivering the calls of 48 Clauēs angelicae which take up much of A True and Faithful Relation and are also to be found in Sloane MS 3191 (see TFR, p. 63).

5-6) i.e. from 58b, 26 to 59a, 4.

9) his peculiar Table]

Each prince has his own table consisting of the letters delivered by the 42 spirits accompanying each prince between fols 49b and 57b.

10) the First Table]

See 49b, 31-42.

- 12) The two numbers in the margin reflect respectively the order in which the tables were given and their order if Baligon is regarded as the first of the 49 spirits
- 13) OESNGLE is obtained from the second letters of Bobogel and Befafes, the third of Basmelo, the fourth of Bernole, the fifth of Branglo, the sixth of Brisfli and the seventh of Bnagole, who form together the second septenary in the table at 41a.
- 17) AVZNILN is obtained in a like manner to OESNGLE, but from the third septenary. The system is continued to the last septenary.
- 20) LEENARB is derived from the second septenary by working inwards from the last letter of the king (Bobogel) to the first letter of the seventh spirit (Bnagole).
- 24-25) The subsequent names in the second table are derived from the remaining five septenaries using the same process as that for LEENARB, Bamnode being the 49th spirit.
- 25) trauersi, quasi retrograde]
'Across as if backwards'.
- 26) Both 'lower' and 'latter' should read 'last' (see MN26).
- 27) 'Right' should read 'left' (see MN27).

26-33) As with OESNGLE etc, the first two letters of each name in the third table are derived from the same circle in each septenary of the table at 41a.

28) the last word is of second seven]

A manuscript error for 'the last word of the second seven',

34-42) This is a mirror image of the progression used to obtain the names for the third table.

41) // ble]

The superscribed end of 'Table'.

43-46) This progression is the mirror image of that used to obtain the names for the second table.

47) the Infernall Table]

See 57a, 15-22.

47-54) The progression uses the stated letters of the king of each septenary save for the first (Baligon, who is self-sufficient), the 49th spirit being used in his stead. The rule for each name is to use consecutive letters of each king and then the last letter of the seventh spirit in the septenary of the king who contributed the sixth letter. The first septenary under Bobogel is never used. The result of using this rule, however, gives BANSSZE, BYAPEE, BNAMEEN, BNOLOS, BLBAPOO, BOBEPEN, as opposed to BANSSZE, BYAPARE, BNAMEEN, BNVAGES, BLBOPOO, BABEPEN, shown in the table at 57a, 23.

MN12) This note is rather confused but I think the sense of it is this. Baligon and his septenary have not so far been used in obtaining the tables of names of the 42 spirits and therefore may be seen in this respect as being the last septenary in the table at 41a (note the figure 7 inside the circles at 41a). Blumaza is designated as 'the first' in the Action of 5 May 1583, but he holds this position 'secretly' (see 102a, 27-30 and MN30). As a result of this 'secret of preeminence' his name is accompanied by the numeral 1 in the table at 41a (the innermost numeral). This results in a sequence of septenaries from Blumaza to Bnapsen which is numerated a little irregularly: 1, 7, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. I feel that the 'necessity' does not lie in the system of septenaries but rather in the need to overcome discrepancies in the system.

fol. 59b.

1-5) This table uses the first septenary under Baligon, which may also be regarded as the last since it produces the seventh table. The whole of this septenary is not used, however, but only letters contained in the names of each of the seven kings.

4-5) 7. tenaries]

'Septenaries'.

6) made all of Kingly substance]

All the letters are derived from the names of kings.

8-9) the great Circular table]

The missing table 'sent' to Dee by Kelly.

18) Dee is of course using a stone, but the angels now give him one appropriate for the commandment of the 49 spirits.

20) the Roman Possession]

The Roman Empire.

24) it]

The new stone.

27) See MN27.

29-31) The new stone is governed by Baligon (see Sloane MS 3191, 49b).

32) The angel who brings the stone is unspecified save for the description at lines 36-38 below,

35) matts]

'mats'.

36) heyth]

An obsolete form of 'height' (OED).

48) 'Truth in truth: God in God; he is one in one'.

51-52) 'To him who is to come to judge eternity with fire
be all honour, praise and glory for ever and ever'.

MN49) 'Beware'.

fol. 60a.

1) 'The fifth book of mysteries'.

3) Kelly left for London on 22 November 1582 and then set off the next day for the village of Blockley in Gloucestershire. He was supposed to return within ten days (see Diary), but the next diary entry is for 7 May 1583. Dee was very busy with conferences concerning the proposed expedition to discover a North-west Passage during these intervening months, which also saw the birth and baptism of his son Rowland. There is no record of disagreement between Dee and Kelly, facts which Dee usually noted, and so while it is possible that some Actions may have taken place between 22 November 1582 and 23 March 1583 and been lost through the attentions of Mrs Jones's maid, it seems more likely that Kelly was absent with Dee's consent. On 23 March 1583 Kelly returned with John Husy from Blockley (61a, 2) with a scroll that he was supposed to have found at the nearby Northwick Hill on 12 March (66b, 14).

5-6) Ashmole denotes this fifth book as containing the sixth book and the Appendix to the fifth book as being the seventh.

fol. 61a.

3) Mr John Husey]

There is no reference in Dee's Diary to this person.

Blockley]

The village of Blockley is situated on the edge of the Cotswolds in Gloucestershire, 6 miles from Broadway, 7 miles from Stow-on-the-Wold and 87 miles from London.

6) monument]

'Monument': a written document or record.

7) Northwick Hill is just to the north-west of the village of Blockley.

7-8) It seems that Kelly and Mr. Husey may have been conducting their own scrying experiments which led to the discovery of the book and scroll. A red powder was also discovered (see Introduction pp.160-161).

9-11) Neither Dee nor Kelly was able to decipher the scroll and so the angels are to be asked to enlighten the company, although in fact no information is forthcoming in this Action.

12) a foles cote]

The motley.

15) hery]

'hairy'.

16) 'You have penetrated [penetravisti] the nature of my injustice'.

17) Feci, nam decedo]
'I have done, for I depart'.

19) wexed]
'waxed'.

20) the Table...the Chayre]
The angelic Holy Table and the chair normally associated with Michael.

22) The spirit who stays is Raphael, signified by Me[†] at line 38 (for Medicina Dei), so the other two are probably Michael and Gabriel. The ~~†~~ probably signifies that Raphael is wearing a crown (see 64a, 50).

23-24) Aucte...incredibile]
'Hail. It is true and incredible'.

26-34) 'The way, truth and virtue are one: and his greatness is admirable and takes many forms. And the breath comes from your [God's] mouth (and has life), by which all things live by your assent and illumination. Hail the word, hail the creator and measure of things, which were, are and shall be. You have enlightened the eyes of [you] creatures by intelligible monuments [see line 6 above] and warnings. Life to the good, but death to the wicked and to those who

are cast aside from your consideration. How great and innumerable are your gifts (O [God of] Justice)? O remiges varpax. Lord have mercy'.

33) O remiges varpax]

This is a phrase in the Enochian language for which there is no translation available.

36-37) 'O blessed Trinity, send your light and truth that they may lead me to the holy mountain and your tabernacles'. See 7a, 48 and Psalm XLIII, 3.

38) 'Where unbelievers [may] not [go]'.

39-40) 'We are not unbelievers: but our hope lives eternal and [his] truth, the fountain of life, is omnipotent'. Aeterna may refer to veritas rather than to spes, or even to both.

41-45) Adduxi...videbitis]

'I have brought water from that river for you [i.e. the fountain of life]. It is truly a medicine for your imperfections and needs. Understand now both who I am and with what I am provided. Drink and receive fulness into your bones. For many are the imperfections of mortals. I have, and you will have: I have brought [the water] and you will see'.

MN15) 'Covered with hair'.

fol. 61b.

61a,45-61b,4) Verbum...eius]

'The word is that light by which every imperfection is destroyed. Those who believe will enter [introibunt] into his holiness, where [lies] the potion and eternal medecine. You have truly considered [see MN3]. I am just as you believe. For by truth and justice his words and teaching are true and perfect'. The whole of Raphael's speech effectively promises divine inspiration and the help of the Holy Spirit.

6) Recte sapere]

See 5a, 12.

Thow hast it]

i.e. knowledge and understanding.

9) botom]

'bottom'.

12-13) The water which causes the tree (i.e. Dee) to swell and bring forth fruit is the teaching of Raphael (see 61a, 41), but more specifically the angelic language (see 63, 34-37).

16-17) 'Behold the servant of the Lord. May his will (like his mercy) pronounced concerning me be performed in me'. This is not dissimilar from Mary's reply after the Annunciation (Luke II, 38).

21-22) This refers to the contents of the fourth book.

26) Oute of Seuēn]

The heptarchical revelations of the fourth book.

28-31) See Commentary to 12-13 above.

31) marble stone]

Marble signifies constancy and permanency.

32) the blud of a dragon]

Dragon's blood was the name given by the alchemists to the resin obtained from certain plants, but it is more likely that it is used here only to symbolise fierceness.

Northen]

Sic for 'Northern'.

34-35) The figure's face is composed of all substances within the primordial Chaos.

35-37) This passage owes its origin to the Platonic concept of ideal Forms and the perfect and eternal model used by the Creator in fashioning the Universe. In his Preface Dee's description of the threefold nature of the universe (supernatural, natural and mathematical) is accompanied by the statement that 'the generall Formes, notwithstanding, are constant, unchaungeable, untransformable, and incorruptible' and are neither of man's perception nor his conception. (Preface, second page).

37) his two eyes]

The sun and the moon. The figure reaches from earth to the heavens.

38-40) This figure is a representation of the 'liquor' which Raphael brings: the word of God, perfect in itself, and the language of the angels.

40) nature Intellectuall]

The highest kind of nature, that of the mind and its apprehensions.

MN3) 'He speaks of my thinking it might be Raphael'.

MN23) 'Unbelievers'.

fol. 62a.

1) The image of nature is continued but refers to growth in the world of the intellect.

8) I respect the time]

Perhaps the black cloth appeared signifying the end of the Action and Dee is giving his assent to leaving off.

13) a slepe]

'asleep'.

14) At 63a, MN30, Dee remarks that 'a lambs hed, may be a token

of our humilitie required'. The lamb is of course representative of Christ in his sacrificial role.

16-25) 'These are signs to you of humility and penitence: all that I do is yours and not mine [i.e. his actions are significant]. Let his name be praised in heaven, and also on earth. Seek power in the humility of his words and you will see the glory of his face. For the glory of his virtue is merciful and omnipotent. What is vain is on account of corruptions of his works: what is necessary is truly according to your needs. For he made all things towards his praise and (behold) the works of his hands together praise the light of his countenance. Praise [him] in turn. Live in humility. My medicine (which is his) will in truth heal all things'. The final sentence suggests that the angelic language will reunite the world (see Introduction pp.169-71).

26) feldes]

'fields'.

29) Nature and Reason]

Raphael's medicine is the language of Adam and the angels (see 63b, 34-37), which is intelligible to all created things, whether imbued with life and animated or not (see 63b, 46-48).

34-37) These are the steps of celestial learning.

41) deapest]

Sic for 'deepest'.

42) he]

It is not clear to whom this refers. Solomon asked God for wisdom, but did not forsake the world (62b,1). The next reference is to Adam (62b,7), but the description here does not fit him either.

fol. 62b.

2) subject or object]

Subject is that part of a thing in which its essential attributes reside and object is the thing as it is perceived.

3) from him, that proceedeth]

God.

5) the first]

Adam, who was in the image of God, but not like God in power and glory.

5-6) A reference to the Fall, but see Commentary to line 7 below.

7) Dee's marginal note declares that 'Adam, before his fall, knew all things' and we seem to have some confusion in lines 5-8. Either the reference to Adam's Fall in lines 5-6 and his subsequent revival is to be understood as separate from the reference to Adam's prelapsarian knowledge, the revival being the coming of Christ, or there is an intimation of

Adam's existence before his receiving the breath of life from God. The double reference to the creation of man in Genesis (I,27 and II,7) may go some way towards explaining this: Adam's 'slombring' is his existence before God 'breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul' (Genesis II, 7).

10) a meane be adiected]

'a purpose be added'. All that Dee has been taught has yet to be put to use and only in use does it have value.

14) ende]

'purpose'.

15-17) A new golden age is promised, although it is as yet but a dream.

22) This book is the Book of Enoch which Dee will copy out under instruction.

26) make the clere]

'make your understanding clear'.

28) Et finis est]

'And it is the end'.

28-29) One...known]

One leaf of the book is so secret that it shall never be known. Dee's marginal note records that the addition of this leaf makes the total 49.

30-31) Presumably the mysteries are those concerning the 49 spirits of the 4th book, but set out in tables in the Enochian (angelic) language.

32-33) The book seems to be divided into three parts.

36-37) This defines the relationship that Dee and Kelly are to hold towards each other.

38) Grutch]

'Grouch, complain' (OED).

42) A third person is to be admitted to the conduct of the Actions. At first it was Adrian Gilbert, but then Lasky became a fairly frequent attendant (see Introduction pp.175-6).

47) Adrian Gilbert]

See Introduction pp.165-6 and Commentary to fol. 63a.

fol. 63a.

1-3) See the pictures at 86b

8) supercaelestiall]

See Introduction p. 66.

10) tre]

'tree' (see 61b, 9-13).

11) Act]

'Visible results, deeds'.

12-13) King Bnaspol and Prince Blisdon.

13) whose]

This word should be deleted. Raphael says that questions concerning buried treasure are not his concern, but are to be dealt with by Bnaspol and Blisdon.

15) See 56b, 33-41 for Bnaspol's 42 ministers.

17) dew]

'due'.

19) lymms]

'limbs'.

24) Gloria $\overline{\text{pri.}}$ etc.]

See 8b, 18-19.

MN11) 'Power/Deed'.

MN15) See 56b, 33-42.

Circa...&c.]

'Around May 1587 a certain Ben (a spiritual creature) said to E.K. himself that he had guarded that powder and book of Dunstan'. In fact this information was delivered to Kelly in a private vision as he laboured over a still on 18 April 1587 (TFR, p. *12).

27-29) See 61a, 19-22.

30) See 62a, 14-15.

31) Magna...dixisti]

'Great are the things of which I have spoken, O God',
assuming Alla to be God.

32) hard before]

'immediately in front of'.

36) See 86b.

40) The buylder of the Temple]

Solomon. Raphael says that both worldly riches and wisdom
may be bestowed by God according to his pleasure. This would
be pleasant to Dee's ears, for much as he desired wisdom, he
was in constant need of money to finance his library and
laboratories.

43) one...other]

God and man.

45) those trifles]

Buried treasure.

feetest]

'fittest'.

fol. 63b.

1) existinction]

'Existence' and 'extinction' have been confused together, but it is plain that 'existence' is meant. The Creation contains all manner of things, and while some may be worthless or even wicked, in terms of the overall scheme they are non^etheless necessary.

2-7) Raphael admits that there might be some good arising from worldly wealth, but he refuses to disclose any information about such a vain subject.

8) Sterne]

This is a possible spelling of 'star' but not one that Dee generally uses and as such the sense would be obscure. It is most likely that 'sterne' is an adjective, so that the line could be read as 'stern director to thee'. Alternatively 'the Sterne' may mean 'the strict', i.e. those who lead ascetic lives.

9) All those]

All the spirits in book four.

11) This vessell]

The 'liquor' or medicine which Raphael brings, the language of the angels.

11-24) The spirits have their times and if they are called upon at the wrong time, they will not answer. Peter de Abano's

Heptameron concentrates upon the times of various angels
(see Agrippa, Opera, pp. 589-93).

14) The 49 spirits will answer Dee's questions purely from
friendship, but they may not be used at the incorrect time
(see lines 21-22).

16) 'The Ende' refers to using the spirits, while 'the Begynning'
simply refers to calling them.

17) El]

See Introduction pp.132-4. It seems from line 18 that the
rod may be a kind of magician's wand which Dee is to use.

18) to an ende]

To a purpose, as well as to a conclusion.

19) the seven]

The seven septenaries.

25) 'Former' should be 'further'.

27 & 30) Dee's words, if indeed he spoke, are not recorded .

31-32) Dee may receive information from the spirits at any
time, if not practical help (see line 14).

33) farder]

This form is unusual, since Dee customarily writes 'further'.

36-39) Dee is to be taught the language of the angels. Raphael declares that man's languages after Babel are poor imitations of that language which truthfully relates to the objects described.

46-48) The language of the angels encompasses the whole of the Creation and is understood by all that has been created.

MN35) 'Truth'.

MN37) 'The language and speech of the angels'.

MN46) primitiue]

The sense is 'ancient' and 'original'.

fol. 64a.

1) The first]

Adam.

3-4) See Introduction pp. 144-145.

6) Three]

Enoch, Elijah and John the Evangelist. Enoch and Elijah (Elias in MN10) were both translated to be with God before they could actually die (see Genesis V, 24, Hebrews XI, 5, and 2 Kings II). John the Evangelist, the best loved disciple of Christ, was to 'tarry till [Christ should] come again', so that a legend arose that he should not die (John XXI, 21-23).

7) the three laws to destroy that Monstre]

I do not understand this reference, but I think that the monster must be death, rather than Satan, and that the destruction of death at the Last Judgement, when death and hell are thrown into the lake of fire, forms the basis of the reference (see Revelation XX, 14). Christ delivered man from death, but that is to be understood as a mystical victory following the crucifixion, and I am sure that if the reference were to Christ there would be some mention here of the resurrection.

10) els wold I not]

'Otherwise I would not reveal it'.

12) 'Perceth' should be 'presseth' (MN13).

16) iote]

'jot'.

18) sheuered]

'shivered, shattered'.

21-23) The angelic language is here seen as the word which created the world (see John I, i-3).

24) he sheweth a boke]

See 62b, 22-23.

30-40) The diagram measures 101mm square (4 inches) and contains 50 X 50 squares, which should in fact be 49 X 49 (see line 33).

32) See 62h, 22-23.

37) certayn Characters]

The letters of the Enochian alphabet.

45) These letters are from right to left those transliterated at 64b, 2-22. The forms are more clearly defined in a later Action (see 104a, 30-31).

49) Like Hebrew, the Enochian language is to be written from right to left.

51) The rod is clearly the rod El again.

MN5) 'The conversations of angels'.

MN6) 'Three taken from men into the heavens and turned into angels'.

MN47) Dee later asks Uriel whether such a shelf is to be made under the Holy Table and receives a negative answer (see (102a, 44-102b, 3)).

fol. 64b.

2-22) A clearer form of the letters is shown at 104a, 30-31.

What is given here is the first form of each letter, its name and a transliteration. The form given to tal (line 9) and that given to van (line 20) appear to have changed places in the later version and the later form of gisg (line 22) is significantly different.

5-7) Vnus....es]

'You are one, one, one, [and] great, great, great'. A Trinitarian state is here emphasised.

22-23) Magna...eius]

'Great is his glory'.

27-28) Numerus...tibi]

'O most perfect number, one and three. Glory be to thee'.

(See Commentary to

34) The letter 'y' is another form of the letter 'i', but with a point to denote the consonantal office.

MN32) It would seem that Dee was not given any transliteration in this first exposition and so the transliterations at lines 2-22 must have been added later as well. This may well account for the confusion over the Enochian letters for van and tal (see Commentary to lines 2-22 above).

37) noyce]

'noise'.

38-46) The meaning of this prophetic vision is not clear, except that it may probably be assumed that virtue defeats wickedness.

42) putto]

'put to' (see 105a, 7).

50) i.e. in two years (see MN50).

fol. 65a.

1) Up until now the cloth has been black (see 59b, 15).

3-6) There is no reference to a visit by Gilbert on 27 March 1583 in Dee's Diary, but evidently Dee began to broach the subject of instruction from and possible participation in the Actions (see 62b, 42-47). The presence of Kelly and the absence of any others concerned with the expedition to find a North-West Passage indicates that no serious planning of that voyage could have formed the subject of the visit. Whether the fireball was seen by Kelly alone or by Gilbert as well is not clear, and only custom would suggest that Dee himself did not see anything. In either case the experience seems designed rather to frighten off Gilbert than to encourage him to participate in the Actions.

7-10) There is some possible ambiguity over the identities of each person here: the fire of God's judgement will quicken

Gilbert's deadness to the advancement of Christ's name.

Gilbert's voyage to discover a North-West Passage is also to be evangelical (see lines 35-37 below).

11) A reference to the coming of the Holy Spirit to the twelve Apostles (Acts II, 1-4).

13) Whether Dee remained silent or this is simply a misplaced delta is not clear.

19-20) See 58a, 37 & 45.

22-23) See 62b, 42-47.

26) 'I am the medicine'.

27) Medicina or Medicus Dei]

'The medicine or physician of God'. This definition is responsible for the symbol [†]Me, which Dee evidently added as preface to Raphael's earlier speeches when transcribing the fair copy from his original notes.

28) his hands]

Through Gilbert.

42) Dee was already well acquainted with much of the area that Gilbert was going to visit in the course of the expedition, since he had mapped a great deal of the region and written

several treatises pertaining to 'Atlantis' (see CR, pp. 25-26 and Introduction pp. 164-5).

50) See 64b, 30.

52) At 62b, 37-38 Dee and Kelly were described as hand and finger. This image here also refers to Kelly's subservient but necessary role to Dee, for Kelly is to tell Dee what he sees while Dee must interpret the significance of the visions.

MN44) 'Darkness behind the back'.

fol. 65b.

1-4) During early March Dee had met with Adrian Gilbert and John Davis and others concerned with the North-West Passage expedition, and on the 18th he had been visited by a Mr. North from Poland, who brought 'salutation from Alaski, Palatine in Poland' to the Queen and to Dee (Diary). Dee was to meet Lasky on 13 May and leave for the Continent with him, Kelly and their families on 21 September. Some plans might already have been under way in March concerning the possibilities of going abroad, perhaps instigated by Lasky's salutation. See also line 25 below.

6) let]

'hinder'.

- 7) The warnings that a new age is soon to dawn may have had some influence on Dee's Continental journey (see Introduction pp.173-175).
- 10) 'O book, book, book, life to the good, [but] in truth death itself to the wicked'.
- 11-12) 'Great are his wonders contained in you [i.e. the book]: and great is the name of your seal. The light of my medicine [be] with you'.
- 14) 'Glory, praise and honour be to God the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost'.
- MN10) 'The book'.
- 17-18) 'May they all perish who work against the virtue of my name: and who have hidden the light of my justice' (reading justitia mea as an error for justitiae meae).
- 21) Multa...ipe]
'We [suffer] many things, because he [God] suffers many things'.
- 23) See lines 25-31 below.
- 25) Dee probably went to London for further discussions concerning the North-West Passage expedition.

28) apon]

'upon'.

30-31) See the spirit at 61a, 12-15, who is also covered with hair beneath his apparel.

31-32) Once again Kelly was prepared to leave Dee's household. The 'k' of his initials is miniscule.

36-37) See Luke XI, 11-12.

38-40) Dee instigated the Action to question Raphael concerning Kelly's experience.

42) Camikas zure]

The meaning of these Enochian words is not known.

44) The white fire probably signifies the Holy Ghost inspiring Raphael's words.

46) By 'the works of thy hands' Raphael here means man and/or spirits of darkness.

50) His]

Satan's.

MN17) 'Plotters'.

MN30) 'Hairy'.

fol. 66a.

1) ponishment]

'punishment' (see also line 45 below).

2) Satan is not one of those for whom redemption was offered
as a possibility (see 55a, 40-41).

10) greif]

'grief'.

13-14) tentations]

'temptations'.

20) kindenes]

Also in the sense of 'kinship' with God's Creation.

23) See 65a, 28-32.

24-25) The greater is the steadfast application of Dee and
Kelly to the work, the greater the work shall be.

26) 'Truth' is omitted from this line (see MN26).

27) they]

Evil spirits assuming the shape of good spirits.

36-37) See 65a, 7.

39) sow]

'sew'.

39-40) Evil spirits are permitted to bring troubles upon man
for his sin in this world as well as in the after-world.

42-43) This promise was of great significance to Dee (and has
to some extent proved true, albeit some Actions were lost
and the memory of the extant Actions has not always been
sympathetic).

46) See the two birds whose wings were joined together at
42b, 3-6.

49) immediate]
'direct, without an intermediary'.

51) apon]
See 65b, 28.

51) those that are present]
The disciples of Christ.

MN22) 'Raphael's office'.

MN46) The vision of the two birds occurred during the Action
of 4 May 1582 (42b, 3-6).

fol. 66b.

1-3) A reference to the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost
(Acts II, 1-4) and possibly in line 3 to the witnessing of

the Transfiguration (Matthew XVII, 1-10).

5) 'Let the vengeance of God come and the lying tongue be afflicted'.

10) sknorked]

'To **snork**' is a dialect form meaning 'to snort or grunt' (OED).

12) 'Let him speak, for he is not ours'.

14) See 61a, 3-10.

16) our good frende]

Raphael.

17-18) The spirit is only permitted to speak through God's grace.

21) Gargat]

No further reference exists to this name in Dee's writings and I have not been able to trace any other origin.

22) sentence]

'meaning'.

26-29) Dee does not shy away from trying to convert the spirit to the ways of God.

36) Sic soleo iniustis]

'Thus I am accustomed [to deal] with the unjust'.

38-39) 'O Lord, purify your holy place and destroy the iniquity
of your enemies'.

43) 'The true vision is truly noted. Let it still be noted to
the glory of God'.

45) ye]

'Yea'.

46) 'I have spoken and it is done'.

47-48) common externall Judgmēt]

The judgement of the world.

48) the appertenances]

I think Dee is doubting Gilbert's aptitude for the
evangelical aspect of the voyage rather than his suitability
as a leader of the expedition.

50) See Psalm VIII, 2, Matthew XXI, 16, and Isaiah XXXV, 6.

51) the sonne]

'the sun'.

MN25) See 86b-87a (pp. 152-153 in Ashmole's pagination).

fol. 67a.

- 1) or man, so brittle a substance?]

See Genesis II, 7.

- 2) ientle]

'gentle'.

- 3) in a palpable imagination]

Animals clearly have minds, though incapable of rational discourse. Nature is here seen as residing in all created things, but in different ways: in trees and plants as a quality merely of life and growth; in animals as a discernible though elementary mind; in man as her true self and in her full glory.

- 4) the quantities]

In particular the elements, but presumably Nature mixes in man all that may in man be called Nature (i.e. not divine) according to the correct ratio.

- 6) norrished]

'Nourished'. Nature nourishes all in their kind, binding all differences together.

- 8-9) body...leadeth him]

These are body, soul and spirit (see MN8). Man is divided into three parts according to Agrippa: 'the naturall spirit ...is the middle by the which the soul is united with the flesh and the body, by the which the body liveth...which yet

in some sense is also corporeall, notwithstanding it hath not a grosse body, tangible and visible, but a most subtile body and easie to be united with the mind viz. that superiour and Divine one which is in us' (Occ. Phil. III, 36, p. 461, misnumbered as 445). This 'naturall spirit' is the Animus Mundi. The third quality in Raphael's description could be equated with the Animus Mundi in that the strength of God could be seen as the binding element of the Creation, but I think the sense of Raphael's remarks is rather that man is composed of the corporeal, the spiritual and the divine. The divine part of man is not God, but rather the strength of God, and some correlation can be made with the concept of Noûs (Mind) in the Hermetic treatise Pimander. The supreme god is sometimes Noûs , but it is also man's intellect (working in a state free of the senses) and it is only through Noûs that God himself is knowable.

10) earth...fire]

According to Plato the elements differed in form rather than in substance and should therefore be spoken of not as 'being a thing' but rather as 'having a quality' (Timaeus, edited by Desmond Lee (Harmondsworth 1971), 17, p.67). In this he was followed by Aristotle, who added the theory of exhalations from which the alchemists derived much of their theory of transmutation of metals (see Taylor, The Alchemists, pp. 12-17). Plato, however, wrote that when earth met fire,

it would be dissolved, but finally become earth again, for its parts 'can never be transformed into another figure' (Timaeus, 24, p. 78). Just how earth may 'in mixture' become fire in any permanent sense is therefore not clear, but Raphael's words may have a symbolic meaning: earth-(man) may, by the addition of an external fire (the Holy Spirit) and a comingling with it, become fire (divine).

12) the dogged harted people]

Israel in captivity.

13) the twelue Lamps]

The apostles.

20) him]

Adrian Gilbert.

23) John Davis]

See Introduction pp.87-88. Davis was also involved in the expedition to find a North-West Passage.

ax]

'ask'.

24) Kalendar]

'list, register'.

25) the things before prescribed]

The angelic language.

28) 'To God alone be all honour and glory'.

34) Dee had been requested to prepare details concerning the reformation of the Julian Calendar and give his opinion concerning the scheme propounded by Pope Gregory XIII. He had delivered his treatise to the Lord Treasurer on 26 February 1583 (Diary) to whom it was also dedicated. The work caused much controversy, although Dee's calculations were generally approved by contemporary mathematicians. Pope Gregory's scheme (which was finally adopted by Chesterfield's Act of 1751) advocated that eleven days should be dropped from the Julian Calendar, whereas Dee proposed that ten days should be omitted. The Queen, advised by the bishops, did not accept either scheme. Dee's treatise is now Ashmole MS 1789, arts 1 & 3.

36-37) Concerning the voyage to discover a North-West Passage Dee had noted on 16 July 1582 that Sir George Peckham 'promysed me of his gift and of his patient [sic for 'patent'] ...of the new conquest' (Diary), while he had already been granted 'the royalties of discovery all to the North above the parallell of the 50 degree of latitude' by Humphrey Gilbert on 10 September 1580 (Diary). Dee is officially named in the request of 1582 that a patent be given for the North-West voyage.

39) behofe]

'advantage'.

42) partition]

'difference'.

43-44) These lines may be paraphrased as: 'all things have a share in an overall quality, but taken separately many different qualities are seen to make up this unity'.

49) in speculation]

'looking forward to the effects'.

ol. 67b.

5) intermedled]

'intermingled'.

8) Instigators]

These instigators or causes might be temporal or spiritual.

9-13) See 67a, 38-39. There is a difference between worldly advantage and spiritual advantage. Raphael offers no worldly help concerning Dee's setbacks, but offers comfort in the form of spiritual advancement, though with an accompanying disappointment in worldly affairs.

12) choseth]

Sic for 'chooseth'.

14) David was annointed as a future king by Samuel while he still tended his father's sheep (I Samuel XVI, 13), Samuel having been instructed by God (I Samuel XVI, 1-7).

22) It seems from the sense and the following line that the question should be in the negative.

23) yej]

This could be 'yes', the form of 'yej' arising from an accidental dot above the final 's' ('yej'), and this is how Ashmole read it (see Sloane MS 3677, 109b). Greater sense is made, however, if 'yej' is regarded as an error for 'yet'.

24) ame]

Sic for 'am'.

28) the two former points]

See 67a, 34-37.

30) God, being all powerful, has rule over the acts and judgments of princes, but exercises that power according to his own judgment.

32) 'A twofold secret'?

37) shote]

'shoot'.

35-44) Dee is promised a future role of power as one of God's elect.

MN2) 'Proper angels'.

MN36) 'Deceitful speech'.

MN47) 'Prevailing'.

fol. 68a.

1) as thow hast deliuered]

This may mean either 'as you have said' (see 67b, 26-28) or 'as it has been delivered to you' (i.e. as Raphael has indicated at 67b, 35-50).

3) all Offices]

The 49 spirits who govern the world.

6) As things be planted here]

Either Dee has collected the various items for making the magical instruments or he is merely referring to the instructions written ('planted') in the manuscript (see line 10).

7) eas]

'ease'.

10) compendious]

'Abridged'. Dee thinks that a form of operation more suitable for travelling is required, which operation will not use the large Holy Table. Dee may already have been contemplating his Continental voyage.

16) the other]

Adrian Gilbert (see MN14).

19) The Erth and the tree]

Kelly and Dee (see MN17). Gilbert as the planter is not absolutely necessary to the Actions (see MN19).

21) God is invoked as a witness.

25) God shall performe the, thy Philosophicall Harmonie]

God will answer Dee's prayer for help and angelic visitation (see MN26)

27) physitien]

'physician'.

30-33) 'To almighty God, our creator, redeemer and sanctifier, be all honour, praise and act of thanks'.

MN26) 'Deus, in adiutorium meum intende: Domine ad adiuuandum me festina: Gloria [Deo], Patri, et Filio et spiritui [Sancto]' (see 5a, 7-10).

37) good friday]

29 March 1583.

38) savor]

The term is used in the general sense of 'sensation'.

40) This occurs again at 69, 8.

46) the paper of the letters]

A paper containing the letters of the Enochian alphabet,
either fol. 64b or a transcription thereof.

ol. 68b.

4) This should properly read: 'the first side of the first
leaffe of the boke'.

7) od]

'Odd' in the sense of 'extra'. 49 X 49 totals 2401.

10) Each side of the book in fact contains 2401 words, rather
than 2401 letters (see 69a, 40-42).

11-15) The drawing of the rod El measures 36mm by 1mm.

14) The rod has previously been described as being two parts
black and one part red (58a, 12-13).

16-20) The diagram on the right measures 40mm (1.6 inches)
square.

16) Keph van]

The Enochian for the letters 'Z' and 'U'/'V'.

17) The Enochian for RESCH.

21) Med gal]

OD.

23) ADAPH

24) 14 letters have so far been shown occupying 3 squares.

25) MAL. At 64b, 12, the last letter is spelt 'vr', but the sound is like 'ourh' (64b, 17).

26-51) SES GENO AU MARLAN O MUSPA AGIOD PAN GA SES GAMPEDAZ
CAPCNEH GO OD SEMELABUGEN DOMNA PHIAM GA VANCRAH VREPRES
ADEPD AZE DRUZ TARDEMAH (such words as are translatable
are dealt with in the Commentary to 69a, 27-33).

29) $\delta\rho\upsilon\zeta$ is the Greek transliteration of 'druz'.

MN6) Dee's working out of 49 X 49.

MN44) 100 letters have been shown by the end of this line.

ol. 69a.

1-21) VA CESTS GRAPAD SED UNBAR DOMIOL ADEPOAD CHEVACH / MAH /
OSSHE / DAPH ONIZDAR PANGEPHI ODAMH GEMEDSAL A DINOZA
HOXPOR ADPUN DAR GARMES.

25-26) See Jeremiah XIX, 3-4 and John X, 2-4.

27-33) Dee evidently wrote these words of Enochian as he heard

them spoken by Kelly. He then at a later time transliterated the words given between 68b, 16 and 69a, 21, making the appropriate corrections. Some words, however, he failed to correct properly. The true text should read: Zuresch od adaph mal ses geno au marlan o muspa agiod pan ga ses gampedaz capcneh go od semelabugen domna phiam ga vancran vrepres adepd aze druz tardemah va cests grapad sed unbar domiol adepod chevach mah osshe daph onizdar pangephi odamh gemedsal a dinoza hoxpor adpun dar garmes. The letter van may represent either 'u' or 'v' and veh either 'c' or 'k'. The only words which are translatable (i.e. appear in the Calls in Sloane MS 3191 which bear an interlineated English translation) are:

od.....'and / are / and are'.

a.....'on / the'.

mal may have some connection with fire from malpurg, 'fiery darts'; malprg, 'a through thrusting fire'; malpirg, 'the fires of life and increase'.

o can stand for the number 5, but in conjunction with other words can mean 'that' or 'but'.

38) sely]

'holy, blessed, or poor' (see 42b, 41).

MN14) 100 letters are written between the end of 68b, 44 and the beginning of 69a, 14. A further 235 letters are then shown.

MN27) There is no indication as to where Dee obtained the word
'veresk', unless that is how he heard 'zuresk' at some stage.

fol. 69b.

8) See 68a, 40-43.

10) 'Eternity in heaven'.

13) Mensuratur]

'It is measured'.

14) Sint...intelligent]

'May their eyes be opened that they may understand'.

18) 'The second from the first' (i.e. the second line).

19-48) IHEHUSCH GRONHADOZ ARDEN O NA GEMPALO OICASMAN VANDRES
ORDA VEVEIAH NOS PLIGNAPHE ZAMPONON ANEPH OPHE[C]D A
MEDO[Z]X MARUNE GENA PRES NO DASMAT VORTS MANGET A DEUNE
DAMPH NAXT OS VANDEMHNAXAT (A DEUNE is a hyphenated word:
see 70a, 25).

fol. 70a.

1-20) OROPHAS VOR MINODAL AMUDAS GER PA O DAXZUM BANCES ORDAN
PA PRES UMBLOSDA VORX NADON PATROPHES UNDES ADON GANEENS
IHEHUDZ.

11) Incomprehensibilis...tua]

'You are incomprehensible in your eternity'.

22) While making the corrections Dee at first thought that there was an error in 'Ihehusch', but then discovered that there was not and so put a line through the dots he had placed under that word.

22-27) The corrections made by Dee are true, with the exceptions of 'plignase' (23) which should be 'plignaphe' and 'ma' (26) which should be 'pa'. There is also some doubt about 'ganebus' (27) as opposed to 'ganebns' (see line 19 and MN19). The words for which a translation exists are as follows:

o.....'five' or 'that' or 'but'.

a.....'on' or 'the'.

os.....'twelve'.

There may be some connection between vorts (line 24), vor (25) and the two words vors, 'over' and vorsg, 'over you'. Adon (27) may be related to adoian, 'the face'.

Ihehusch sounds like Jesus and many words in Enochian beginning with 'I', 'Iad' and 'Ieh' concern attributes of God (e.g. Iad, 'God'; Iadnah, 'the ark of knowledge'; Iehusoz, 'his mercies'). On the grounds that Ihehusch signifies Jesus, it is possible to conjecture that vandemhnaxat (25) means 'disciples / apostles / followers' since it is preceded by os, 'twelve'.

32) Gehudz]

This is presumably how Dee first heard Ihehudz (28), but he corrected it when making the fair copy which forms this manuscript (see line 36).

36) soluted]

'solved'.

38) cōteyne]

'contain'.

42) The visions disappear on account of Dee's presumption in requesting a faster method of delivery.

MN19) van]

The letter 'u' in Enochian.

fol. 70b.

2) Line 2 is completed to the right hand of line 3.

6) See Isaiah V, 21.

10) There is perhaps the word 'are' missing before '49 voyces'.
There are 49 leaves in the book, each with a square of
49 X 49 spaces.

19) God in his role as a God of vengeance to the wicked is frequently likened to a whirlwind (see for instance Isaiah LVI, 15, Jeremiah XXIII, 19, Nahum I, 3 and Zechariah IX, 14).

20) 'We are far from the perversity of destruction'.

26) here]

'hear'.

29) Whether 'element' means letter, word or syllable is not clear and the 49 ways of understanding are never explained.

31) The implication is that when the single language of man was confounded at the Tower of Babel, it was split into separate languages which it already contained. Perhaps these languages were 49 in number (see line 29).

35) 'There is nothing here which is not perfect'.

37) See 65a, 7-8.

38) here]

i.e. into the stone.

40) Dee is to receive instruction directly from God.

MN11) See 62b, 27-30 and 62b, MN29.

MN40) Theodidacti]

'persons taught by God'.

fol. 71a.

1) choseth]

'chooseth'.

2) This prophecy is frequently repeated in connection with the Book of Enoch.

3) Powre must distinguish]

I presume that this refers to the election of Dee and Kelly by God for the furtherance of God's purposes.

4) by thy finger]

Kelly was described as the finger to Dee's hand at 62b, 37-38.

9) There are two senses to the word 'see'. Dee and Kelly may see that God's 'might is great'. God's sight is 'the light of his own powre' and 'till he see' is to be understood in the sense of God's looking and sending forth his light, rather than receiving it.

12) workmanship]

'Work', an early usage according to OED.

15) Ne Ne Ne na Iabes]

Enochian for 'holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts' (ne, 'holy'; na, 'Lord of Hosts'; Iabes, 'God, Lord, Supreme Life').

See Isaiah VI, 3.

16-18) 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and earth are full of the glory of his majesty, to whom be alone be all honour, praise and glory' (the Sanctus).

MN1) 'Power'.

22) A voyce like a Thunder]

God's voice (see Job XXXVII, 4; XL, 9, and Psalm XVIII, 13).

25) Aqua vita is alcohol achieved through distillation; it burns with a blue flame.

26) Sum]

'I am' (see Exodus III, 14).

29) Impleta...tuo]

'All things are fulfilled to your glory and honour'.

35) The fire enables Kelly to read and understand the words (see 71b, 7) and when the fire leaves him he can no longer understand the language. See Acts II, 3-4: 'and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance'.

44) 'Thus I am accustomed to purify the errors of men'.

MN33) This sketch measures 5mm square and represents the book.

fol. 71b.

2) mowght]

'might'.

4) See Commentary to 71a, 35.

11-14) The translatable words are:

ge.....'our / not'.

da.....'there'.

o.....'but / that / five'.

a.....'on / the'.

16) Ergo...Sum]

'I am he who is in you. Therefore to myself who is'. The second sentence is rather like a reply to line 17. Concerning the relation of 'Sum' to the Tetragrammaton see Commentary to 42b, 15.

17) 'Not to ourselves, O Lord, not to ourselves, but to your name do we give glory' (see Psalm CXV, 1).

19-24) Apart from 'o' (see Commentary to lines 11-14 above), the translatable words are as follows:

ar.....'winnow / that / so that'.

la.....'one / the first'.

de.....' of / to'.

ca.....'therefore'.

ol.....'I / myself'.

Whether 'Øl' is the same as 'ol' is uncertain.

27) Orate]

'Pray'.

32-34) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / that / so that'.

a.....'on / the'.

fol. 72a.

1-12) The translatable words are:

aSee Commentary to 71b, 32-34 above.

es.....'four'.

da.....'there'.

iads is probably related to Iad, 'God'.

Concerning Ihehusch (line 2) see Commentary to 70a, 22.

17) Locus est hic sanctus]

'This place is holy' (see 71a, 46).

18) Sacer est a te Domine]

'It is [made] holy by you, O Lord'.

21-30) The translatable words are:

gah.....'spirit(s)'.

da.....'there'.

ar.....'winnow / that / so that'.

a.....'on / the'.

ors.....'darkness'.

adma may be related to adna, 'obedience'.

NA must be the name of God (see Commentary to 11b, 34, and also fol. 74a, MN26).

MN3) It is unlikely that this is a translation of adipr, but rather that Dee is noting a significance between spelling and pronunciation.

ol. 72b.

1-5) The translatable words are:

las.....'rich'.

a.....'on / the'.

o.....'but / the / five'.

Concerning Na see 11b, 34 and 74a, MN26.

10-12) This is not a direct biblical quotation, but see I Chronicles XVI, 9 and Psalm CV, 2.

22) Magnus]

'Great'.

23) Locer...Deo]

'A holy place acceptable to God' (see 72a, 18).

26) This reads vlla doh in Enochian script, or more properly doh vlla since Enochian is written from right to left (allv hod). A transposition of the words takes place in the next line.

27-32) The translatable words are:

par.....'they / (in) them'.

olna may be related to oln, 'made'.

Concerning NA see 11b, 34 and 74a, MN26.

MN23) 'A holy place'.

MN26) The letter 'v' should be ʋ in Enochian whereas here it looks more like veh, ʃ , 'c'.

fol. 73a.

1-5) The translatable words are:

dax.....'loins'.

o.....'but / that / five'.

ar.....'that'.

a.....'on / the'.

da.....'there'.

gohed.....See MN3.

cruscanse...See MN5.

nap may be related to napta, 'sword(s)'.

7-18) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

pola.....See MN11.

par.....'they / (in) them'.

iad.....'God'.

dax (line 10) may mean 'loins' but its presence as part of a compound word raises some uncertainty.

ALLA may be a borrowing of the Moslem name of God.

21-26) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

la.....'first'.

ALLA.....See Commentary to lines 7-18.

MN17) Dee originally miscalculated by not regarding the underlined words as compound words.

MN21) Dee miscounted and thought that there were only 48 words shown. A possible underlining of 'sama' (line 15) to make the compound word 'no tempa ro sama' shows in the manuscript, but I am not convinced enough of its existence to put it in this transcript; it may be just a mark or the end of the pen stroke since it does not underline the whole word. Whatever the reason for Dee's miscalculation, if his marginal note is correct, one would expect the next group of words to be 50 in number. They are however only 49 as usual. See also 79b, 13.

fol. 73b.

5) a peces]

'in pieces'.

7-12) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

o.....'but / that / five'.

ne.....'holy'.

asch (line 9) may be related to Ascha, 'God' (73a,MN3).

14-20) The only translatable word is a, 'on / the'.

22) Orate]

'Pray'.

23-29) The translatable words are:

crus.....'more'.

a.....'on / the'.

la.....'first'.

par.....'they / (in) them'.

Mica may mean 'power', since all compounds of mica concern power ~~and~~ might.

MN9) See 64b, 34.

MN14) See 72a, MN23.

MN24) Cruse]

'A pot, jar, bottle or drinking vessel' (OED)

ol. 74a.

1-8) The translatable words are:

iaisg.....See MN2.

a.....'on / the'.

os.....'twelve'

de.....'of / to'.

Peleh (line 8) may be a name of God (see Pele at 12a,46).

chramsa.....See MN4.

iaialphzudph may be compounded partly from iaial,

'include / conclude'.

12) Orate]

'Pray'.

15-21) The translatable words are:

galsagen.....See MN14RH.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

a.....'on / the'.

23-28) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

la.....'first'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

da.....'there'.

ne.....'holy'.

Concerning life see MN24.

MN7) 'Iently' (gently) refers to the 'ch' sound which should be soft rather than hard. Dee often notes the hard sound by writing a 'k' above the 'ch' (see line 2).

MN16) This refers to the word 'alpan'.

MN24) Quite what the words mean is not clear, though their implication is explained.

MN24RH) There is no evidence as to when Dee first heard the phrase.

MN26) See 71a, 15.

fol. 74b.

3-8) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

os.....'twelve'.

om.....'know / understand'.

dax.....'loin(s)'.

Sem (line 8) appears to mean 'in his place' (see MN8).

10-15) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

ag.....'none / no / no one'.

There are only 48 words here if the compound word ar pah (line 14) is in one square, but the marginal note suggests that the two parts of the word are in different squares and so might be mistaken as being separate words.

17) See 72b, 7-8.

21-22) 'Glory be to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and always'.

29) Bonus...es]

'It is good, O God, because you are goodness itself'.

30) Et...Magnitudinis]

'And [it is] great, because you [are] the magnitude of greatness itself' (i.e. God is the sum of greatness).

31) Adgmach means 'much glory' (see MN31).

32) Sum...locus]

'I am, and this place is holy'.

33) There is no translation of hucacha, but considering its sound and context it is possible to hazard a guess that it means 'in the highest'.

36) Presumably NA is again the name of God NA.

MN32) 'A holy place'.

fol. 75a.

1-6) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

vors.....'over'.

gascampho.....'why didst thou so?' (see MN4).

ge.....'not / our'.

Befes argedco..'O Befafes, we summon you with
humility and adoration of the Trinity' (see MN5).

9) 'Welcome to you in [the name of] him who is with you'.

12-15) Kelly is reading out the words and Dee is presumably repeating them as he writes them. Raphael warns that this repetition will result in the Enochian being put to use as invocations at the same time as being written down. The troubles that could ensue are shown by Kelly's experience detailed at fol. 88b.

24) axed]

'asked'.

28) 'Vors' customarily means 'over'.

34-35) God will make Dee hear and write the words perfectly.

40-46) The translatable words are:

ors.....'darkness' (though here it is part of
a compound word).

arphe.....'descend'.

MN5) Deus sine fine...Deus a Deo]

'God without end...God from God'. The note is erased on
account of the fact that orh is defined as a wicked spirit
'contrary to Befafes'. Even here, however, some confusion
remains, for the note of the wicked spirit in fact refers
to arzulgh (see second MN5).

MN5RH) Orh is underlined and is presumably the word to which
this note has reference, although semhaham may be connected
with the shemhamphorash, the 72 letter name of God extracted
by the kabalists from writing Exodus XIV, 19-21
boustrophedon (see C.D. Ginsburg, The Kabbalah (London
1865) pp. 138-141).

MN5 following) Lumen a Lumine]

'Light from Light'.

MN5) Spiritus...tenebrarū]

'The spirit orh is the second in the scale of the imperfection of darkness'. The source of this information is not clear.

fol. 75b.

3-9) The translatable words are:

las.....'rich'.

uran.....'see'.

Asch may be derived from ascha, 'God'.

11-16) There are no translatable words in this passage.

18-24) The translatable words are:

lu.....'nor'.

26-31) The translatable words are:

ca.....'therefore'.

Bobagelzod must derive from the spirit Bobogel, despite the slight difference in spelling.

MN3) The 'preface' would therefore be up until the recitation of the 23rd line of the square which is 49 X 49.

fol. 76a.

4-9) This time Kelly does not lose his understanding of the language and its significance immediately.

10-12) 'To our living, true and omnipotent God be all praise and act of thanks, now and always' ('graz^z' for 'gratiarum').

16) Quia...infinita]

'Because God, God, our God himself, whose infinite mercy'.

The sentence is unfinished.

21-27) There are no translatable words in this passage.

The words in capitals would seem to be names.

29-35) The translatable words are:

sem.....'in his place' (see 74b, MN8).

dax.....'loin(s)'.

MN31) It is not clear whether this note refers to tohcoth or

Labañh, since both are underlined.

ol. 76b.

1-8) The translatable words are:

geh.....'thou art'.

padgze.....See MN6.

10-17) The only translatable word is Congamphlgh (see MN11).

19-25) Assuming that parts of compound words will not necessarily

retain the meaning assigned to them as individual words, the

only translatable word is dax, 'loin(s)'. In order for

these words to fill 49 squares each part of a compound

word must occupy a different square, and one other word

must further be split into two squares; lothe (line 22) is

the most likely candidate as it is underlined in two sections.

26-28) There are no translatable words in these lines.

MN6) 'Justice from the least divine [power, but] without blemish'.

MNLL) fide]

'by faith'.

fol. 77a.

1-2) There are no translatable words in this passage.

6-10) There are no translatable words in this passage and taking each part of the compound words to be in different squares, the total comes to fifty and not to forty-nine.

12-17) There are no translatable words in this passage, but the excess number of words in lines 6-10 is compensated for by there being only 48 here.

19) Orate]

'Pray'.

20-25) There are 51 words here (2 in excess, not 3 or 4 as Dee writes in MN23), none of which is translatable.

30-31) See 39b, 50-51.

ol. 77b.

4) Expectas expectaui Dominū]

'I waited patiently for the Lord', Psalm XXXIX, 1 (Vulgate);
Psalm XL (Authorised).

8) Charles Sled]

No information is forthcoming on this person.

9-12) Dee takes this as a prophecy that the Jews will be restored to their land. The image of the headless people may simply represent the Jews scattered over the face of the globe, but may also be derived in a circuitous way from I Corinthians XI, 3, where St. Paul writes that 'the head of every man is Christ', whom the Jews rejected.

15-16) A Trinitarian symbol.

21-27) The translatable words are:

iusmach.....'begotten' (see MN22).

amma.....'curse(d)'.

iadsma (26) probably concerns some aspect of God

(iad means 'God').

29-36) There are 51 words here, counting Adgzelga and the underlined dox an ga had as each single words, but the hyphenated last word as two. If the corrected version of the first word is taken into account there are 53 words and there is no method of reducing the number down to 49.

The translatable words are:

phama.....'I will give' (see MN30).

od.....'and'.

bethlemcha may well mean 'Bethlehem' in which case

iehusa (33) and iehuscoth may refer in some way to

Jesus (cf. iehusoz means 'mercy').

ol. 78a.

- 1-6) There are only 43 words here, even counting the parts of the compound words separately. The reason given for this shortage is that Kelly was not given time to read the line properly (see MN2).

The translatable words are:

Arphe.....'I desire the O God' (see MN1).

apachana.....'the slimy things made of dust' (MN3).

vges (3) may be connected with 'strength' (see vgeg,

'become strong'; vgegi, 'waxeth strong'; vgear,

'strength').

- 8-15) There are no translatable words in these lines, although

Na zuma may be related to the name of God NA.

- 17-22) Do nasdoga matastos is translated in MN19 and vnchas may be related to vnchi, 'confound'.

- 24-29) There are no translatable words in these lines.

MN19) This refers to do nasdoga matastos.

fol. 78b.

1-8) The only translatable word in these lines is lu (line 4) which in Sloane MS 3191 customarily means 'nor', but is translated here as 'from one' (see MN4).

12-14) 'To God alone be all praise, honour and glory through all eternity'.

19-20) See 68a, 40-43.

21) SVM]

'I am'.

22) Sum quod sum]

'I am that I am' (see Exodus III, 14). There seems to be no relation of gahoachma with either the Hebrew or the usual Enochian word for 'I am', zir(do).

23-28) There are 52 words here if each interrupted underlineation is treated as a hyphen, but there is no method by which the number may reduced to 49 according to a consistent rule. The only translatable word is lu (see Commentary to lines 1-8 above).

30-32) Counting the interrupted underlineations as hyphens there are 49 words here, but none are translatable.

ol. 79a.

1-4) Only 47 squares would be filled by these words. The translatable words are:

Nostoah.....'it was in the beginning' (see MN1;
geuamna may form part of the phrase).

da.....'there'.

iurehoh is partly explained at MN4.

6-9) Only 44 squares would be filled by these words (see MN9).

The only word that can in any way be translated is NA,
the name of God.

13) See 77b, 15-16.

14) Laua zuráah]

See MN14.

15) noyce]

'noise'.

16-23) The translatable words are:

iana^{which}/may refer to the Daughter of Light (26b, 45).

dax.....'loin(s)'.

oxex.....'vomit'.

lonsas may be connected with lonsa, 'power'.

25-29) The translatable words are:

Amgedpha.....See MN25.

galdamichaël presumably describes some attribute of the angel Michael and iadse some attribute of God (iad, 'God').

MN14) Pray into god]

Sic for 'pray unto God'.

MN21) See 10a, 26.

MN27) See 80b, 38.

ol. 79b.

1-2) Om is the only translatable word, meaning 'know / understand'.

3) sindall]

A thin rich silken material. The colour blue can signify hope, faith, the Virgin Mary, eternity (applied to God) and immortality (applied to man) in ecclesiastical symbolism (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols). Blue also forms the outer lines of the Holy Table and Dee notes that his copy of the book is likewise to be covered in blue (MN4).

11) This probably refers to a flash of lightning rather than a growing light. The word in its archaic form can mean either.

12) See 71a, 46 and 77b, 15-16.

13) See Commentary to 73a, MN21.

16) perceyuerance]

It is unlikely that this refers to steadfastness in this context; a meaning of 'perception' would be more appropriate.

The OED does not list this form, but does list 'apperceyvance'.

18-19) 'Let all creatures unceasingly sound the glory and praise of our creator'.

25) thrise]

'thrice'.

33) See Exodus III, 14.

34) 'May his voice come that he may tell the sons of men what is to come'. The speaker is Uriel (see line 36).

36) 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord'

39-40) These may perhaps represent Kelly and Dee (so often represented by Δ), imbued with God's knowledge.

42-44) The month of misery will therefore be September 1583, and on the 21st day of that month Dee left Mortlake with his wife and children, Kelly and his family, and Albert Lasky, for the Continent (Diary).

ol. 80a.

5) Uriel holds up the triangle of fire (see MN5) which may represent Dee inspired with heavenly wisdom.

7) The number 49 is significant to the book containing the angelic language.

11) This other]

The ball of fire (see MN11).

11-13) Ashmole writes 'the seveanth part' but Dee certainly wrote 'seventith' (i.e. seventieth) and the cause of Ashmole's transcribal error is unclear. Whereas Dee is to receive the knowledge that will 'renew' him many times, Kelly is given a fraction of the wisdom symbolised by the round ball of fire (see lines 42-43 below). Kelly's proportion is $\frac{1}{5310}$ if 'the first part of seuenty seuen' means $\frac{1}{77}$. Apart from the customary significance attached in magic to the number seven (see Commentary to 18a, 32), I can find no importance in these numbers.

14-15) See John XX, 22: Christ 'breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost'.

16-17) See Introduction pp. 143-144.

20) the tyme of God his Abridgmet]

The writing of the book is to hasten the coming of God's kingdom upon earth.

24-25) See Exodus XXXII, 33; Deuteronomy IX, 14 and XXIX, 20.

27) hable]
'able'.

36) Eache line]
Each line of letters in the angelic language.

40-41) 'Behold the servant and wretched little man of our God;
let it be done to me according to the pleasure of his
will'. To an extent this resembles Mary's reply to the
Annunciation.

42-43) Presumably this is reported by Kelly rather than seen
by Dee. The fire comes from the ball and not the triangle.

fol. 80b.

4) Mistres Haward]
Frances Seymour, daughter of William, Lord Howard of
Effingham (1510?-1573) by his second wife Margaret (d. 1581),
and herself the second wife of Sir Edward Seymour, Earl
of Hertford (1539-1621). They were married sometime before
1582 and she died without issue on 14 May 1598 (DNB).

5-6) The Action began at 10.15 in the morning (see 78b) but
began again, after an interruption, in the afternoon (see 79b).

9) See 79b, 42-44.

27) in character]

In the angelic script.

30) Kelly must have a book before him in which to write down the words from the visionary book on the table. The description in line 31 fits the first page of the Book of Enoch (Sloane MS 3189, fol. 3a) exactly, and this suggests that the Book of Enoch was written as the words were first delivered, at least up until the section that is composed of squares 49 X 49, and is not a fair copy.

35) second page of the first leaf]

See Sloane MS 3189 fols. 3a-4a. In fact these are two pages, but Ashmole's correction of 'page' to 'row' (MN35) is of no help (as the erasure presumably shows he realised).

37) The Enochian script in fact reads asney vah nol (see MN38).

The mistake remains in the Book of Enoch.

38-42) None of these words are translatable. The lines are continued on fol 82a.

ol. 81a.

This inserted leaf measures 200mm high by 142mm across. The letters in the left hand column read NHQBUFXODZLSGAP as do those in the right hand column. The central column reads CETPRIM. The statement that they concern 'letters names, vused in sense' suggests that these are letters used as numbers.

The parts of the Enochian language for which a translation does exist do not bear this out however, for the numbers are represented by different words: 5 is O, 1 is L and 9 is M, for instance. There are some indecipherable notes at the bottom of the folio, which is not transcribed by Ashmole in Sloane MS 3677.

fol. 81b.

This folio is written sideways.

2) The book in the vision consists of 49 leaves, but Dee needs more than one leaf to write down the contents of the first leaf in the visionary book, thereby exceeding 49 leaves in his copy.

3-6) The last 9 rows of the second series of 49 shown consist only of single letters (see 85b, 11-19). The disparity between the size of square required to contain the words shown before these last 9 rows, a size that cannot fit in Dee's book (see line 2 above), and the size of square required to take the last 9 rows leaves Dee with considerable problems of transcription. This second series of 49 is called 'the first leafe' because it forms the first series in both the visionary and extant versions of the Book of Enoch. The previous series of 49 is not included in that book.

7-11) Dee has transcribed much of the tables by ear and so is uncertain about the true spelling of some words on account of the hard and soft sounds that the letters are capable

of representing.

14-17) As a result of the fact that not all rows consist of 49 words, a perfect table of 49 X 49 squares cannot be constructed. The table would be 'wide' since the squares would be filled with words rather than single letters; the ensuing tables in the Book of Enoch use only single letters or numbers.

MN) The word 'solgars' may give a clue as to the date of these notes. On 3 June 1583 Dee was given instruction to inscribe the word 'solgars' in Enochian script on a 'plate of lead' along with the name of a patient numerically expressed, in order to create a talisman which would act 'as a cure against...infections'. Dee had a certain Isabel Lister and 'another woman, who hath great need' in mind (see TFR, p. 5).

fol. 82a.

1-2) There are no translatable words apart from the name of God NA.

4-10) The only translatable word is os, 'twelve'.

12-18) There are no translatable words in these lines.

20-25) The only translatable word is adna, 'obedience'.

27-29) Apart from the name of God NA, none of these words are translatable.

MN4) This note concerns andsu.

MN10) Whether armad is one word or not, it must come from one square in order to maintain the total of 49 words.

MN17) Ω is the Enochian script for the letter 'P'.

ol. 82b.

1-3) The only translatable word is nor, 'son(s)'. There are fifty words in this passage.

5-10) The only translatable word is orh, although its precise meaning is a matter of some doubt (see Commentary to 75a, MN5).

12-14) The translatable words are:

goho.....'(he) sayeth'.

vors.....'over'.

16-19) There are 50 words here of which only ol, 'I / myself' is translatable. Aschah may perhaps be related to ascha (see 73a, MN3).

21-25) The only translatable word is nor, 'son(s)'.

27-32) The only translatable word is ar, 'winnow / (so) that'.

MN14) In fact there are only 35 words.

MN32) There are in fact 49 words if the usual practice of regarding a hyphenated word as two words is followed.

fol. 83a.

1-3) None of these words is translatable and furthermore they would occupy 55 squares.

5-7) None of these words is translatable and they would occupy 50 squares.

9-12) The only translatable word is geh, 'thou art'.

14-17) The only translatable word is ar, 'winnow / (so) that'.

19-23) The only translatable word is par, 'they / (in) them'.

25-29) The translatable words are:

vors.....'over'.

las.....'rich'.

a.....'on / the'.

MN3) Dee may have written that there were 54 words, although there are in fact 55.

fol. 83b.

1-5) There are no translatable words, although lefe (line 4) has occurred before in the phrase life lefe Lurfando (see 74a, MN24).

7-10) There are 50 words, none of which is translatable.

12-16) The translatable words are:

ol.....'I / myself'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

The separation of ol and the name of God NA by the word madan suggests that madan is related to Mad, 'God'.

18-23) The translatable words are:

gah.....'spirit(s)'.

ol.....'I / myself'.

25-31) The translatable words are:

ol.....'I / myself'.

om.....'know / understand'.

There is some doubt over the meaning of gorh (see 75a, MN5).

33-35) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

geh.....'spirit(s)'.

lu.....'nor / from one'.

om.....'know / understand'.

MN19) This note refers to the first syllable of gunzanquah.

MN28) both these]

i.e. both paragraphs together.

fol. 84a.

1-2) There are no translatable words in these lines.

4-9) The only translatable word is vors, 'over'. Sabaothal is presumably related to Deus Sabaoth, 'Lord God of Hosts' and Iadd with Iad, 'God'.

11-16) The translatable words are:

geh.....'thou art'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

18-22) The translatable words are:

ol.....'I / myself'.

ne.....'holy'.

vors.....'over'.

24-29) The translatable words are:

ne.....'holy'.

a.....'on / the'.

vors.....'over'.

nor.....'son(s)'.

31-36) The translatable words are:

nor.....'son(s)'.

vors.....'over'.

a.....'on / the'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

ol. 84b.

1-5) The translatable words are:

ne.....'holy'.

ol.....'I / myself'.

a.....'on / the'.

7-12) There are no translatable words in these lines.

14-19) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

de.....'of / to'.

vors.....'over'.

geh.....'thou art'.

par.....'they / (in) them'.

goh is the root of words that betoken various parts of the verb 'to say' (e.g. gohe, 'say'; gohol, 'saying'; gohus, 'I say').

21-26) The translatable words are:

ors.....'darkness'.

adnah may be related to adna, 'obedience' and

aldah to aldi, 'gathering' and aldon, 'gather / gird up'.

28-32) The translatable words are:

adna.....'obedience'.

nor.....'son(s)'.

34-36) The only translatable words are a, 'on / the' and geh, 'thou art', but they occur together (line 35) and the combined translation does not make sense.

MN26) There are only 48 words between lines 22 and 27.

fol. 85a.

1-2) The only translatable word is adna, 'obedience'.

4-7) The translatable words are:

ors.....'darkness'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

bah (4) may be related to bahal, 'cry aloud'.

9-11) None of these words is translatable.

14-17) The only translatable word is la, 'first'. There are only 47 words here.

19-22) None of these words is translatable.

24-27) The only translatable word is ar, 'winnow / (so) that'.

29-33) In order to make just 49 words neo must be counted as a single word despite its double underlining. The translatable words are:

geh.....'thou art'.

a.....'on / the'.

os.....'twelve'.

35-36) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

vors.....'over'.

gohor may be part of the verb 'to say' (see
Commentary to 84b, 14-19).

Tal may mean 'as the first' or 'as God', since
ta can mean 'as' and l can mean 'the first' or
'God' (El). Such compounding of words does sometimes
occur in Enochian: see vors, 'over' and vorsg, 'over
you'.

fol. 85b.

1-4) The only translatable word is ol, 'I / myself'.

6-9) None of these words is translatable.

11-19) The commas show the ends of these words which are
evidently written from left to right, although the
Enochian language is normally written from right to
left. The only translatable word is a, 'on / the' (lines
11 and 18). These lines differ from the previous lines
in that each square now only holds one letter, rather
than a complete word, and this caused Dee to foresee
difficulty in drawing up a square of 49 X 49 squares to
contain both practices (see 81b, 3-6).

20) later]

'latter'.

21) an other boke]

Sloane MS 3191, The Book of Enoch, where the 49 preceding rows are also written (see Commentary to 80b, 30).

28) fortith]

'fortieth' (see 79a, 25).

34-35) Neither of these persons is identifiable.

34) greciā]

'Greek' (grecian).

38) κατὰ κρόκη]

Katastiktos, 'spotted, stained'.

39) maculosus or condemnatus]

'defiled or condemned'.

40) Est]

'He is'.

MN2) ouyna]

'oumna', for 'amna'.

MN39) 'strong, steadfast'. This is the opposite of what is said at line 39.

fol 86a.

1-6) See 61a, 3-11. This is the scroll found at Northwick Hill

and given to Dee by Kelly on 22 March when he returned with John Husy from Blockley.

fol. 86b.

This folio consists of ten circles showing clues as to the identity of ten places. Earth from each of these places was to be gathered and then used in an undivulged manner to find buried treasure (see Introduction pp. 158-160). The circles measure 67mm in diameter except for the largest which is 83mm in diameter. The script is not Enochian, but probably something made up by Kelly, since there is a strong suggestion of fraud concerning this scroll. On 5 June 1583 Dee noted that Kelly was 'in a marvellous great disquietnesse of minde, fury, and rage' because he had heard of a commission being out to 'apprehend him as a fellow for coyning of money', because his 'wife was gone from Mistresse Freemans house at Blokley', and because 'Mr. Husey had reported him to be a cosener'.

Some letters in the first circle are indecipherable, bearing no relation to the script as shown later (87a), but such as may be deciphered reads 'gilds cros / hic o..... / meridio...a / onali .oton'.

The writing in the second circle (across) reads 'blankes suters croces'.

The writing in the third reads 'marsars got cros'.

The writing in the fourth circle reads 'huteos cros'.

The writing in the fifth circle reads 'fluds grenul'.

The writing in the sixth circle reads 'mons mene'.

The writing in the seventh circle reads 'mountegles arnid'.

The writing in the eighth circle reads 'lan sapant'.

The writing in the ninth circle reads 'corts nulds'.

The writing in the tenth and largest circle reads 'morr merse'.

fol. 87a.

This leaf is bound into the MS and measures 190mm wide by 134mm high. It reads as follows:

Tabula locorum rerum et thesaurorum absconditorum
menadoni mei gordanili militis et danaorum principis
expulsi multorumque [sic] aliorum clarissimorum [d for z]g
britanie meridionali parte virorum contra eiusdem
inhabitatores militantium quam hic familiarissimorum
[d for z]g consensu aliquando ad nostratum rediuntium
commoditatem et auxillium abscondere et sepelire decrevi
qua quidem intellecta facile possunt ad lucem abscondita
efferre.

The erasure at line 3 reads 'mil'. It is not certain whether this leaf is in Kelly's hand or whether it is a copy by Dee, his transcription causing the inaccuracies. For the origin of the

'scroll' see 61a, 3-11

fol. 88a.

2) There is no reference in Dee's Diary to this Court visit.

4) cifre]

'cipher' (see 87a).

7) gessing]

Perhaps an error rather than a conscious spelling.

9-12) There is some doubt about 'k' and 'x' (see MN23). From the deciphering of the script between lines 14 and 20 it is plain that the cipher for 'x' is $\sqrt{}$.

14-20) 'The table of places of hidden things and treasures belonging to Menahan, my Gordanil (?), soldier and prince of the Danes who was driven out, and to many other most famous men (in the southern part of Britain) who fought against the inhabitants of that same place. I have decided to remove and hide this table here, with the agreement of my nearest friends and relations, [so that] sometime [it may be] for the use and help of my countrymen who return. By this table, when it is understood, they can easily bring the hidden things to light'.

At 87a, 2, 'Menahan' is 'Menadon'. 'Gordanil' may be a fabricated word for a title of some kind, or perhaps of a tribe (e.g. 'Menahan, of my Gordanil tribe').

Why a Dane should leave a message for his compatriots written in coded Latin is incomprehensible and furthers the argument that it is a fraud perpetrated by Kelly.

23-33) The squares in which these words are written measure in order 55mm wide by 23mm high, 37mm by 15mm, 52mm by 8mm, 18mm by 10mm, 32mm by 10 mm, 27mm by 6mm, 32mm by 8mm, 22mm by 12mm, and 25mm by 15mm. See Commentary to 86b for the words as they are written in the original document.

The words purport to be the names of places and some are obviously so. Gilds Cross, Blankis Suters Cross, Marsars Got Cross and Huteos Cross (Huet's Cross: see MN5) are either place names or landmarks. Huet's Cross is evidently by Northwick Hill (see MN5). The only place that I have been able to identify, however, is Mons Mene which is almost certainly what is now called Meon Hill, some seven miles NNE of Blockley. It is most likely that all the places are in the Cotswold area.

It may be that some attempt has been made to construct names that might be of Danish origin (e.g. Fleds Grenul), but the mixture with Latin is unsatisfactory. Mowntegles Arnid is presumably not intended to recall Lord Monteagles but the coincidence is telling.

MN5) The book is that which is often referred to as having been written by St. Dunstan, but of which no precise record exists.

MN15) In fact Danes, Saxons and native Britons formed a reasonably united population under Canute and while powerful factions ~~rose~~ in dispute on his death in 1035 it is false to think of the Danes either invading or leaving England's shores.

MN23) Inexplicably Charlotte Fell Smith believed this note to indicate Dee's mistrust of Kelly when it clearly concerns the doubt over the character for the letter 'k' in the coded document (Charlotte Fell Smith, John Dee:1527-1608 (London 1909), p. 91).

fol. 88b.

2) the eighteenth leafe]

The first ~~ten~~ leaves of the Book of Enoch contain the second series of 49 rows in this manuscript. There is no indication when the other rows were received, but since the letters appeared in the air (see 88b, 30-31) and the rows were recorded in Sloane MS 3189, there was no need for Dee to record them here as well.

3-26) Dee and Kelly were warned earlier about the dangers of reading the tables after writing them (see 75a, 11-15).

6) Spades are appropriate to spirits of the earth who presumably guard the earth's treasures.

heares]

'hair'.

hanginging]

Sic, an error for 'hanging'.

15) Dee would be ruling squares for the Book of Enoch. In Sloane MS 3189 only the outside lines of the 49 X 49 squares are ruled between fols 10a and 11b, but from fol. 12a all the squares are drawn.

17) wrest]

'wrist'.

19) The circles measure 7mm and 10mm in diameter. Dee evidently sees these marks for himself, but they could be self-inflicted by Kelly, perhaps indeed by pressing groats upon his wrist, although such an action generally only produces an impression of the outer edge of the coin.

20-26) Since Dee could not see the spirits (see line 24), the scene must have afforded Kelly much amusement, unless they were indeed afflictions of his mind.

23) gyrning]

'snarling, baring their teeth' obs. (OED).

26) Baggagis]

'Baggages', an abusive term.

avoyded]

'went away'.

29) The Queen visited Dee this day (Diary).

30-31) See 80b, 15-20.

31) a blak clowde]

This cloud is reminiscent of the heptagon bearing the names and seals of the seven princes (fol. 71a).

32) Dee was no longer using the stone since the letters appeared in the air to Kelly.

37) carful]

'Full of care'. The sentence declares that Dee is not to worry since God has promised to deliver the letters to him.

38-39) Three fingers must therefore be at each corner.

40) assone]

'as soon'.

44) This is a separate note at the foot of the page joined by a line to line 32.

MN29) Good Friday was 29 March.

MN37) αὐτος εἶπα]

A Greek version of 'ipse dixit', meaning 'he himself said'.

\overline{dcz}]

An abbreviation for dictum, dictum Deus meaning 'read as God'. Ipse is a Latin equivalent of the Tetragrammaton in its usage.

fol. 89a.

7) severally]

'individually'.

14-15) See 70a, 38-70b, 5.

14-20) While Dee's earlier request for the tables to be delivered more speedily was resolved (70a, 38-70b, 5), Dee is here again reprimanded for complaining that the tables may no longer be seen, as if the judgement of when they should appear were in his hands.

24-25) Dee's work (the 'fardell') will be completed during the time of sorrow, which is perhaps that prophesied for September (see 79b, 42-45).

30-31) Dee may here have raised the points written on fol. 81b.

32) Justification]

A theological usage meaning an 'action whereby man is justified, or freed from the penalty of sin, and accounted or made righteous by God' (OED).

35) the first begynning]

'the first instructions'.

39-41) The book is here clearly seen as having an important role in the coming of the new age.

44) See 74b, 32.

45) aduertise]

'Instruct'. There is also an obsolete usage meaning 'to warn or admonish' (OED).

46) wrasted]

'unsettled, diverted' (OED).

47-48) See MN47. Later Dee is asked his opinion concerning the human faculty of hearing these spiritual creatures apparently speaking (see 89b, 9-17).

MN32) The ende]

'The purpose'.

fol. 89b.

1) The two fethered fow<1>]

Dee and Kelly (see 42a, 53-42b, 6).

2) the Captayn]

Adrian Gilbert (see 64b, 38-46).

3) The Book of Enoch was to be transcribed in 40 days (see 80a, 16).

5-6) Dee noted in his Diary that on 4 May 1583 'Mr. Adrian Gilbert and Mr. Pepler went by water to Braynford and so to ride into Devonshire'.

10-14) This proposal that the angels communicate with man through the vis imaginativa indicates that Dee thought his magic to be 'natural' (see Introduction pp. 67-69)

15) ones]

'once'.

15) Dee shall be in contact with the angels no matter where he is and whether they appear visibly or not.

17) more nearer to thy estate]

A lower spirit, closer to man's corporeal nature.

19) Il is the spirit's name.

22) El]

See Commentary to 19a, 16 & 19-22.

24) Concerning the Vice figure see Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (New York 1958), chapters 5 & 6,

29) Messenger]

'Messenger': Uriel.

34) the Arabik boke]

The so called Book of Soyga, which Dee appears to have mislaid (see 9a, 31-46).

36) It is not possible to guess why Il should say that the book is in Scotland or whether any particular minister is being referred to.

39) The Lord Threasorer]

William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-1598).

41) When Kelly might have said this and his source of information are not explained.

42) Agyos]

Greek for 'devoted to the gods' and therefore 'sacred' or 'holy'.

literis transpositis]

'with the letters transposed'.

43) alca miketh]

Enochian language. It is not clear whether lines 44-45 are a literal translation of soyga alca miketh or a comment on the nature of the book, contradicting lines 36-37 above.

46) a language to ght in Paradise]

It is the same language as the angels speak (see 63b, 36-45).

47) by infusion]

God instilled it into Adam's mind (see Introduction pp. 144-5).

48) Chevah]

Eve, from the Hebrew חַיָּה, meaning 'life' or 'life-giving'.

49) the Ayrie Tower]

The Tower of Babel (see Genesis XI, 1-9).

MN14) 'The voice of angels'.

MN19) Dee equates the name Il with that of El, which is the name of the first of the Daughters of Light and of the first of the second generation Sons of Light, and also a name of God.

MN34) 'The Arabic book'.

fol. 90a.

1) your Masterships boke]

The book in which Kelly is transcribing the letters that appear to him.

3) by tradition]

By oral tradition.

4-5) There is no mention of a Book of Enoch in the Bible, but it may be inferred from Enoch's prophesying, since the prophecies of the Old Testament prophets are written down.

6-9) Prophetait...impij]

'And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, To execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him [God]', Jude, 14-15.

12-13) Enoch was translated 'and he was not, for God took him'
(see Genesis V, 24 and Hebrews XI, 5).

14) the brass]

This may refer to the treasure, but the colloquialism of
'brass' for 'money' is not current in this period. It
probably means that he cannot bring Dee the strength of
Enoch's prophetic spirit, but he can bring the books
containing Enoch's prophecies.

15) According to the marginal note '28 dayes' should read
'18 days'. The instruction that the Book of Enoch was to
be written in 40 days was given in an Action of 6 April 1583
and so 12 days have passed since then. A further 28 days
would complete the 40 and so leave no time for the remaining
tables to be written. 18 days more would mean that Dee
should find the books on 6 May. In fact Dee went to London
on 6 May while Kelly completed the transcription of the
tables of the Book of Enoch and no mention is made of Dee
finding any books under his pillow that night (see 104a, 19-
31).

17) Esdras, accompanied by five angels, wrote 204 books under
the inspiration of God (see II Esdras XIV, 37-48).

19-20) The Jews are describes as 'a stiff-necked people' in the
Old Testament (Exodus XXXII, 9 and XXXIV, 9; Deuteronomy IX,
13 and X, 16).

21) trik]

'trick'.

22) shoo]

'shoe'.

23) skorf]

'scarf'.

fowle skinne]

The skin of a fowl, rather than a foul skin.

24) See MN24 for Dee's interpretation of this vision.

26-28) Washing is in the Bible a sign and symbol of repentance, sanctification, redemption and the receiving of the Holy Spirit (see I Corinthians VI, 11, Titus III, 5, and Revelation I, 5).

29) This identification of Il as a woman suggests that Il is the first of the Daughters of Light (see MN29).

31) syngolla]

Evidently a spirit, though the name is not recorded elsewhere in Dee's writings that have survived the passage of time.

32) synfulla]

The name of this spirit is not recorded elsewhere either.

35-38) See 85b, 34-40.

38) $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\iota\theta$]

'Firm, steady'. The Macedonian is clearly giving an untrue answer, so it is likely that Dee has explained the circumstances of his coming across the word $\kappa\alpha\tau'\alpha\varsigma\iota\kappa\tau\theta$. The Macedonian would hardly be gratified by the reference of $\kappa\alpha\tau'\alpha\varsigma\iota\kappa\tau\theta$ to himself and so sought to defend his reputation.

39) the common lexicon]

Dee's library list of 1583 records several lexicons of Greek and Latin without authorship, including folios printed at Basle in 1541 and at Lyons in 1550.

40) $\lambda\alpha\nu\omicron\rho\nu\iota\upsilon\varsigma$ his lexicon]

Varinus Phavorinus, Lexicon graecum (Rome 1523), contained in Dee's library list of 1583.

42-43) Misteries of Latine greke and hebrue]

I have not been able to find this title in Dee's library list (Harleian MS 1879), nor in the more legible transcript by Ashmole (Ashmole MS 1142). It ought to be there as the library list is dated 6 September 1583 and, as Dee was soon going abroad, one would expect the record to be accurate and complete. It is possible, however, that the title given here is in fact a sub-title following some other form of identification that is noted in the library list.

46) Gariladrah]

This spirit is not referred to elsewhere in Dee's extant writings.

47) sins]

'since'.

51) set]

This should probably be 'sēt' for 'sent'. Uriel has sent Il.

54) This refers to Kelly who arrived from Blockley on 22 March 1583 (see 86a).

55) Raphael was the instructor in the Action of 23 March 1583 (61a), but Gariladrah makes no appearance there. There is no evidence that there are any papers missing between books four and five while Kelly was away in Gloucestershire (see Introduction p. 15), but it is possible that the spirit Gariladrah may have made some appearance in some Action with another scryer during Kelly's absence. This is mere conjecture, however, as there is no indication of Dee's having employed any scryer or even of Dee's having continued any kind of Action during the months that Kelly was away.

MN51) pag. precedēte]

'On the previous page' (see 89b, 16-17).

fol. 90b.

6) Dee and Kelly are to make use of the tables in the angelic language in August, which is a month before the prophesied time of trouble (see 79b, 42-43).

7) ictu oculi]

'with an eye-beam', i.e. by sight.

18) Some details of Elizabethan mining rights may be found in Georgius Agricola, De re metallica (1556), translated by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (New York 1950) p. 85 (note).

20-23) Daemonic help may be invoked by using pieces of earth collected from the ten places shown on the scroll.

27) I mary]

'Aye, marry'.

your chest]

This may be the same chest in which the manuscript was found. Dee is evidently perturbed that the Macedonian and Mr Sandford, who came to see him on 9 April 1583 (85b, 34-35), knew 'so particularly' about the chest (see lines 31-32 below). The phrase 'so particularly' suggests that the chest is in some way unusual, which may indicate that it is the chest with the secret drawer.

27-30) Il promises to increase the treasure forty-fold and then give Dee half.

33) braynford]

Brentford.

35) grecia]

Greece.

Anglia]

England.

36) The Greek appears to be an occultist and this line suggests that he believes he knows where some treasure is to be found but will be misled.

38) The rings must be magical, but no further information is given.

39) See MN39.

44) This is the first reference to the powder which Kelly claimed to have found with the book and scroll. It was used in attempts at transmutation, Kelly claiming to achieve some success (see Introduction pp. 160-161).

47) Amicorum oīa cōīa]

'All things in common between friends' (amicorum omnia comunia).

48-49) 'Whence to God alone be shown praise, honour and glory'.

52-53) See 91a, 1-2.

MN4) 'Hidden treasure'.

MN27) The sketch of the chest measures 15mm wide by 10mm high,
the front of the chest being 5mm high.

MN39) a capcase]

A travelling case, bag or wallet, and by transference any
receptacle such as a box or chest (OED).

fol. 91a.

1-2) 'Appendix to the Fifth Book of Mysteries'.

4) eger]

eager, 'biting, keen' (OED).

4-8) The cause of Kelly's conviction that the spirits are
all devils is the lack of communication from the angels
pr saged by the black heptagonal cloud. In this MS no
spirit discovered as an illuder has uttered words of truth
and so his statement at lines 6-7 must refer to experiences
outside those in this MS, either prior to his meeting Dee
or during Dee's absences.

10) leese]

'lose', obs. (OED).

11) cumber]

'encumbrance'.

10-12) Kelly's desire to break with Dee and pursue his way alone suggests that much of the argument may be stage-managed.

13) Cotsall playne]

I assume this is the area south-east of the Cotswold Hills. I can find no record of Cotswold being so spelt and only the tiny village of Codsall in Staffordshire resembles this orthography. Kelly was a Worcestershire man, however, and Cotsall is close enough to local pronunciation of Cotswold to indicate that this is the area referred to.

14) sklaunderous]

'sland rous'.

15) Little Ned is not identifiable and neither is the location of The Black Raven (the only record I have traced of an inn called such details a position on the west side of Bishopsgate: see J. Holden MacMichael, 'Bishopsgate Street Without' N&Q (1911) 11th Series III, pp. 2-3).

rayeld]

'railed'.

16) This Lush is not identifiable.

17) Surgoen]

Sic for 'surgeon'. Evidently Kelly has kept Ned to a bargain previously made with Lush and which Ned wished to avoid honouring.

18) overthwartly]

'opposed'.

21) See 89a, 37: 'God shall make clere whan it pleaseth him'.

22) See 89a, 26.

24) See 89a, 2-5.

37) See fols 7a-7b.

39) An echo of the last line of the Te Deum: 'O Lord in thee
have I trusted: let me never be confounded'.

40) nether]

Sic for 'neither'.

seely]

'poor'.

40-41) stone...bred]

See Matthew VII, 9 and Luke XI, 11.

41-42) Voluntate...deus]

'He will fulfil the desire of them that feare him' (Psalm
CXLV, 19 in both Authorised and Vulgate).

43-44) See Matthew XVI, 26: 'What is a man profited, if he shall
gain the whole world, and lose his own soul'.

46) det]

'debt'. Dee's expenditure on his library and alchemical laboratories caused him to be constantly in debt.

a greater charge]

This must refer to the upkeep of his house in Mortlake and provision for his family.

47) my 40 yeres course of study]

Dee entered Cambridge in November 1542 at the age of fifteen.

49) byte]

The sense of 'bite' here is that of a sharp cutting action as in sharpening one's wit.

bowlt]

'Bolt' as in to pass through a sieve, to find by sifting (OED).

50) lifing]

Sic for 'living'.

51) Egland]

England.

54) presently]

'immediately'.

MN38) 'Wisdom'.

MN46) ls]

An abbreviation for 'pounds'.

fol. 91b.

4) *Dextera Domini*]

'by the right hand of God'.

6) See 79b, 42-45.

12) 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord' (see Psalm CVIII, 26).

17) I go about it]

'that I am concerned with it', but see also lines 21-23 below.

18) See 90a, 51-52.

19) this]

Presumably the heptagon which is revolving (see line 22 below).

23-24) See G orgius Agricola, *De re metallica* (1556) translated by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (New York 1950), pp. 210-211. Two machines using horse power for ventilating mineshafts are described and illustrated.

26) Il is unable to offer such a medicine as that earlier offered by Raphael.

30) *poticharie*]

'Apothecary'. The form is not recorded in OED.

34) *Jovis oīa plena*]

'All things are filled with God' (see 91b, 5).

38) bill]

'list' [of drugs].

41) Iudra galgol astel]

These Enochian words are not translatable.

45) Marcus Heremita]

Saint Mark the Anchorite.

47) 'Furthermore knowledge is not on a few occasions hidden on account of carelessness committed in the operation of any [particular] thing', Sancti Marci Eremitae Exercitatoris sententiae siue duo libelli de lege spirituali graecè & latine iterum editi (Helmaestadi 1617), p. 60. Dee's edition is clearly earlier.

48) The full text reads: Animus hominis sine corpore bona & mala multa perficit. Ceterum corpus sine mente horum nihil potest perficere. Quapropter lex libertatis ante opus cognoscitur. 'The soul of man achieves many good and bad things without the body. Moreover the body may not achieve any of these without the mind. Wherefore the law of liberty is known before the fact [of liberty]', De lege spirituali (1617), p. 62

49) Mary]

'Marry'.

51) See fol. 30a.

52) Ilemese is the seventh of the second generation Sons of Light (see 28a, 1).

53) See Commentary to 19a, 19-22.

55) See Commentary to 92a, 4.

MN6) 'In the afternoon'.

fol. 92a.

4) the Quaternie of M, the second]

Sig. M2.

6-10) 'A contrite heart). Without contrition in the heart it is impossible to be entirely freed from vice and blemishes. However, I say, the heart eats away at the threefold moderation of sleep, food and bodily freedom. An excess and abundance of these others breeds pleasure; but pleasure promotes improper thoughts and is inconsistent with prayer and proper thought', De lege spirituali (1617), p. 122. The second sentence is rather difficult to understand, but presumably when St. Mark says that the heart eats away at moderation, he means that the desires of the heart are antithetical to a moderation that he sees as inherent in each man by nature. There is a struggle between impulses that tend to moderate behaviour and impulses that tend to licentious behaviour and only a contrite heart can overcome the impulses that lead to licentiousness.

11) and this instant and]

The first 'and' is an error for 'at'.

13) whie]

'why'.

14) 'To God alone be all honour, praise and glory'.

MN3) The instruction that the book should be written in 40 days was given in an Action of 6 April (80a, 16), but the first Enochian table was delivered nine days earlier on 29 March (68b).

19) frowardnes]

'perversity, refractory nature' (OED).

22) See Isaiah LXI, 10: 'he hath clothed me with garments of salvation'. See also Psalm CXXXII, 16.

24) The voice is that of God, identified by the use of 'I AM' (see Commentary to 42b, 15).

41) a word is missing in this line (see MN41).

46) in hemme]

'hem in'.

MN21) 'Us'.

MN26) An abbreviation for 'Uriel'.

fol. 92b.

1) arrise]

Sic for 'arise'.

11-15) There could hardly be a stronger warning against the presumption of trying to hasten God's revelations.

14) those that are of quiet myndes]

Other persons who are more patient than Dee and Kelly.

17) One of you]

There seems little doubt that this is Dee, since in any comparison of Dee and Kelly that the angels make, Dee is declared to be the more steadfast.

18) Cedar]

Cedar is a symbol of Christian incorruptibility and was the wood used in the building of Solomon's temple (see I Kings V, 6).

25) The caret indicates some missing words which are to be found in the marginal note to this line.

the number]

This may refer to Dee and Kelly, being two, or to the 49 leaves in the book or to the length of time appointed.

34) this world decreasing]

The doctrine of the decay of nature is not in accord with

the promise of a new age upon earth, but a general decrease in godliness has been frequently pointed out by the angels.

42-43) See 70b, 23-25.

MN11) The sword is 12mm high and 3mm wide at the guard, which is 3mm from the tip of the handle. The swords at MN27 and MN33 are of the same dimensions.

MN12) 'Note and beware'.

fol. 93a.

2) omitt]

Sic.

3) furdred]

'furthered'.

6) Dy]

'Die'. Dee has not actually tried to hasten the revelation of the book, but his asking what sign might foreshadow further revelation shows a similar presumption. There is some echo of Christ's words to the nobleman: 'Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe' (John IV, 48). Faith does not demand signs.

14-15) I can find no reference to the incident, but evidently the adulterous man found, or thought he found his legs on fire. St. Bride's Church is in Bride Lane near Ludgate Circus.

21) A. G.]

Adrian Gilbert, who apparently has no doubts about the truth of the Actions.

24-25) I can find no information concerning the discord between Kelly and Gilbert.

26-29) 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name do we give all glory, praise and honour and will give [so] for ever' (see Psalm CXV, 1, Authorised and Vulgate).

fol. 94a.

4) Either Kelly left Dee's house after the Action of 20 April in which he declared his intention to leave (see 91a, 9-13), only visiting Dee for the Action of 23 April, or else he left after 23 April even though his doubts were answered (see 93a, 23). Dee's specific reference to his wife's welcome to Kelly suggests that she may have been the cause of the latter's departure, especially since the erased Diary entry of 6 May 1582 suggests that she had no love for the scryer (see Introduction p. 13)...

7) cherfly]

'cheerfully'.

11-14) In Monas hieroglyphica Dee wrote: 'If a continuous multiplication be performed, beginning with the first monad, of all numbers which have been described, from the first to

the last [and] in [their] natural sequence—so that the product of the first and second be multiplied by the third, and the product [of that multiplication] by the fourth, and so on up to the last [number]—then the ultimate product indicates the [number of] permutations possible among the several terms [of the series]. [This rule can be applied] likewise for any number and variety of things' (Monas, ed. Josten, p. 209). Dee is describing the equation $N = n!$, or $N = (n-1) \times (n-2) \times (n-3) \dots \times 1$, when N is the number of ways of taking n objects from n objects. In 1564, the date of the first printing of Monas hieroglyphica, this was one of the very few works in which the laws of permutation were discussed, although they were by no means unknown at the time (see D.G. Smith, History of Mathematics (London 1925) II, 524-528). In the case of transposition of letters this rule is only applicable if a transposition AB is not the same as a transposition BA . Thus transposing A , B and C we achieve 6 permutations (AB , AC , BA , BC , CA and CB). If however AB and BA amount to the same, the rule is $N = \frac{n^2 - n}{2}$. Thus for three letters A , B and C there are three permutations (AB/BA , AC/CA , BC/CB).

18) lerne]

Used transitively in the sense of 'teach', as it still is in some dialects.

20) Adam~~i~~call Alphabet]

The letters of the Enochian language.

20-21) Since there is no different form of the script for miniscules and majiscules, the script has an 'vnchangeable proportion'. That the Enochian alphabet begins with the letter 'B' may be taken as mystically significant as it is the first letter of Genesis in Hebrew and it is the letter chosen by God to begin the Creation according to the Zoharic exposition (Zohar, I, 9-13).

25) The Holy Table is to be painted with Enochian letters and the seals given in Book II. Since anyone seeing the design of the Holy Table would instantly understand that it was a magical implement, it may not have been easy to find a painter willing to perform the task.

26-27) master Lyne]

This individual is not identifiable.

30) aduertise]

'warn'.

33-34) There is no record extant of when Dee received this plan for the Holy Table, which Il no declares to be false (see lines 40-42 below), although evidence of its existence has appeared before (see ^{79a}, MN21). Dee received the basic plan of the table in the first book (see 10a) but he did not receive any Enochian letters until the fourth book (64b). If the plan Dee now shows to Il had Roman letters, then it might have been received any time after 10 March 1582, but if it shows Enochian letters, it could not have been

received until after 26 March 1583. I suspect that Kelly presented Dee with the plan after a private 'vision'.

40) that]

The plan of the Holy Table.

fol. 94b.

2) enhemme]

'hem in'.

I AM]

See Commentary to 42b, 15.

they]

The characters in Dee's present plan of the table.

3) browght the the truth]

'brought thee the truth'.

4-5) Caelestiall demonstration]

This may refer to the knowledge revealed to Dee and Kelly or to the created universe.

7) The inner square of the plan is to be 6 inches square.

9) When Ashmole saw the Holy Table in John Cotton's library, the outer border was indeed one inch wide between the lines which were $\frac{3}{20}$ of an inch broad (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 55a).

10) This diagram measures 7 inches (180mm) square in the outer square and 6 inches (154mm) square in the inner square. The

innermost square of 12 places is 2 inches (52mm) high and $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches (67mm) broad and $1\frac{3}{4}$ (44mm) from the inner square at the sides. The innermost square is 2 inches from the inner square at top and bottom. The bases of the pentacle are 1 inch (25mm) from the inner square and the central apexes are in the centre of the top and bottom lines of the inner square. On the right hand side of the inverted triangle of the pentacle there are two lines drawn $\frac{1}{2}$ inch (1.5mm) apart, the inner line being an error and not shown in this transcript. The diagram is drawn and labelled from the point of view of one standing in front of the bottom edge and so the top edge is labelled 'in the front of the table', the sides 'on the left hand' (a sinistris) and 'on the right hand' (a dextra), and the bottom as 'next to the chest'. For the relation of this plan to the engraving of the finished product as shown in TFR see Introduction pp. 150-151 and Appendix to the text of the manuscript.

1N10) 'See [two] folio[s] later, and also in the table of the heart, flesh and skin, for in the outer lines you have this table beginning here the same, but at the beginning omitting 'l' and receiving 'o'. See C mmentary to 95b, 23-29.

fol. 95a.

4) in fronte Tabulae]

See 94b, 10 and 10a, 33.

6-27) The first column reads osonsslgenoeemofodggn. The 'm'

(tal at line 20) is an error for 'o' in the table at 94b and the plan as shown in TFR (see MN20). The other three columns are correct according to the table at 94b and the plan in TFR, gon 'with a prik' (line 24) signifying 'y' as opposed to 'i' when without 'a prik' (see 64b, 34).

29) Dee's reply that there is nothing in the middle of the table indicates that at the time of receiving the instruction to construct the square and the border (94b, 7), he drew such a plan as that shown at 94b, 10 but without any letters in the centre, which he filled in as he received them. Since the MS is a fair copy of the original notes, Dee was able to draw the diagram completely when writing fol. 94b.

32) 'To almighty God alone be perennial praise'.

35) dowed of the heds of the letters]

Dee was unsure whether the letters ought to be written facing inwards or outwards.

39) There are 21 letters in each side of the border. Dee is to divide the border by 19, so that 19 letters placed there with two in the corners may make a total of 21.

41) the liuely branches]

Dee and Kelly.

46-48) in Numero...operis]

'In the number of the ternary and quaternary: in which the whole origin and foundation of this your most holy work lies'. The number of letters in the table clearly

demonstrate the ternary and the quaternary: there are 12 in the centre (4×3) and 21 along each border ($3 \times (4 + 3)$). Removing the 4 'B's at the corners there are 19 letters in each border, which number has been delivered in terms of 12 and 7 at line 39 above (3×4 added to $3 + 4$). Since the ternary signifies spirit and the quaternary signifies matter and also respectively the active and the passive, they are of fundamental importance in numerological exegesis of the Creation (for fuller discussion of this practice see Christopher Butler, Number Symbolism (London 1970)).

52) skarsly]

'scarcely'.

MN47) 'The ternary and the quaternary'.

fol. 95b.

1) See 18b, 45. This signifies God's inspiration.

2) bak]

'back'.

3) the Bees]

The letters 'B' of the kings and princes of the 49 spirits.

4-5) A table of 84 squares, being twelve across and seven down, to accommodate the letters of the fourteen names, now of 6 letters each without their initial 'B's.

5-6) The names are written from right to left in the table at line 23 below, the kings' names being on the right hand side: thus [B]aligon [B]agenol at line 23.

7-8) In fact the table is read from the bottom right in vertical columns from bottom to top. The first three columns on the right give the letters on the right side of the border of the Holy Table (lnnyaoauaanbbblmpseaoi), which is again written from right to left. The next three columns give the letters of the bottom border. The letters in the remaining borders are not obtained from this table but from the similar table at 98a, 11, where the top line has been placed at the bottom. Confusion over the tables bedevils the construction of the Holy Table (see Introduction pp. 149-154).

9) certayn letters]

The letters to be placed in the central 12 squares of the table.

12) that Third and Fowrth member]

The central 12 squares of the table.

19) God transpose your myndes]

Dee and Kelly are to be of one mind.

20) See 94a, 11-14.

22) See 92b, 11-15.

- 23) This table measures 85mm ($3\frac{1}{4}$ inches) across by 91mm ($3\frac{1}{2}$ inches) high.

fol. 96a.

- 2) boke Soyga]

See Introduction pp. 146-147.

- 3) Zadzaczadlin]

The Book of Soyga evidently gives an alphabet, much in the manner of the exposition of the Enochian alphabet, in which the name of the letter 'A' is zad, of the letter 'D' is zac and of the letter 'M' is lin. In Enochian a similar use of the names of the letters to create the name Adam would be V galvntal.

- 5) See 95b, 21.

- 6) `a primo]

'From the first' (see line 7).

- 7) 'May he who is the first and the last, Alpha and Omega, be merciful unto us'. This is not a direct biblical quotation, but see Revelation I, 7.

- 9) comprehended]

Both in the sense of 'understood ' and in the sense of 'embraced' as at line 8.

- 12) Il was described as being apparelled like a Vice at 89b, 24, although a pied coat is more the dress of a Fool.

14) wrethe]

'wreath'.

18-20) This refers to a rearrangement of the table at 95b into that at 98a, 11 and then into that at 98a, 7. The letters on the outside of the table at 98a, 11, form the innermost part of the table at 98a, 7 (the skin becoming the centre). Those next in from the 'skin' at 98a, 11, occupy the outer border of the table at 98a, 7, (the flesh becoming the outside), and those at the centre of 98a, 11 are divided and placed in the four inner corners of the table at 98a, 7. See Commentary to table at 98a, 7.

23) The letters of the 'heart' or centre of the table at 98a, 11, are twelve, whereas there are 44 letters forming the 'body' or 'flesh'. Only if there were 48 letters in the 'body' could the 'heart' be 'the fowrth part'. The only other explanation is that it is a reference to the fact that the letters of the 'heart' occupy the four corners of what might be called the 'body' of the table at 98a, 7, but it is all very confused.

24) The letters of the outer border or 'skin' of the table at 98a, 11, occupy the centre or 'heart' of the table at 98a, 7.

28) ~~Marginal note~~ 34 declares that there are 'three manner of works with God his Name'. In Monas hieroglyphica Dee noted three numerical approaches to the Tetragrammaton. YHWH has a numerical value of 26. If considered as a 'Pythagorean

quaternary' of 1, 2, 3 and 4, it may be contemplated in the light of its 24 permutations, its sum of 10 (1+2+3+4) or its complete addition of 30 ((1+2)+(2+3)+(3+4)+(1+3)+(2+4)+(1+4)). If considered as an 'artificial quaternary' the Tetragrammaton may be contemplated in the light of its multiple sum of 12 (1X2X3X2), its sum of 8 (1+2+3+2) or its complete addition of 24 ((1+2)+(2+3)+(3+2)+(1+3)+(2+2)+(1+2)). See Monas, ed. Josten, pp. 209-211.

29-30) The earth differs from the heavens in the purpose which God has assigned to it.

33) See Commentary to line 28 above.

34-36) These divisions only have an arbitrary relation with the three approaches to the Tetragrammaton outlined in the Commentary to line 28 above, but the same divisions are applied to Dee's magical implements (see 96a, 43-96b, 12).

37) Character]

The seal promised to Dee and first shown at fol. 9b.

38) our]

Dee is referring to himself and Kelly.

39-41) See 9b, 3-4.

47) The square of (3+4) is 49, which is the number of spirits in the table of good angels in Book III. The significance

of the ternary and quaternary has been pointed to at 95a, 46-48 and it is worth noting that the square of 3 and the square of 4 in relation to the right-angled triangle at line 40 are the first two terms in the series demonstrating Pythagoras' Theorem with whole factors ($3^2 + 4^2 = 5^2$). What Il means by 'centrally', however, is not clear, nor does Dee understand, but both the character at 9b and at line 40 above are numbered from 1 to 4. The most probable explanation is that the centre of the table at 98a, 11, consists of 12 squares which, with one exception of one letter caused by a later correction (see 102a, 6-23), form the centre of the Holy Table.

MN18) aenigmaticall]

'enigmatic'.

MN40)'See the inscription in its place, 10 March 1582, fol. 6'

(see 9b, 3-4).

fol. 96b.

1-2) This note refers to line 7.

5) See 96a, 35.

6) The Table]

The Holy Table.

7-10) The seven tables in the second book which adorn the

Holy Table at various points. They are likened to coats of

arms for the seven kings and princes.

11) See 96a, 36.

13-14) these bokes]

The Book of Enoch with its tables.

16-17) euery letter...God]

Every letter in each table of the Book of Enoch, which presupposes a vast number of names of God.

18) they are but one name]

God being one, his names do not signify different beings.

The Asclepius of the supposed Hermes Trismegistus states that:

'it is impossible that the creator of the majesty of the All, the father and lord of all beings, should be designated by one or even by a multiplicity of names. God has no name, or rather he has all names, since he is at once One and All, so that one must either designate all things by his name, or give him the name of all things' (Corpus Hermeticum, tr. A. J. Festugière with text established by A. D. Nock, 4 vols (Paris 1945-1954), II, p.321, cited and translated by Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London & Chicago 1964), p. 125). The thought is also to be found in The Decades of Henry Bullinger [1587 edition; first ed. 1577], edited by Rev. Thomas Harding, Parker Society, 4 vols (Cambridge 1849-52), IV, p. 210.

18-20) The different names of God signify different aspects of God and his Creation, from beginning to end.

23) See 9b, MN3.

25) The former Diuel]

The spirit who, in the guise of Uriel, gave Dee the
character on fol. 9b.

insinuat]

Sic for 'insinuate'.

30) A rather similar idea is voiced at 94a, 28-29.

31) It is now to show Dee's true character.

32) See MN32.

35) See 96a, 18-20.

42) propre characters]

Enochian script.

46) the vppermost prik]

The top corner of the innermost diamond in the table at
98a, 7.

47) These two letters are in the squares below the 'O' in the
table at 98a, 7.

48) See the right and left corners of the diamond in the table at
98a, 7.

MN19-20) 'corruptible [and] incorruptible generation'.

MN23) falls]

Sic for 'false'.

tradition]

That which has been handed down.

MN32) 'Wittily he means my mathematical demonstrations'. It means 'a show' by 'demonstration' at line 32, whereas Dee would use the word in the sense of 'proof'.

fol. 97a.

This table is drawn on a piece of paper measuring 123mm across by 112mm. The lines are in black and the letters are in red ink. The outer square measures 4 inches (102mm) and the inner square 3 inches (76mm). The squares of the central diamond are $\frac{4}{10}$ " square. All other measurements are defined by the nature of the table. For the transliteration in Roman letters see the table at 98a, 7.

fol. 98a.

7) The dimensions of the table are the same as that on fol.

97a. The 'y' in the central diamond is written over an 'i'.

11-17) This table differs from that at 95b, 23, in that the names of [B]alignon and [B]agenol are now on the bottom line. The table measures 3 inches (77mm) square within the lines which are a little over $\frac{1}{32}$ of an inch thick. The letters in the two outer columns (the 'skin') form those in the centre of the table at line 7 above. The middle section (reading 'ogelorno' from right to left on the top line) provides the letters for the outer border of the table at line 7, again from right to left. The centre square provides the letters

which occupy the four corners of the inner square of the table at line 7, each column of three letters being given a triangular arrangement.

18-20) See Commentary to 96a, 18-23.

21) sone]

'soon'.

22) 'To our almighty God be perennial praise and immense glory'.

MN11) The digits in this note are placed to the left of the text of the note, but this may not be accurately represented by virtue of the manner of transcription; hence the apparently curious placings of '2' and '3'.

fol. 98b.

2) ſ]

Dee rarely uses this form of 'the'.

2-3) This is the first reference to Kelly's wife. Evidently she had not yet moved into Dee's household.

4-5) William Hunnis, Seuen Sobs of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne; The Psalmes Called Poenitentiall Reduced into Meeter by W. Hunnis, 3 pts, 12^o, H. Denham, 1583, entered 7 November 1581. Other editions were printed in 1587, 1589, 1597, 1600, 1604, 1609, 1615, 1618 and 1629, so it was evidently a popular work of its kind.

8-10) This 'automatic writing' is highly suspicious. Being alone in his bedchamber, Kelly could easily have written this to deceive Dee, presumably to increase Dee's belief in what the angels had delivered during the Action.

10) The character resembles that at 98a, 7, in form and is to be found on fol. 99a.

18) suttlet]
'subtle'.

23) sprong]
'sprung'.

31) fayntharted]
'faint-hearted'.

41) suttily]
'subtly'.

48) rehersed]
'repeated aloud'.

53) The text is continued at fol. 100a.

fol. 99a.

This inserted leaf measures 127mm across by 70mm in height and is the blank page from Hunnis's book (see 98b, 20-21). The table on the left measures approximately 18mm across by 28mm in height,

the inner square being approximately 12mm square (the lines are drawn inaccurately). This table does not bear any relation as far as the letters are concerned with that on the right which measures approximately 60mm square, with an inner square of 35mm. This leaf including the marginal note at line 1 are in Kelly's hand

MN11) See 100b, 2.

8]

'our'.

fol. 10 a.

- 9) While this refers specifically to mankind, it is worth noting that this division of soul and body was frequently extended to cover the whole universe on an ascending scale of sublimity: 'The Philosophers have maintained...that the Heavens and Stars are Divine Animals, and their souls intellectual, participating of the Divine mind' (Agrippa, Occ. Phil. III, vii, p. 384). The reference to an 'infinite number' of souls precludes any adherence to a theory of transmigration of a limited number of souls.

11) my Temple]

The world.

13) three of you]

Dee, Kelly and Adrian Gilbert.

16) assales]

'assails'.

23) Pugna...victoria]

'There will be a battle [against temptation], but the victory will be yours'.

24) these days to come]

The time of trouble promised for September.

34) yongling]

This refers to K lly, who was now 27 years old, while Dee was 55.

35) yeld thy lymmes]

'yield thy limbs'.

40) Tables]

Presumably those in the second book which are of small account in comparison with the Book of Enoch.

45) this euill]

The false table at fol. 99a.

46) Judgment is not of me]

Uriel is speaking although he has voiced the word of God in the first person earlier.

MN13) 'Strength in God and on account of God'.

MN27) 'A sentence against this wicked spirit who wished to
deceive us'.

fol. 100b.

2) BELMAGEL]

I have not been able to discover any references to this
spirit beyond that here and at 99a, MN11.

3) thy sowle]

Uriel is still talking to Kelly.

his destruction]

The destruction of Kelly's soul.

5-6) the secrets of mans fingers]

'The works of man's hands'.

6) so much as / ^c that /]

'so much as he that'. Belmagel has governed the wicked works
of man's hands.

10-11) See 98b, 39-44.

11) Thow]

Kelly.

12) willdernesse]

Sic for 'wilderness'.

19) See 66a, 43.

22) your profession]

See MN22.

34-35) 'To our almighty God be all praise, honour and act of
thanks, now and for ever'.

MN2) 'The particular evil angel of Kelly himself'.

1N20) 'From the evil of temptation'.

MN22) 'My profession is true philosophy. See book one' (see
12a, 5-7).

fol. 101a.

2) fryday last]

3 May.

3) Evidently the tables have once again begun to appear to
Kelly's vision.

monday next]

6 May, the 39th day since the book was begun on 29 March
(but see Commentary to 92a, MN3).

4) to wete]

'to wit',

9) It is not possible to verify which of the questions that
follow form part of those that Dee had prepared, for he
evidently asks some spontaneous questions as well.

12) Beati...pacem]

'How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace' (Romans, X, 15). See also Isaiah LII, 7, and Nahum I, 15.

17) per te Jesu Christe]

'For the sake of Jesus Christ'.

18) This boke]

The Book of Enoch

25) after the manner of men]

See 89b, 10-13.

27) This preparation will probably include prayer and fasting (see Introduction pp. 92-93).

32) wayed]

'weighed'.

36) The second]

'The second part'.

~~37-39~~) See Acts I, 11. The promise of a second coming is definite, stating that Jesus shall come. The distinction here is between the promise of a second coming at an undefined time and the certainty of the second coming in the near future.

fol. 101b.

3) that wicked childe]

The Antichrist. See I John II, 18.

6) Yelde]

'yield'.

10) in his own marks]

In Enochian characters. If the book was ever finished in this manner, it has not survived.

11) =ner]

Only 'ma' of 'marks' at line 10 is easily legible, the final letters being somewhat lost in the binding, and Ashmole must have conjectured that the word was 'manner'. Ashmole's transcript has 'marks', however, which is an unusual divergence (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 161b).

13-14) The 204 books supposedly written by Esdras, for instance.

16) The new age to be heralded by the Book of Enoch will end the schism in the churches and replace it with one true religion. This lies very much at the heart of Dee's hopes for the future and his reasons for going abroad in the September of this year.

19) The end of the world and the Last Judgment.

20) Thy Character]

The character at 97a. On the reverse must be written the names Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semeliel, Nogahel and Corabiel as in the Sigillum Dei (30a).

22) the stone]

The stone brought by the angels (see 59b, 40-46).

23-25) The stone is here granted a use like a 'glass perspective' within which anything desired may be seen (see Introduction pp. 76-7). The powers of such vision appear to be offered to Dee personally, but the use of a scryer may simply be implied.

26-28) If the table were to stand upon the four smaller seals, they would be damaged since they are made of wax. A protective wooden cover for each seal is described.

29) After all the trouble gone to concerning the Holy Table and the other magical implements, this limited use must have seemed rather strange, but the implication is that after the table has been used in August, the new age will quickly be heralded in.

30-31) See 42b, 26-34.

37) The silk for the Holy Table (see 10a, 18-21).

MN35) iornayes]

'journeys'.

fol. 102a.

1) that day]

1 August 1583.

2) ells]

'else'.

4) Mals don mals]

'P R P'. See the table at 94b, where in the centre squares mals don mals is erased in favour of vr don vr.

5) practise Table]

The Holy Table.

6-9) See the tables at 98a, 11, and line 17 below.

15) Tabula, collecta]

See 41a. In the tables at 95b, 23, and 98a, 11, the kings are with their respective princes, but in the table at line 17 below they are with the princes next to whom they stand in the table at 41a.

16) The 12 letters in the centre of this table are those in the centre of the Holy Table.

24) See Commentary to line 15 above.

25) See the table at 98a, 11.

26) See the table at 95b, 23.

27) See the table at line 17 above and 48b, 30-33.

29-31) Each king may be placed first according to laws which the Book of Enoch will reveal. Since each governs a day of the week, each takes precedence upon his own day. See also Commentary to MN30 below.

33) Dee requires a more careful show and transcription of the Enochian characters. This was received by Kelly during Dee's absence (see 104a, 29-31).

38) See 51a, 37. Ashmole's pagination makes 51a page 85 and the superscription at the end of the line is in Ashmole's hand.

39) cōteyne]
'contain'.

40) the true Character]
The table at 97a.

42-43) The form of delta may be seen in the four corners of the inner square and in the corners of the diamond in the table at 97a.

45) stoare howse]
'storehouse'.

46) stole]
'stool'.

MN30) Each of the seven planets and each of the twelve signs of the Zodiac may be considered preeminent, the other planets and houses then being considered in relation to the one taken as being preeminent. Thus while the aspect formed between two planets in an astrological chart is a single aspect, it may be considered from the point of view of each planet: a square aspect of say the sun and mars may be considered firstly from the significance of the aspect on solarian influences and then from the significance of the aspect on martial influences.

fol. 102b.

1) mēbres]

'members' (the line is equivalent to a marginal note).

3) Principals]

This should be 'principles' (see MN3).

4) the great Circle]

The table brought by Kelly but no longer extant (see 49a, MN24).

6) more ou]

'moreover'.

7) aversed]

Back to front.

euersed]

Upside down. See 45a, 8-9.

8-10) See MN9 for example.

14) the boke]

The Book of Enoch.

15) In the centre of this missing table there is a figure holding a sword (see 50a, MN9).

17) the first part]

See line 21, assuming the reversed numeration to be correct.

23) the 7 lamines]

The 7 tables given in book II.

28) Tin is the metal appropriate to Jupiter (Occ. Phil. I, xxvi, p. 57). They were not so made, however (see Commentary to line 36 below).

31) In the diagram of the Holy Table in TFR the tables are shown in Roman letters and Arabic numerals. The marginal note suggests that Uriel's reply which is missing was in the negative.

37) When Ashmole saw Dee's Holy Table in John Cotton's library, these seven tables were painted on the surface,

38-42) The letters around the border of the Sigillum Dei gave the seven names of God at 22b, 7-13.

44-45) See 21b, 9-11, and 44-46. Some letters are the same and Dee is asking how they may be distinguished as separate.

MN9) The outer letters are taken from the missing table. $\begin{matrix} M \\ \hline Lba \end{matrix} \triangleright$
 is the seal of Babalel as given in De heptarchia mystica
 (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 41b). 6 more similar seals can be
 made for the other 6 kings, but without Kelly's table it
 is impossible to conjecture their precise construction.

fol. 103a.

3-4) See 55a, 38.

7) the Order of Operation]

The use of the Holy Table, although this line seems to
 contradict line 5 above, unless what is being pointed out
 is that Befafes's fifth place 'in consideration of Nature'
 and his fifth place in the 'Order of Operation' is a matter
 of coincidence and not consequence, and therefore there is no
 general rule which may be applied to the other kings and
 princes.

8-9) It has already been stated that the practice is to begin
 on 1 August 1583 (see 101a, 26), although the reference may
 be taken as simply a command to have all things ready by then.

13) See 51b, 19-20. Gilbert has been informed of some of the
 promises that the angels have made but has not been initiated
 into the secrets of the Holy Table or the Book of Enoch.

17) The repetition of 'necessitie(s)' is presumably an error.

18-19) 'Behold I am of tyme present. I am of the last Ternarie'
(57a, 36). This appeared to refer to the rejected ternary
ANA (see 54a, 20), but Uriel explains that it refers to
three eras in world history.

21) Noes flud]
Noah's flood.

24-26) This refers to the missing table. The characters are to
be found in De heptarchia mystica (see Introduction pp. 126-7)
and the words are presumably those letters which will be used
in the seals similar to that given at 102b, MN9.

MN1) there]
Sic for 'their'.

MN24) 'See the preceding page above'.

MN27) See 102b, MN9.

39) expedition]
'haste'.

40) fatching]
'fetching' (see 90b, 20-23).

43) My angel]
Possibly Il.

45) that earthy filth and Corruption]

The treasure.

fol. 103b.

10) Nubery]

Newbury in Berkshire.

13) the red congeled thing]

The red powder (see Introduction pp. 160-161).

18) Albert Laski]

See Introduction p. 28.

24) The sense of the line does not require the word 'and'.

27) the Chamber for Practise]

Perhaps Dee's oratory, although he may have prepared some other room.

28) half_pace]

The frame on which the Holy Table stood was 2ft 8 ins square (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 56a) and so this can hardly mean half a yard, particularly since the top of the Holy Table was a yard square. The half-pace may be a small raised step.

32-33) See 101b, 26-28.

34) According to Ashmole's measurements of the Holy Table the feet were 3 inches square (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 56a).

35) heith]
'height'.

42) mery]
'merry'.

MN18) 'Albert Laski [Count] Palatine of Siradia came from Poland to London on the first of May 1583' (see Introduction p. 28).

MN43) 'Many things to be endured for the sake of our almighty God'.

fol. 104a.

6) This vision seems to foretell the Spanish Armada, but any power wishing to attack England would have to amass a large naval force and relationships with Spain were steadily worsening. The subsequent truth of the prediction is probably fortuitous, unless Kelly had picked up some information from some such source as one of Dee's visitors who might also be keeping eyes and ears open for Walsingham.

8) It would not take divine inspiration to see in 1583 that Mary Queen of Scots was likely to meet the headsman's block before too long. As Catholic claimant to the throne her very presence had caused rebellion and conspiracy even without her direct involvement and she was effectively kept in close custody.

15-16) 'Eternal glory be to our almighty and eternal God'.

MN8) Fodringham Castell]

Fotheringay Castle.

27) mann]

'manner'.

29-31) The letters are $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch high. In the Holy Table the form of **13** is found and not that of **R** which is superscribed.

fol. 104b.

4-5) The Book of Enoch has to be put into Enochian script (see 101b, 10).

14) assone]

'as soon'.

18) the Table cloth]

The silk covering the table.

21) 'True and holy for ever' (see Christ as the Lamb of God).

24) A wicked spirit is to come forth to tempt Dee (see MN26)

29) curteours]

'courtiers'.

31) I smell the smoke]

A proverbial expression akin to 'I see which way the wind is blowing'.

44) the dredful day]

The Day of Judgment.

46) Pereant...Tenebrarum]

'May darkness perish with the Prince of Darkness'.

fol. 105a.

4) Ashmole may be wrong in attributing this line to Dee where the leaf is torn.

6) Dee is not to receive direct angelic help in copying the Book of Enoch into Enochian characters, but God may direct his judgment as at 71a, 4.

7) putto your hands]

Probably 'put your hands to the task', rather than 'put your hands together (i.e. pray)'.

10) expedition]

'haste'.

12) Dee is some £300 in debt (see 91a, 46).

22) Tunge]

'Tongue'.

23) The sketch of the tongue measures 3mm by 7mm. A tongue apparently on fire signifies the Word of God.

26) Convenient]

The obsolete sense in relation to time of 'due, proper' overcomes the apparent weakness of the sentence (OED).

30) In the Bible the 'imagination of man's heart' is frequently described as evil and stubborn, implying a neglect of God (see Genesis VIII, 21; Deuteronomy XXIX, 19; Jeremiah XXIII, 17; Luke I, 51).

3) savegard]

'safeguard'.

1N6) See Dee's questions concerning the form of the book at 104b, 6-10.

fol. 105b.

4) vnconvenient]

See Commentary to 105a, 26.

.

5) The sin of carnality is a result of the Fall, and although marriage is a blessed state that redeems the sin, abstinence is conducive to a higher spiritual state (see 101a, 27).

11) Holly Thursday]

Holy Thursday is an old name for Ascension Day.

18) the 22 Psalm]

'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Psalm XXII in both Vulgate and Authorised).

20) This is Annael who has been absent since

and who is designated as 'the mercy of God' (misericordia Dei) at fol. 6a.

21-22) See Psalm CIII, 13: 'Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him'.

24-26) This does not in fact seem to be a direct biblical quotation, but see Psalm XXXIII, 18, and Psalm XXII, 5.

30-31) Behold...me]

The arm of God stretches to all corners of the earth and he sees all.

31) Annael is 'the mercy of God' (see fol. 6a).

35) Actum est]

'It is done'.

38) The Table shown in the stone is here referred to as the Tabernacle, stressing its holy nature.

41) See Luke XV, 7.

MN30) See fol. 6a and Commentary to line 20 above.

fol. 106a.

This folio has suffered damage in the top right corner.

2) fiat]

'Let it be done'.

4) Justification comes only from God and not from man.

8) See 105a, 6.

14-15) The first series of 49 calls in the Book of Enoch
consists of more than 49 words (see fols 68b-79b).

16-17) See 85b, 11-19.

18-22) Dee probably intends to use ruled paper (see 81b, 2)
and then he will draw a vertical line after each word so
that each word is effectively in a ruled box.

24-25) How everything may now appear more beautiful when covered
by a veil is not clear. The statement may refer to things
just prior to the covering with the veil or to the veil
itself.

30-31) Jubilate...versamini]

'Be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands' (Psalm XCIX, Vulgate;
Psalm C, Authorised).

33) bote]

'boot'. Kelly wishes to buy riding boots, or shipman's hose

which consisted of wide trousers as opposed to the more normal tight-fitting hose.

35) goodman Pentecost]

No further identification of this individual can be made.

The title of 'Goodman' generally covered householders under the rank of 'gentleman', especially yeomen and farmers (OED).

iiij^{ls}]

Three pounds.

angels]

This gold coin, more fully the angel-noble as it was originally a new issue of the noble, bore a device showing Michael slaying the dragon. At the time of its original issue during the reign of Edward IV its value was 6s 8d, but by the reign of Edward VI it had acquired a value of 10 shillings.

fol. 106b.

3) eleuen places]

Only ten places were indicated on the scroll that Kelly brought back from Northwick Hill (86b), but Newbury in Berkshire has also been specified (103b, 10).

4) pteyn/g/]

'pertaining'.

7-9) A licence was required to dig for treasure (see 90b, 18).

- 11) These words are not translatable. 'Lephe' may have some relation with the phrase 'life lefe Lurfando' (see 74a, MN24). Concerning 'Pinzua', see MN11.
- 15-18) 'The earth is heavy and troubled with the iniquities of the enemies of light. It is therefore cursed, because it is in the depth of perdition and darkness'.
- 19) Sordida...nobis]
'It is sordid and odious to us'.
- 20) Proprijs...tremulis]
'It scourges itself with its own trembling [inhabitants]'.
- 23-26) 'Perhaps he may say, but he is not one who may hear. We see the groaning [earth], but he is not one who may pity. Let us therefore sanctify his holy [place] because we are sanctified in him'. The implication is that God is a God of Wrath as well as a God of Mercy.
- 27) Fiat]
'Let it be done'.
- 32) 'The old passes away and the new begins'.
- 34) flowr]
'floor'
pretious]
'precious'.

39-40) This apparently signifies the new age of God's justice upon the earth.

MN32) 'The new [age]'.

fol. 107a.

2) light fire]

The word 'and' is probably missing.

3-4) This must signify God's divine wisdom being transmitted through Raphael.

9) (I say not)]

Raphael is speaking God's words and not his own.

12-13) quae...gradu]

'Which are now at their utmost point [of decay]'.

14-15) See 68a, 16-19.

17) My pathes are thorny]

See 62b, 16.

22) See Ephesians IV, 24.

30) I AM]

See Commentary to 42b, 15.

31) therew/th]

'therewith'.

33) H_useh...pacaduasam]

These words are not translatable, but 'Peleh' may be related to the name of God Pele (see 12a, 46).

36) yf you haue eares, heare]

See Matthew XI, 15.

37) This mercy was never]

This mercy was never shown before.

38) 'Let the wicked depart and perish'.

41-42) this Poland<er> prince]

Lasky.

45) 'What may be said concerning the life of Stephen, King of Poland?' Lasky had pretensions to the Polish throne and it is possible that he was the instigator of Dee's asking these questions between lines 45 and 47.

46) 'Whether his successor will be Albert Lasky of the House of Austria?'

47) 'Whether Albert Lasky, Prince Palatinate of Siradia, will have the Kingdom of Moldavia?'

MN9) 'The remission of sins'.

MN31) 'The unjust angels with regard to Divine Justice'.

fol. 107b.

This folio is much damaged.

2) the]

'thee'.

4-5) It seems that the angels do not hear God directly, but rather are inspired by God acting through them.

6) The 'first' must be the speed demanded of Dee and Kelly at line 2 and the 'second' must be the warning, which can be inferred from what remains of lines 2 and 3, that speed must not be demanded of God and his angels.

7) The 'third' is the inspiration of God through the angels.

9) He]

God.

10) 'Ende' is used firstly in the sense of a termination, and secondly and thirdly in the sense of a purpose.

14) See 71a, 10-13.

15) puft vp]

'puffed up'.

this princis father]

I have not been able to discover any information concerning Lasky's father, but he may have been as involved in disputed territories as Lasky was (see p. 178, note 18).

17) Lasky is here incorporated into the circle of the elect, to be an arm to the chosen three (Dee, Kelly and Gilbert).

18-24) These lines prophesy a state of war and turmoil after which Lasky will be King, although whether of Poland or Moldavia or both is not specified. This will take place in a year's time ('the course of the sonne').

20) He is dead, in respect of his absence]

Being absent from his lands, Lasky is of no consequence in respect of them; his prophesied kingship may only take place upon his return. The sentence may, however, have the alternative meaning that King Stephen will die during Lasky's absence from his homeland.

25) See 42a, 54-43a, 8.

28) bankett]

'banquet'.

32-34) See Acts I, 8.

35) rosen]

Sic for 'risen'.

35-39) This seems to refer specifically to spiritual enemies, although Lasky would have had his share of temporal enemies on account of his political involvement and ambitions.

39-40) I will graunt him his desire]

This sentence refers again to Lasky and his desire to rule Poland.

MN22) 'A prophecy of the rule of Albert Lasky, but he himself did not want to convert himself constantly to God and adhere to God'. This note was probably written sometime later, after Lasky had proved an inconstant friend during Dee's continental journey.

MN29) 'Just doings'.

fol. 108a.

This folio is greatly damaged.

1-6) These lines seem to prophesy opposition to Lasky.

8) See Revelation VII, 3; IX, 4; XXII, 4, concerning the mark of God upon man and the blessed in heaven.

10) the Prince]

This could be either Lasky or Elizabeth who was opposed to Dee's going abroad.

11-12) See MN11 and line 1-6.

13) See MN13.

26-32) 'Ever blessed be the three and one, our eternal and omnipotent God. Amen. The Book of Mysteries which is parallel to and a new beginning of the sixth (and holy) book follows'. Liber Mysteriorum (& Sancti) parallelus Novalisque is the title of the first book in TFR. The Book of Enoch bears the title Liber Mysterioru, Sextus et Sanctus (Sloane MS 3189, fol. 2a) and therefore the first book in TFR, being called the sixth since it follows the appendix to the fifth book (see 91a, 1-2), is a parallel version of the sixth book which is effectively begun again (novali literally means 'ploughed anew').

MN13) See 106b, 6-9.

MN14) This alteration would in fact make little sense.

MN25) This shows a certain finality.

JOHN DEE'S ACTIONS WITH SPIRITS:
22 DECEMBER 1581 TO 23 MAY 1583

in 2 volumes

by

Christopher Lionel Whitby

VOLUME II

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**Conventions and Usages
in the Transcription**

1. Foliation and blank pages. The transcription follows the folio numeration made in pencil in the top right corner of each recto side of the manuscript by the Manuscript Department of the British Library. For ease of reference the recto and verso sides of each folio have been designated 'a' and 'b' in the transcription and the folio number with its side designation has been noted in square brackets in the top right corner of each page of the transcription. Where a page of the transcription contains text which proceeds from one folio side to another, both folio sides are noted (e.g. [62a-62b]). Except in the case where a folio side has no marginal notes and the text of that side ends with a happy coincidence at the bottom of a page of the transcription, the end of each folio side is designated by a continuous line across the page, after which follow the marginal notes, separated from the next folio side by another continuous line. Blank pages are indicated by the word 'blank' within slanting brackets between the continuous lines that mark the beginning and end of a folio side.

2. Lineation. The transcription provides a line by line reproduction of the original text and every fifth line of each folio side has been numbered down the right hand side of each page of the transcription. I have attempted as far as possible to maintain the relative indentations of the lines. Where a complete line cannot be contained in one line of transcription, the text of that line is continued below the beginning of that line, but separated by single spacing in contrast to the double spacing between each line.

3. Marginal entries. These are reproduced between the continuous lines which mark the end of one folio side and the beginning of another and are prefixed by the letters 'MN' together with the number of the line by which they are to be found. Where an Action ends in the middle of a folio, the marginal notes to that Action are reproduced at the end of the Action rather than at the end of the folio and are separated from the main text by dotted lines across the page. Unless otherwise noted, marginal entries occur in the left hand margin. Where they occur elsewhere their location is either noted in full, or else by the abbreviation 'RH' for right hand margin (e.g. MN30RH signals a right hand marginal note to line 30). On occasions a multiplicity of marginal notes to one line has led to the use of 'LH' to designate a location in the left hand margin.

4. Interlineations. Some interlineations which constitute later corrections are reproduced in the marginal notes at the end of each folio side, but most are reproduced in the relevant line of the text. Superscriptions are noted by the signs / 7 and interlineations that occur below the line by the signs / _/. The use of a caret is shown by a superscribed 'c' (e.g. a superscription of the word 'and' using a caret is marked /^cand/).

5. Rules, underlinings and flourishes. Rules and underlinings have been reproduced in pen. Dee frequently ends an Action with a large flourish and this has been noted by the word 'flourish' within slanting brackets.

6. Lines joining words and phrases. Dee quite frequently joins words and phrases on different lines of a folio side by freehand lines when he considers that there is some significance in comparing the parts of the text. This has been noted at the end of the marginal notes to each folio side.

7. Deletions and erasures. These are marked within square brackets. An illegible deletion or an erasure is marked by dots between the brackets.

8. Brackets. Dee's use of ordinary brackets and square brackets has been reproduced in the text, but in order to differentiate Dee's square brackets from those I have used to signify deletions and erasures, I have lengthened Dee's (e.g. [] in contrast to []).

9. Minuscules and majuscules. It is often difficult to distinguish Dee's minuscules and majuscules, particularly with the letters S, L, V, W and Y. In the case of the first two letters I have made a decision according to relative size only, but in the case of the other three letters I have taken only the forms V, W, and Y as opposed to V, W, and Y, to be majuscules irrespective of their size.

10. Use of I and J and long s. In the transcription I have changed Dee's form *ſ* for both 'I' and 'J', when it occurs, to either 'I' or 'J' according to whether the sound is a vowel or a consonant. I have consistently changed long 's' to short 's'.

11. Contractions and abbreviations. I have reproduced the contractions and abbreviations used by Dee, noting the full form in the Commentary when difficulty might arise. An exception is *h* which I have always transcribed in full as 'the'. The most common contractions and abbreviations are listed below:

- a) a line over a vowel, usually 'e', for a missing 'n' or 'm' (e.g. *saeculorū* for *saeculorum*).
- b) a line over a word indicating a contraction (e.g. *oīm* for *omnium*).
- c) *p* for 'per' (*pceyue* for *perceyue*), *p* for 'pro' (*ppose* for *propose*) and *p* for 'pre' (*psent* for *present*).
- d) *n* for 'ner' (e.g. *mann* for *manner*).
- f) *q* for 'que' (e.g. *expertiq* for *expertique*).

12. Amperstands and ligatures. Dee uses three forms of ampersand, *&*, *c* and *q*, and I have transcribed them all as '&'. I have used the transcription '&c' for the form *&~* and 'etc' for the form *G~*. Dee consistently uses ligatures on 'oe' and 'ae' and I have ignored these when they are miniscules. I have also ignored the ligatured long 's' and 't' which Dee sometimes uses. Consequently the only ligature which is noted is capital 'AE',

13. Marginal and textual crosses and asterisks. These have been reproduced as in the original.

14. Diagrams. I have reproduced all diagrams as close to their original size as possible, but dimensions are also noted in the Commentary. When a marginal note is accompanied by a

small diagram of a hand with the finger pointing to the relevant line, I have noted 'with hand' in slanting brackets at the end of the marginal note.

15. Inks. The manuscript is written in black ink and I have noted the occasional use of red ink in the Commentary.

16. Readings from elsewhere. Where a word is illegible or the manuscript has suffered damage, I have turned to Ashmole's transcript (Sloane MS 3677). Where this has proved fruitful, readings of words or parts of words taken from Ashmole's transcript have been placed within pointed brackets (e.g. <the>). Where Ashmole's transcript has failed to provide the answer because the original had suffered damage even by the time that it came into his hands, I have reproduced within pointed brackets the line of dots that he has used for illegible or missing text, thus indicating that his transcript does not provide any further information (e.g. <....>). Where it has been possible to turn to another source, as when a quotation from a printed work has suffered damage, the missing words or letters are contained within slanting brackets. I have also used slanting brackets when I have made a conjecture over a word, either because it is illegible and Ashmole's transcript does not help, or because the word is missing but may reasonably be guessed.

17. Hands in the manuscript. The manuscript is in Dee's hand with the exception of certain words and inserted leaves in

Ashmole's hand and fol. 99, which apart from a marginal note by Dee, is in Kelly's hand. Ashmole's hand is indicated by a wavy underlining (e.g. the), except in the case of fols 2-3 (his preface to the MS) where it is noted in the Commentary only. Kelly's hand is noted in the Commentary and in the transcription of fol. 99b, where there is a marginal note by Kelly and a marginal note by Dee, the authors being noted in slanting brackets after each marginal entry.

THE TRANSCRIPTION

Be it remembred, That the 20th of August 1672.

I received by the hands of my Servant Samuell

Story, a parcell of D^r Dee's Manuscripts, all

written with his owne hand; vizt: his Conference

with Angells, w^{ch} first began the 22th of Dec: an^o

1581. & continued to the end of May an^o 1583.

where the printed Booke of the remaining

Conferences (published by D^r Cawsabon) begins,

& / [...] / are bound vp in this Volume.

Beside these, the Booke intituled, the 48 Claves

Angelicae, also Liber Scientia Terrestris

Auxilij & Victoria (These two being those very

individuall Bookes, w^{ch} the Angells ~~comanded~~

to be ⁺burnt, & [af] were after ⁺restored by them,

as appeares by the printed Relation of D^r Dee's

Actions with Spirits pag: 418. & 419.) The

Booke intituled De Heptarchia Mystica

Collectaneorum Lib: primus, and a Booke of

invocations or Calls, begining with the Squares

[Letters] filled with Letters, about the Black Cross.

These 4 Bookes I haue bound vp in another volume.

All w^{ch} were a few daies before delivered to
my said Servant, for my pervsall (I being

then at M^r William Lillies house at Horsham

in Surrey) by my good friend M^r Thomas

Wale, one of his Ma^{ties} Warders in the

Tower of London.

Marginal note:

line 14: ⁺ 10. Apr. } 1586
 [†] 30. Apr: }

[2b]

The 5^t of Sept: following M^r Wale (having heard
of my retourne to Towne) came to /my Office in^c the Excise Office
in Broadstreete, & told me he was content to exchange
all the foresaid Bookes, for one of myne, vizt:
The Institution, Lawes & Ceremonies of the most 5
Noble Order of the Garter, to this I agreed, and
provided one, w^{ch} I sent him fairly bound, &
gilt on the Back.

On the 10th of the s^d Sept; M^r Wale came thither
to me againe, & brought his wife with him, from 10
her I received the following account of the
preservation of these Bookes, even till they came to
my hands, vizt: That her former Husband was
one M^r Jones a Confectioner, who formerly dwelt
at the Plow in Lumbardstreet London, & who, shortly 15
after they were married, tooke her with him into
Adle Streete among the Joyners, to buy some
Houshold stuff, where (at the Corner house) they saw
a Chest of Cedar wood, about a yard & halfe long,
whose Lock & Hinges, being of extraordinary neate 20
worke, invited them to buy it. The Master of the

shop told them it had ben parcell of the Goods of
 M^r John Woodall Chirurgeon (father to M^r Tho:
 Woodall late Serjant Chirurgeon to his now Ma^{tie}
 King Charles the 2^d [&] (my intimate freind) and
 tis very probabble he bought it after D^r Dee's
 death, when his goods wer exposed to Sale.

25

Marginal note:

line 7: As a further Testimo= / ny of the Sence of M^r /
 Wales kindnes; shortly / after his death, I sent /
 for his Son, & bestowed / on him, one of my depu= /
 ties places in the Excise, / with an allowance /
 of 80^l p Anum.

[3a]

Twenty yeares after this (& about 4 yeares before
 the fatall Fire of London) she & her s^d husband
 occasionally removing this Chest out of its vsuall
 place, thought they heard some loose thing ratle
 in it, toward the right hand and, vnder the Box or
 Till thereof, & by shaking it, were fully satisfied
 it was so: Herevpon her Husband thrust a peece
 of Iron into a small Crevice at the bottome of
 the Chest, & therevpon appeared a private drawer,
 w^{ch} being drawne out, therein were found divers
 Bookes in Manuscript, & Papers, together with a
 little Box & therein a Chaplet of Olive Beades, &

5

10

a Cross of the same wood, hanging at the end of them.

They made no great matter of these Bookes &c:
because they vnderstood them not, w^{ch} occasioned 15
their Servant Maide to wast about one halfe of
them under Pyes & other like vses, w^{ch} when [they]
discovered, they kept the rest more safe.

About two yeares after the[se] discovery of these
Bookes, M^r Jones died, & when the fire of London 20
hapned, /^cthough/ the Chest perished in the Flames, because
not easily to be removed, [but] /^cyet/ the Bookes were taken
out & carried with the rest of M^rs Jones her
goods into Moorefields, & being brought safely
back, she tooke care to preserve them; and after 25
marrying with the fores^d M^r Wale, he came to
the knowledge of them, & therevpon, with her
consent, sent them to me, as I haue before
set downe.

E Ashmole. 30

[blank]

[3b]

[4a]

ANNO 1581 : 1582

Mysteriorum

Liber Primus.

Mortlaci

+ 1 +

5

[blank]

[4b]

[5a]

Praeter alias meas extemporaneas preces, et elaculationes
ad Deum vehementiores: Haec vna, maxime
Vsitata fuit.

Oro mea Matutina, Vespertinaq_r: pro Sapientia.

In nomine Dei Patris, Dei Filiij, Dei Spiritus Sancti.

5

Amen

Omnipotens, Sempiterna, Vere, et Viue Deus, in adiutorium meum
intende: Domine Dominantium, Rex Regum, Jeouah
Zebaoth, ad adiuuandum me festina:

Gloria Deo, Patri, Filio, [spir] et spiritui Sancto: Sicut erat in 10
principio, et nunc, et semp_r: et in saecula saeculorū: Amen.

Recte sapere, et intellegere doceto me (ô rerum oīm Creator,) Nam
Sapientia tua, totum est, quod volo: Da Verbum tuum in ore meo,
ô rerum oīm Creator,) et Sapientiā tuā in corde meo fige.

O Domine Jesu Christe (qui sapientia Vera es, aeterni et
Omnipotentis

15

tui Patris) humilimè tuam oro Diuinam Maiestatem, expeditum
mihi vt mittere digneris, alicuius pij Sapientis expertiq_r
Philosophi

auxilium, ad illa plenissimè intelligenda perficiendaq_r, quae
maximi

Valoris erunt ad tuam laudem et gloriam amplificandam: Et si

Mortalis nullus iam in terris viuat, qui ad hoc munus aptus sit:
Vel

20

qui ex aeterna tua providentia, ad istud mihi praestandum beneficium

assignatus fuerit: Tunc equidem humilimè, ardentissimè et constan-
 tissimè a tua Diuina Maiestate requiro, vt ad me de caelis mittere
 digneris bonos tuos Spirituales Ministros, Angelosq_r, Videlicet Mi-
 chaëlem, Gabrielem, Raphaëlem ac Vrielem: et (ex Diuino tuo 25
 fauore) quoscunq_r alios, veros, fidelesq_r tuos Angelos, qui me plene
 et perfecte informet et instruant, in cognitione, intelligentiaq_r
 vera et exacta, Arcanorum et Magnalium tuorū (Creaturas omnes
 tuas, illarumq_r naturas proprietates, et optimos vsus, concernentium)
 et nobis Mortalibus Scitu necessariorum; ad tui noīs laudem, 30
 honorem, et gloriam; et ad solidam meam, aliorumq_r, (per me)
 plurimorum
 tuorum fidelium consolationem: et ad Inimicorum tuorum confusionem,
 et subversionem. Amen. Fiat Jeouah Zebaoth: Fiat Adonay,
 fiat Elohim. O beata, et superbenedicta Omnipotens
 Trinitas, Concedas mihi (Joanni Dee) [petitione] petitionem 35
 hanc, modo tali, qui tibi maximè placebit.

Amen

[/flourish/]

Ab anno 1579. hoc ferè modo: Latine, vel Anglice; (ast circa
 annū 1569

alio et peculiari, particulari modo: interdum pro Raphaële, 40
 interdum
 pro Michaële) ad Deum preces fundere: mihi gratissimum fuit: [et]
 [est.] Mirrabilem in me faciat Deus Misericordiā suam

Amen.

[/flourish/]

[/blank/]

[5b]

John Dee his Note

Angelus siue In=
telligentia nunc
toti Mundo prae=
dominans

Etymologia:
Gratiosa } Dei
Afflicta }
Misericors

ANNAEL

5

4. Angeli praesidētes

4. Cardinibus Caeli:

vt Agrippa notat

in scala Quater=

narij — Michael

Gabriel

Raphael

10

Etymologiae — Fortitudo Dei

Prevalescentia —
siue praepotentia —
siue Fortitudo } Dei
praeualescens }

Medicina Dei

Lux Dei.

7

— K̄j̄K̄ et ̄j̄j̄K̄

Anna, et Annah, obsecrātis et confitentis particula est.
hac t̄oe, non absurde innuēre videtur,
orantem et confitentem Deum.

15

[blank]

[6b]

[7a]

<.....i> censia

<.....rig >

Ad Deum Omnipotentem Protestatio fidelis:

ad perpetuam rei memoriam A^o. 1582:

O God Almighty, thow knowest, /^c& / art my director, and witnes 5

herein, That I haue from my youth vp, desyred & prayed vnto the
for pure and sownd wisdome and vnderstanding of /^csome of / thy
truthes naturall

and artificiall: such, as by which, thy wisdome, goodnes & powre
bestowed

in the frame of the [whorld] world might be browght, in some
bowntifull measure

vnder the Talent of my Capacitie, to thy honor & glory, & the 10
benefit

of thy Servants, my brethern and Sistern, in, & by thy Christ
o Saviour:

And for as much as, many yeres, in many places, far & nere, in
many bokes,

& sundry languagis, I haue sowght, & studyed; and with sundry men
conferred, and with my owne reasonable discourse labored, whereby
to fynde or get some ynckling, glyms or beame of such the forsaid 15
radicall truthes: But, (to be brief) after all my forsaid endeavor
I could fynde no other way, to such true wisdome atteyning, but by
thy extraordinary gift: and by no vulgar Schole doctrine, or humane
Invention. And, Seing, I haue red in thy bokes, & records, how
Enoch enjoyed thy favor and conversation, with Moyses thow 20
wast familier: And allso that to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,

Josua, Gedeon, Esdras, Daniel, Tobias, and sundry other, thy good
Angels were sent, by thy disposition, to instruct them, informe
them,

help them, yea in worldly and domesticall affaires, yea and
sometimes to satisfy theyr desyres, dowtes & questions of thy
Secrets:

25

And furdernore Considering, the Shew^u stone, which the high
preists did vse, by thy owne ordering: wherein they had lights
and Judgements in theyr great dowtes: and considering allso
that thow (O God) didst not refuse to instruct thy prophets,
(then, called Seers) to give true answers to common people
of things aeronomicall, as Samuel, for Saul, seeking for his
fathers asses being gon astray: and of other things vulgar true
predictions, whereby to wyn credyt in ^c/some thy/ waigtier
affayres: And

30

thinking wth my self, the lack of ^c/thy/ wisdome, to me, to be
of more

importance, then the Value of an Asse or two, could be to Cis,

35

(Saul his father): And remembring what god cownsayle
thy Apostle James giveth, saying, Si quis autem vestrum^u

indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo &c And that Salomon

the Wise, did so, euen immediately by thy self, attayne to

his wonderfull wisdome: Therefore, Seeing I was sufficiently

40

towght and confirmed, that this wisdome could not be come by at
mans hand

or by humane powre, but onely from the (^uO God) mediately or
immediately)

And having allwayes a great regarde & care to beware of the filthy

abvse of such as willingly and wetingly, did invoke and consult (in

diuerse sorts) Spirituall creatures of the damned sort: angels of

45

darknes, forgers & patrons of lies & vntruthes: I did fly vnto the
by hartly prayer, full oft, & in sundry mann^s: sometymes Crying
vnto the,

Mittas lucem tuam et veritatem tuam, que me ducant &c sometymes
Recta sapere et intelligere doceto me, Nam sapientia tua totum est
quod volo: &c sometymes, Da verbum tuum in ore meo et sapientiam, 50
tuam in

[7b]

tuam in corde meo fige, &c. And having perceyued by some sligh<t>
experience with two diuerse persons, that thow hadst a speciall
care <to>

give me thy light, and truth, by thy holy and true Ministers
Ang<elic>

and Spirituall: and at length hearing of one, (A Master of Art<s,>
a preacher of thy word admitted) accownted^{as} a good Seer, and 5
skryer of Spirituall apparitions, in Christalline receptacles, or
in open

ayre, by his practise, procured: and trusting to frame him, by my
ernest & faithfull prayers vnto the (my God) to some my help

in my forsayd Studies: tyll, thow (o heavenly father) woldest
by thy unserchable provydence, send me some [better] apter man 10
or means thereto. Therevppon trying him and vsing him, I

fownd great diuersity betwene his ^c/private/ usuall mann^s, and
intents of

practise, and my pure, sincere, devowte, & faithfull prayer vnto
the onely. And therefore often & fervently I exhorted him
[& rebuked him]

to the good; and reproved both him, and his ministers, with my 15
no small daunger, but that thow (in manner vnhard of) didst
pitch thy holy tents to my defence, and cumfort, in conflict most

terrible: as thow best knowest O God, and I willed him ^c/therevppon/ to preach

thy Mercyes, & the verity of the kingly prophet his testimony

Castra metatur Angelus Domini, in Circuitu timentiu eum.

20

And out of Roger Bachon his boke written De mirabili potestate Artis

et Naturae, [I warned] (where he writeth against the wycked Diuel

Callers) I noted vnto him that sentence, Facilius (sine comparatione

a * Deo impetrandum foret, vel a bonis spiritibus, quicquid hom^o/o/

vtile reputare &c which my counsayle he promised me to

25

follow, as thow art witnes, ô our true & almighty God.

And [albeit] /as/ thy good Spirituall Creatures neyther had delight

in the man, neyther wold so playnely & preistly give me theyr

answers or informations by him, that he might be hable to pceyve

the pith therof: So was he at length very vnwilling to

30

here him self rebuked for his nawghtynes, and to be barred from

the Mysteries of /thy/ [Gods] truthes vnderstanding; which were

the onely things that I desyred, throwgh thy grace, o our

most mercifull God. Therefore, as well for a Memoriall,

answerable to the premisses, as for the better warrant of my

35

Such exercises to be made accownt ^c/of/, hereafter: (leaving all vnto thy infinite mercies, and vnserchable providence,) I haue

thought it not imptinent, to note downe, even in this place

one of the last Actions, which I had wth ^c/the/ forsayd preacher:

when I made earnest & faythfull petition vnto the (o the

40

true & Almighty God) for sending, vnto my comfort &

eridition, (yf it wer thy blessed will,) thy holy, & mighty

Angel Annael: of whome as ^c/of/ all the Hierarchies hevenly

all prayer /^chonor &/ thanks, be rendred vnto thy diuine maiestie:
now

& euer: & worlde without ende. Amen. Amen. Amen.

45

[flourish]

Marginal note:

line 24: * Numquid non est / Deus in Israēl, / vt eatis
ad con= / sulendum Beelze= / bub, deum Accaron: /
Reg. 4. cap. 1.

[8a]

Anno 1581. Decembris 22. Mane.

Mortlak

△ After my fervent prayers made to God, for his mercifull
cumfort and instruction, through the Minⁱistry of his
holy and myghty Angel, named Anael, (yf it wer
his diuine pleasure) I willed, the Skryer, (named
Saul) to loke into my great Chrystalline Globe, yf
God [has] had sent his holy Angel Anael, or no:

5

And Saul loking into my forsayd Stone, (or Chrystall Globe)

for to espie Anael, he saw there o^Ane, which answered to

that name. But being earnestly requested of me to tell

10

the Truthe yf he were Anaēl, An other did appere

very bewtifull, with apparell yellow, glittering, like gold, and his
hed had beames like star beams, blasing, and spredding from it; his
eyes

fyrie. He wrote /^cin the stone very/ much [hebrue] in hebrue letters,
and the

letters seamed all transparent gold. which, Saul was not able
eyther

15

presently to reade, that I might write after his voyce; neyther to imitate the letters in short tyme.

A bright star, did go up [ad] and down by him.

There appeared allso a white* dog, with a long hed.

And many other visions appeared, with this second; the first being voyded

20

quite away. Therevppon I sayd, as followeth

Δ——In nomine Jesu Christi, Quis tu es? he answered
to Saul his

AN.——Potestas omnis, in me sita est hearing

Δ——Quae?

25

AN.——Bona, et mala.

Δ——Then appeared in the stone, these two letters M. G.

I then axing him some questions, de Thesauro abscondito:

he answered,

AN.——Ne perturbes: Nam haec sunt Nugae.

30

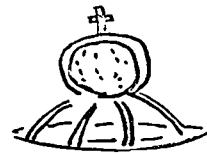
And withall appeared many dedd mens skulls,
on his left hand.

He sayd to me,

AN.—[V]——Vbi est potestas tua?

Δ——Cur quaeris de potestate aliqua mea?

AN.——Cur? Signifi, non mihi placet.



35

Δ——I, therevppon, set by him, the stone in the frame:
and sayd.

Δ——An bonus aliquis Angelus, assignatus est hinc speculo?

AN.——Etiam.

40

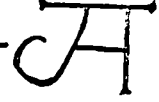
Δ——Quis?

AN.——מִיכָאֵל— he answered, by the shew of these letters in y^e
stone

Δ—— Bonus ne ille Angelus, de ^oq̄ in scripturis fit mentio?

AN—— Maxime.

Δ—— Fieri non potest, quòd ego eundem videam, et cū illo agam? 45

AN—— Ita. and therewith appeared this character — 

Δ—— Quid per hoc, significare velis?

AN—— Alterius Angeli character est.

Δ—— Cur hīc, et nunc ostendis?

AN—— Causam ob magnam Make an ende: It shalbe declared,
but not by me. 50

Δ—— By whome then?

AN—— By h_i <h>

Marginal notes:

line 4: AN̄AEL

line 9: Δ . Note / An illuding / intruder euen / at the
first, / putting him / self, as an / Angel of light . /
Take hede / allwayes of / vndue secu= / ritie .:

line 19: Δ There / <Ther>e appeared a great / <gre>at number
of dead / <de>ad mens skulls, like= / kewise

[8b]

AN—— By him that is assigned to the stone: but not, tyll after
the feast. And then thow

must prepare thy self, to prayer and fasting

In the Name of God, be Secret: and in all thy doings praying,
tyll thow hast thy

desyre: which shall not be far of.

After Newyeres tyde, Deale, But not on the Sabaoth day

5

Pray continually.

When it shall pleas god, to stir the vp, Then procede. In the
brightest day,

When the Sonne shyneth: In the morning, fasting, begynne to pray.

In the Sonne Set the stone.

Deale both Kneeling, and sitting. I haue done for this tyme. 10

My name is ANNAEL.

I will speak ones more to [the] the: and than fare well: for thou
shalt not

haue me any more.

Be not to hasty in wrath.

Δ—— Is this, that, you ment to speak? 15

Δ—— I. Do good to all men. God hath sufficient for the, and for
all men

Fare well.

Δ—— Gloria patri et filio et spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in
principio,

et nunc et semper: et in saecula saeculorū

Amen.

20

-Remember, that diuerse other particulars, mowght haue byn Noted
of this dayes

Action: but these may suffice: And yet it is not to ^c/be/ forgotten,
that

as he sayd his name was Annael (with a dubble n) so he allso
confessed

him self to be the same Annaël which is prepositus orbis veneris:

and allso Chief governor Generall of this great period, as I haue 25

Noted in my boke of Famous and rich Discoueries.

/flourish/

Consider and	}	That this Note, of the Action, (had with holy
Remember.		ANNAEL),
		is, of Prince Befafes, (otherwise called Obelison)
		accounted

as the Prolog of my first boke of mysticall
exercises

30

A^o 1582. Nouembris 20 ——— vide post.

/flourish/

Marginal notes:

line 2: Prayer

line 3: Fasting

[9a]

At Mortlak

In nomine Jesu CHRISTI. Amen.

Anno 1582. Martij die .10. hora 11¹/₄ Ante meridiem. Saterdag

Δ One M^r Edward Talbot cam to my howse, and ^c/he being willing
and desyrous

to see or shew some thing in spirituall practise, wold haue had
me to haue

5

done some thing therein. And I truely excused my self therein:
as not in

the vulgarly accownted Magik, neyther studied, or exercised: But
confessed

my self long tyme to haue byn desyrous to haue help in my
philosophicall studies

through the Cumpany and information of the blessed Angels of God.
And there=

vppon, I browght furth to him, my stone in the frame, (which was
given me of

10

a frende) and I sayd vnto him, that I was credibly informed, that
to it

(after a sort) were answerable Aliqui Angeli boni. And allso that
I was

ones willed by a Skryer, to call for the good Angel Anchor, to
appere in that

stone to my owne sight. And therefore I desyred him, to call him:
and (yf

he wold) Anachor and Anilos likewise, accownted good Angels. for
I was

15

not prepared therevnto. etc He then settled him self to the
Action: and

on his Knees att my desk (setting the stone before him) fell to
prayer and

entreaty &c In the mean space, I, in my Oratory did pray, and make
motion to god, and his good Creatures for the furthering of this
Action.

And within one quarter of an howre (or less) he had sight of one
in the

20

stone. but he still expected for two more: deeming this to be
one of

the three (namely Anchor Anachor Anilos). But I then cam to him,
to the stone: And after some thanks to God, and Wellcome to the
good

Creature, vsed; I required to know his name. And he spake plainly,
(to the hearing of E.T.) that his name is VRIEL.

25

Δ—Are you one of them (sayd I, Jōhn Dee) that are answerable,
(vppon

due observations performed) to this stone?

VRIEL—I am.

Δ—Are there any more besyde you?

VR——Michaël and Raphaël. But, Michaël est princeps in
operibus nostris.

30

Δ—ys my boke, of Soyga, of any excellency?

VR——Liber ille, erat Adae in Paradiso reuelatus, per Angelos
Dei bonos.

Δ—Will you give me any instructions, how I may read those
Tables of Soyga?

VR——I can——But solus Michaël illius libri est interpretator.

Δ—I was told, that after I could read that boke, I shold
liue but two

37

yeres and a half.

VR ——— Thow shallt liue an Hundred and od yeres.

Δ—What may I, or must I do, to haue the sight, and presence, of
Michael, that blessed Angel?

VR ——— Praesentias nras postulate et invoke, sinceritate et
humilitate.

40

Et Anchor, Anachor, et Anilos, non sunt in hunc lapidem
invocandi.

Δ—Oh, my great and long desyre hath byn to be hable to read
those Tables

of Soyga.

VR ——— Haec maxime respiciunt Michaëlem. Michaël est Angelus,
qui illuminat gressus tuos. Et haec revelantur in virtute et
veritate

45

non vi.

Δ—Is there any speciall tyme, or howre to be observed, to deale
for

the enioying of Michael?

VR ——— Omnis hora, est hora nobis.

Δ—After this, there ^Δappered in the stone a strange seale, or
Characterismus of this fashion ensuing:

50

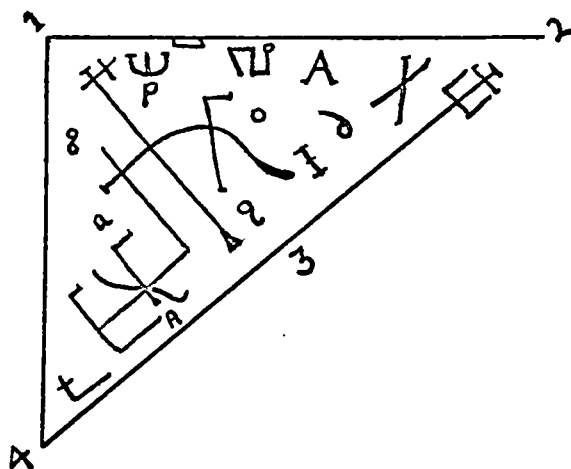
Marginal notes:

line 4: Note: he / had two dayes / before made the / like
 demaunde / and request vnto / me: but he went /
 away vnsatisfied. / for, his comming / was to entrap /
 me, yf I had had / any dealing with / Wicked spirits /
 as he confessed / often tymes after: / and that he
 was / set on. &c.

line 10: [/a sketch of the stone, in its frame/]

line 49: Δ / An illuding / spirit straight / way intruded /
 him self, and / this charac= / ter: as may / appere
 libri / Quinti appendice / Where the / character
 is / described exactly.

[9b]



Δ——what is the intent, or vse of this?

*VR ~~~~~ Sigillum hoc in auro sculpendum, ad defensio^{nē} corporis,
 omni

loco, tempore et occasione. et in pectus gestandum.

Δ—— So we ceased, with thanks to god: and I mused much vppon this 5

Action: and layd all vp in mynde, and writing.

Δ—— Soli Deo Honor omnis, et gloria.

Amen.

[/flourish/]

Marginal note:

line 3: *This was not / True Vriel: / as may appere /

A^o 1583: Maij 5.

The same Saterday afternoon. Hora .5.

10

Δ—After that M^r E.T. had called Vriel, and I was cōme to the
stone

and had vsed a short speche of thanks giving to God: [an] I then
required

some instruction for the purpose of Soyga

VR——Peace. you must Vse Michaël.

Δ—I know no meanes or order to vse in the invocating of Michaël 15

VR——He is to be invocated by certayn of the psalmes of
Dauid, and

prayers. The which psalmes, are nothing els, but a means
vnto the

seat and Maiestie of God: whereby you gather with your selues
due

powre, to apply your natures to the holy Angels. I mean the
psalmes,

commonly called the Seven psalmes. You must vse pleasant
sauours

20

with hand and hart: whereby you shall allure him and wynn him
(thorowgh Gods fauour) to atteyn vnto the thing, you haue long
sowght for.

There must be Coniunction of myndes in prayer, betwyxt you
two, to

God contynually.

Yt is the wyll of God, that you shold, ioinctly, haue the
knowledge

25

of his Angells together

You had atteyned vnto the Sight of Michaël, but for the
imperfection

of Saul.

Be of good Cumfort.

Δ—The chayre cam into the stone againe: and I axed what
it ment.

30

VR ——— This is a seat of perfection: from the which, things
shall be

shewed vnto the, which thou hast long desyred.

Δ Then was there a square Table brought into the stone: and I
demaunded, what that Table betokened.

35

VR ——— A Mysterie, not yet to be known. These two, shall remayn
in the stone, to the sight of all vndefyled Creatures.

you must

Marginal note:

line 15: Note. / Δ— in this time / there appered / in the
stone, / a rich chayre: / and after a little /
while, it was / out of sight.

[10a]

you must vse a fowre square Table, two cubits square: wherevpon
must be set Sigillum [Diuinitatis] / Dei, which is allready
perfected in a

boke of thine: Blessed be God, in all his Mysteries, and Holy in
all his works. This seal must not be loked on, without great
reuerence

and deuotion. This seale is to be made of perfect wax. I mean,
wax,

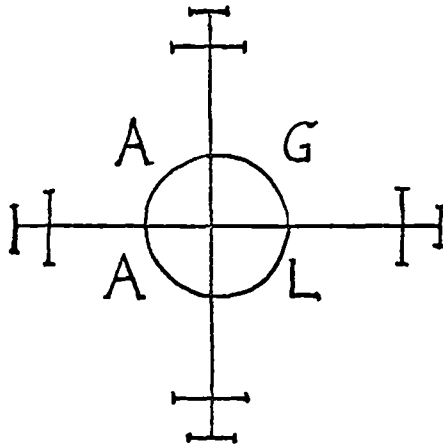
5

which is clean purified: we haue no respect of cullours.

This seal must be 9 ynches in diameter: The rowndnes must be 27
ynches, and somewhat more. The Thicknes of it, must be ^{of} an ynche
and half a quarter. and a figure of a crosse, must be on the
back side

of it, made thus:

10



The Table is to be made of swete wood: and to be of two Cubits high.
with 4 feete: with 4 of the former seales vnder the 4 feet.

Δ—The fashion of the 4 feet, standing vppon the foresayd
rownd seales,

was shewed: so as the vttermost circle conteyning the letters,
did seme to be

15

clean without the cumpas of the fete, equally rownd about the
same fete.

And these seales were shewed much lesser than the principall
seal.

Vnder the Table did seme to be layd red sylk, two yardes square.

And ouer the seal, did seme likewise red sylk to lye fowr square:
somewhat

broadr then the Table, hanging down with 4 knops or tassells
at the

20

4 corners thereof.

Vppon this vppermost red silk, did seme to be set the stone with
the frame: right

ouer, and vppon the principall seal: sauing that the sayd sylk
was betwene

the one and the other.

The Table was shewed to haue on the fowre sides of it, Charact^{*}ers
and names,

25

these, that are here in a schedule annexed, in 4 diuerse rowes.

VR——The Characters and words on the sides of the square Table,
are to

be written with yellow, made of perfect oyle, vused in the church.

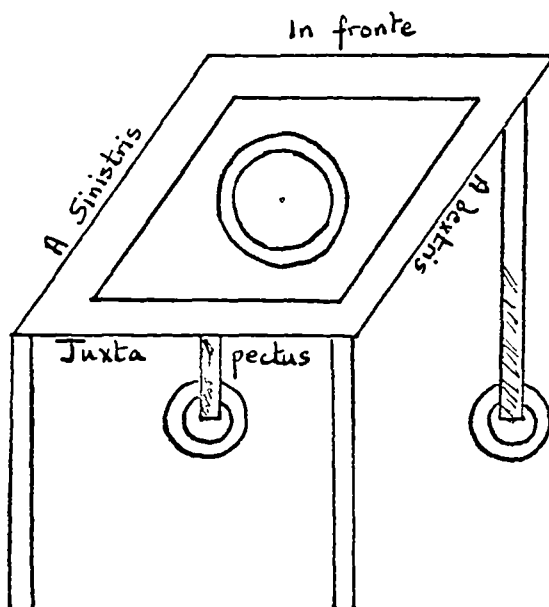
Δ——What oyle is that

VR——[of] That oyle shalbe opened vnto you. The oyle, is perfect
prayers:

30

of other oyle I haue no respect.

We sanctifie, bycause we are holy: and you sanctify bycause
of your holines.



Marginal notes:

line 2: * erronice, / contra igno= / ratiā meā. / vide post.

line 16: *Note this point.

line 25: <*> Caue: quia / angelus tenebra= / rum se intrusit /
hic vt libri / Quinti appendice / apparavit.

VR———There is a spirit, named Lundrumguffa vsing you.

who seketh your destruction, in the hatred of men, in the hurt of
thy goods. Discharge him to morrow with Brymstone.

He haunteth thy howse, and seketh the destruction of thy
dowghter.

His pretence was to haue maymed the in thy Sholder the last
night,

5

and long ago. Yf thow do not dischardg him to morrow

he will hurt, both thy wife and thy dowghter.

He is here^{*} now

Giue him a generall discharge from your familie and howse

He will seke Sauls death, who is accursed.

10

Δ——I know no means, or art to do this by. For I did burn in flame

of Brymstone, Maherion his name and Character, whan I found

Saul priuillie dealing with him (which manner of wicked dealing

I had oft forbydden him) and yet he came after, and wold haue

carryed Saul away quick: as Robert Hilton, George, and other

15

of my howse can testify.

VR———The Cursed will cōme to the cursed.

Δ——I beseche you to discharge him: and to bynde him somewhere

where far of, as Raphael did (for Thobias sake) with the wycked
spirit Asmodeus.

20

VR———But Thobias did his part. Art is Vayne, in respect of

of God his powre. Brymstone is a mean

Δ——Whan shall I do this?

VR———To morrow at the tyme of prayers.

Δ———Gl<or>ia Pri et filio et Spiritui Sancto

25

<sicu> t &c. Amen.

/flourish/

Marginal notes:

line 7: Δ Note:

line 8: * so is it evidēt / who went abowt / to hinder the /
truth before in / the character / and in the bor= /
der of the Table, / falsly cownter= / feating &c as
it / allso in the next / action may appere. / [rule]

line 15: Saul in dan= / ger of being / carried away / quick

1582 Martij 11

Sonday. a Meridie hora ^a.3. circiter

Δ—Vriel being called by .E.T. there appeared one, clothed 30
with a

long robe, of purple: all spanged with gold. and on his hed, a
garland, or wreath of gold: his eyes sparkling. Of whome ^c asked
I axed

Whether the characters noted for the Table, wer perfect:

He answered,

—They are ^{Δ*} perfect: There is no question 35

Δ—Are you Vriel.

Than presently cam in One, and threw the brave spirit down
by the

sholders: and bet him mightly with a whip: and toke all his
robes,

and apparell of him: and then he remayned all heary and owggly.

and styll the spirit was beaten of him, who cam in after him.
And 40

that spirit, which so bet him, sayed to the hearing of my Skryer,
Lo, thus are the wycked skourged

Δ—Are you Vriel, who speaketh that?

VRI— I am he. Write down and mark this: for it is

worthy 45

Marginal note:

line 35: Δ * / Hereby may appere / that this wycked / spirit
 foysted in / the shew of the / fals character / and
 names before

[11a]

worthy of the Noting.

This was thy persecutor Lundrumguffa. I browght him hither: to let
 the see, how God hath ponished thy enemy

Lo, thus, hath God delt for the: Lo thus haue I delt for the:

Thank God.

5

Δ—blessed be his holy name, and extolled, world with out ende.

E.T.—he drew the wycked spirit away, by the leggs, and threw him
into a great pitt. and washed his hands, as it were, with
 the sweat

of his [hed] own hed. for he seamed to be all in [^c/....7]
 [sweat.] a sweat.

Δ—Here vpon, my skryer saw Vriel go away: and he remayned
 out of

10

sight a little while. Then he cam_u in agayn: and an other with
 him: and iointly these two said to gither. Glorifie God for
euer.

And than Vriel did stande behinde: and the other did set down
 in the

chayre, with a sworde in his right hand: all his hed glystring
 like

the sonne. The heare of his hed was long: He had wings: and
 all his

15

lower parts seamed to be with fethers. He had a roab ouer his
 body: and a great light in his left hand. he sayd

Michaël—We are blessed from the begynning: and blessed be the
name of

God for euer.

Δ—My skryer saw an innumerable Cumpany of Angels about him: 20

And Vriel did lean on the square Table by.

He that sat in the chayre (whom we take to be Michaël) sayd

Than

—————Go forward: God hath blessed the

I will be thy Guyde 25

Thow shaltt attayne vnto thy seching

The World begynns with thy doings

Prayse God.

The Angels vnder my powre, shall be at thy commaundement.

Lo, I will do thus much for the 30

Lo, God will do thus much for the

Thow shalt see me: and I will be seen of the

And I will direct thy liuing and conversation.

Those that sowght thy life, are vanished away.

Put vp thy pen. 35

Δ—so he departed.

Δ—Gloria, laus, honor, virtus et Imperium

Deo immortali, invisibili, et

Omnipotenti, in saecula saeculorū

Amen

40

/flourish/

Marginal notes:

line 1: Note / Lundrum= / guffa skourged / spiritually.

line 34: Lundrum= / guffa.

[11b]

Martij 14. Wensday. mane circa horā 9^a

Δ— Being desirous to procede in this matter, by consent, we bent our selues to the Action. And after that E T had called Vriel and saw him, I cam to the desk from my oratorie.

There did contynually appeare, the chayre and the Table. 5

I than being affrayde that any other shold cōme into the stone, in stead of Vriel, did earnestly require the spirituall creature appearing, to shew who he was, and what was his name.

At length he answered, and sayde to the hearing of E. T.

Vriel is my name, with diuerse called Nariel. 10

Stay.

Δ— Then he went away, for a while: and cam agayn, and sayd thus,

Vr.— The strength of God, is allwayes with the.

Dost thou know, what thou writest?

Δ— In two senses, I may vnderstand it: eyther that [God] the good 15

Angel^Δ Gabriel is allwayes with me, though invisibly: or els, that the strength, and mighty hand of God, allwayes is my defense

Vr.— Fortitudo Dei, tecum semper est.

Δ— He went away agayn, and cam agayn, following or wayting vpp< on>

an other. and before that other, was a man hauing his hed all 20 couered with blak. Then he that cam so in the middle, did sit down in the chayre, and spake this worde following:

Mi— Note

Δ— This was Michael, with his sword in his right hand

Then cam Vriel to the man (hauing his hed all hyd, as it 25
 were in a blak hode) and tokeof that blak hode: and then
 liftedvp the Table cloth. He looked vnder it, and put it down
 againe: and lifted it vp again. The man stode still before
 Michael. Then Michael rose; and toke of all the mans
 clothes, and left him, as it were, onely in his shirt 30
 Then Vriel toke a little rownd Tablet, as it were, of the
 bignes of a sixpence, hauing
 two letters in it thus:



and gaue it to Micha^{el}. 35
 Vriel lifted Vp the Table cloth:
 and, from thence, seamed to take
 apparaile, and put on the man. it semed to be sylk: and
 very full of wrynkle, or plights. And the man kneeled, and
 heldvp

^{up} his hands. Vriel toke like a lawrel bush, and set vppon
 the mans hed. And than the man kneeled before Micha^{el}. 40
 Micha^{el} toke the rownd thing, with the letters: and gaue it the
 man to eat: and he did eat it

Vr—Lo, things are covered.

△—Then he couered the Table and pluckt the cloth over it, down
 to the grownd, on euery side. The man rose vp: And Micha^{el} 45
 dubbed him on the hed with his sworde. Then the man stodevp

Then

Marginal notes:

line 10: *Agrippa hath so, / Cap. 24. Lib. 3. / Occultae phiae.

line 16: Δ—potius erat di= / cendum Michaël: / Nā, Gabriel
 est / Praevalescentia / Dei: et ita forti= / tuco
 quidem, sed / altioris gradus.

[12a]

Then the man turned his face toward E. T. the skryer. and the
 man did resemble me (Jōhn Dee) in cowntenance. And then
 he turned to Michaël agayn.

Michael wrote vppon the mans back, thus,

ANGELVS TVAE PROFESSIONIS.

5

Δ—Then .E. T. asked me, yf there were such Angels of a mans
 Profession: and I answered yea; as in ^ΔAgrippa and other, is
 declared.

Mi———Leaue your folly: Hold thy peace.

Haue you not red, that they that cleaue vnto God, are made
 like vnto him.

10

Δ—yes, forsoth.

Mic———Thow camst hither to lern, and not to dispute.

Laudate Dominum in operibus suis.

Δ—The man kneled down, and so went out of sight.

Mi———He hath eaten strength against trubble. He hath eaten 15
 nothing: and in eating, he hath eaten all things. The ^Δname
 NA, be prayسد in trubbles.

Δ—Now Michael thrust out his right arme, with the sword: and bad
 the skryer to loke. Then his sword did seame to cleaue in two:
 and a great fyre, flamed out of it, vehemently. Then he toke a 20
 ring out of the flame of his sworde: and gaue it, to Vriel. and
 sayd, thus

Mic——The strength of God is vnspeakable. Praysed be god
for euer and euer.

Δ——Then Vriel did make cursy vnto him.

25

Mi——After this sort, must thy ring be: Note it,

Δ——Then he rose, or disapeared, out of the chayre, and by and by,
cam again, and sayde, as followeth.

Mi——I will reveale the this ring: which was never revealed
since the death of Salomon: with whom I was present. I was
present with him in strength, and mercy.

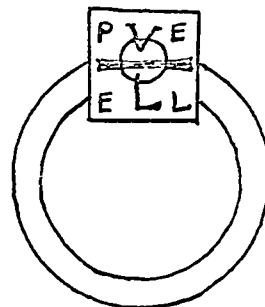
30

Lo, this it is. This is it, wherewith
all Miracles, and diuine works and wonders
were wrowght by Salomon: This is it,
which I have revealed vnto the. This
is it, which Philosophie dreameth of.

This is it, which the Angels skarse know.

This is it, and blessed be his Name:

yea, his Name be blessed for euer.



35

Δ——Then he layd the Ring down vppon the Table: and sayd,

40

Note

Δ——It shewed to be a Ring of Gold: with a seale graued in it.
and had a rownd thing in the myddle of the Seale and a thing
like an V, through the top of the circle: and an L, in the
bottome: and a barr ~~~~~~~~~ cleane through it: And had these
fowre letters in it, P E L E

45

After that, he threw the ring on the borde, or Table: and it
semed

to fall

Marginal notes:

- line 7: <*vi>de Agrippam / <de> Triplici hoīs / <Cu> stode .
lib. 3^o. / cap 22.
- line 16: ‡ Vide Reuclinū / de verbo mirif_{ww} / fico, de noīe /
NA.
- line 46: Vide Reuclini Librum / librū de Verbo Miri= / mirifico,
de noīe / Noīe PELE

[12b]

to fall through the Table: and then he sayde, thus,

Mi—— So shall it do, at thy commaundement.

Without this, thou shalt do nothing

Blessed be his name, that compasseth all things:

Wonders are in him, and his Name is WONDERFVLL:

5

His Name worketh wonders, from generation, to generation.

△— Then he went away: and camin agayn by and by.

Mi—— Note

△— Then he browght in the Seale, which he shewed the other

day: and opened his sworde, and bad the skryer reade; and 10

he red E M E T H

n the sword closed vp agayn: and he sayde

..i—— This [do] I do open vnto the, bycause thou mervayledst

at SIGILLVM DEI. This is the Name of the Seale:

Which he blessed for euer. This is the seale self. This is 15

Holy: This is pure: This is for euer. Amen.

△— Then the seale Vanished away. And I sayde to my frende

(the Skryer) In dede, this other day, I considered diuerse

fashions of this seal: and I fownd them much differing, one
 from an other: and therefore I had nede to know, which of them 20
 I shall imitate: or how to make one perfect of them all.

Mi——Dowt not for the making of it: God hath perfyted
 all things. Ask not the cause of my absence, nor of my
 apparell: for that Mysterie, is known to God. I haue no
cloathing, as thow thyself shalt see. I am a Spirit of 25
 Truth, and Vertue. Yea you shall see me in Powre, and
 I will viset you in HOPE

Bless you the Lorde, and followe his wayes, for euer

△ Then he went away: and Vriel followed him.

And then I sayde to my skryer: It were good, we had euer 30
 some watchword, when we shold not loke for any more matter
 at theyr hands, euery tyme of theyr Visitting of vs.

Wherevppon, (vnlookedfor, of vs,) he spake agayn

Mi——We lead tyme, Tyme leadeth not vs:

Put vp thy pen 35

The Name of God, be blessed for euer.

△——Then they lifted vp theyr hands to heuen ward (which heuen,
 appeared allso in the stone) and turned toward vs, and sayd

Valete:

△——So they departed: and at theyr going, the chayr, and the 40
 Table,
 in the stone, did seme to shake

△——Solī Deo oīs honor

Laus et Gloria.:

Amen.

[flourish] 45

Marginal notes:

line 3: The vse of the Ring

line 11: De Sigillo Emeth / vide Reuclini Artē / Cabalisticā.
lib. 3. / et Agrippā lib. 3. / Cap. 11.

[13a]

Martij 15. Thursday. Hora 1½ a meridie

Δ—After E T his calling into the stone, appeared a tall man,
with a sceptre

(very great) of gold, glittering. His body all red: and out of
his hed, did shote out

beames of light, like the sonne beames.

Δ—[I] being desirous, to know who he was, and his name, I
requested him earnestly

5

thereto. but he answered, as followeth.

———— Invoke nomen Domini, et agnoscetis eum

Δ—Then I prayed the psalme, Deus misereatur n̄ri, et benedicat
nobis etc

after that he sayd

———— I am mighty:

10

Δ—Bycause he delayed to declare his name, E T the Skryer
did require

him, in the name of God the father, Jesus Christ his Sonne, and
of the holy

ghost, to expresse his name: and he answered in speche

———— So I will by and by

Δ—Then he seamed to take from his hed little bright sparcks,
like little candells

15

endes: and to stick them abowt the chayre: and he went rownd
abowt

the chayre: and than he spake, as followeth.

———— I am mighty, and working wonders: I am SALAMIAN.

I rule in the hevens, and beare sway vppon erth in his name,
who be

blessed for euer. Thow doost dowt at me. I am the servant of
God,

20

in his light: I serve him. I say, I serve him, with [reverence
and] feare.

and reverence. My name is SALAMIAN: Mighty in the Sonne,

worker of wordly actions, as well internall, as externall:
known vnto

God: whose name I know, and bless for euer.

△—Then appeared a big flame of fyre by him in the ayre

25

Sal.—Thow knowest not, or thow wilt not know, that Mamon, with
his servants, are present abowt the: whose presence doth hinder
the presence

of the vertues Adonay our comming. Blessed be God, in the highest
Amen.

△—He toke the forsaide flame of fyre, and flung it vp vnto the
heven

30

ward

Sal.—Mamon is a king whome God hateth: whose sect, contynually
tempt, provoke and stir_{vp} wickednes, against the lord, and
against

his annoynted. But he dyeth: blessed be God for euer. Drive
him away

△—It is incomparably more easy for you to do. And as for my
parte,

35

I fele neyther in body, nor sowle, any token of his presence
or working.

Therevppon he caused the whole chamber (which ^c/we/ were in) to
appere very

playnely in the stone: and so there shewed a great cumpany of
wycked

spirits to be in the chamber: and among them, One, most horrible and

grisely thretting, and approaching to our heds: and skorning and gnashing

40

at vs.

Sala——God determines his mysteries, by Arte and vertue

Δ——Then he willed me very egerly, to drive them away. And I prayed

fervently. And there seamed One to cōme into the stone, which had very long armes: and he draue them away courragiously: And 45 so they were driuen away.

After that presently, cam one into the stone, all white.

Salamian reached this white one a Cup.

The white man held_up the cup: and sayd, as followeth,

——— Lo, this is my name.

50

God shall bless you. Fear not, your faithfullness provoketh me to tell

my name, and this it is: (putting furth the Cup again) for, I am called

Medicina Dei. I will shew the, and I will shew you, the Angel of
your

Marginal notes:

line 18: SALAMIAN.

line 20: Δ— of Salamian you / may rede, in the / Call. Diei
Dominicae / in Elemētis Magicis / Petri de Abano. /
There called Sa= / lamia.

line 32: Mamon.

line 52: Raphaël

your Direction, which is called OCH

Δ— This name he spake: he shewed it allso on the Table (before him) written.

Raph— He is mighty in the sonne beams. He shall profit the hereafter.

Δ— Then cam in an other, and sat down in the chayre: and he sayde, as

followeth

5

———— The strength of God liueth: and God raigneth for euer

I am Fortitudo Dei.

Δ— Why then, you are Gabriel: and I toke you hitherto to be Michaël

Michael How shall I then amend my boke, in respect of your name, allwayes

waies before, written Michaël?

10

For.Dei— What thow hast written, that thow hast written, and it is true

^c
/is true./ Write down this name POLIPOS.

Dost thow vnderstand it?

Δ— No, God knoweth

For.Dei— When that day commeth, I will speak with the: Yf thow observe that which I haue^{*} commaunded the.

15

As truely, as I was with SALOMON, so truely I will be with the

Δ— ^c
/thee/ Then cam in an other: whom we toke to be Vriel. for he went

went allso, as he was wont and leaned at the Table.

For.Dei— Search for wisdom and lerning, and the lord will deliuer it vnto you.

20

Δ— I wold to god, I knew your name truely, or what peculier letter I might set for you, to Note your words and Actions by.

For.Dei—Name I haue none, but by my Office.

SALAMIAN cam not hither, but by me 25

He is a mighty Prince, governing the heuens, vnder my powre.

This is sufficient for thy Instruction.

I was with Salomon, in all his works and wonders:

and so was this, whome God had appointed vnto him.

The Diuines know his name: and he is not hidden from the face 30

face of the erth: His name is written in the boke which lyeth in

in the Wyndow

△—Do you mean Agrippa his boke? And is it there expressed
by the name SALAMIAN?

For.Dei—I haue sayde. 35

△—What order will you appoint vnto vs two, in respect of
our two beings to gither? My frende here, may haue other
intents and purposes of his affayres, then will serve [for]
me for

for his ayde hauing in these Actions?

For Dei—Joyne in prayers. For God hath blessed you. Dowl not. 40

Consider these Mysteries.

△—Then they in the stone vsed to talk to gither: but not well
to be

be discerned of the eare of **E.T**

At length **F.D** talked very much, and spedily to **E.T** and
disclosed vnto him (which he expressed not to me, at the stone 45
but afterward) all the manner of the practise, and Circumstance
abowt the Action intended, with the Gold lamin, the ring, the
seales etc. And after I had spoken somewhat, in requesting him,
to shew me the manner, How I shold artificially prepare euery
thing

spoken of, he sayd

50

F. D

Marginal notes:

- line 1: De OCH, vide in / libello Arbatel / in ☉
- line 16: Δ* / Perchaunce he / meaneth the / cownsayle of /
Annael: before / specified.
- line 33: Δ—It is in Elementis / Magicis Petri de Abano /
printed with Clauis / Agrippae, which / <1>ay in
my Oratorie / amost vnder my / wyndow.

[14a]

Blessed be God who revealeth all Mysteries etc /caret/

I am strength in nede

And Lo, here is Medicine for the sore

We bless the lord: We gouern the erth, by the societie of
Gabriel:

Whose powre, is with vs: but he not here. etc

5

Vse Patience

Vr——I liued with Esdras: I liued in him, in the lord, who
liueth

for euer.

Raph.——I liued with Tobie: Tobie the yonger.

Δ——This was the white creature, that spake this.

10

F. D——We liue in the lorde: who be praysed for euer.

Δ——I stode silent a good while.

F. D——What wilt thou?

Δ——I did attend, what you wold say.

F. D——I haue sayd.

15

△—I haue byn long at this tyme, in my dealing with you. I trust,

I do not offend you therewith. But, for my parte, I coulde
finde in

my hart to contynue whole dayes and nights in this manner of
doing: euen

tyll my body shold be ready to synk down for wearines, before
I wold

giue ouer. But I feare, I haue caused wearines to my frende
here.

20

F. D—In vertue is no wearines.

△—Now [they] /^che/ stode vp, out of his chayr: and he, and
they all, ioinctly

blessed vs, stretching theyr nands toward vs, Crossingly. And so

they went away. The Table and the Chayre remayned.

and the glyttring sparckles, or drops of streaming little 25

lightes were of the chayre immediately.

△—Glorie, thanks, and honor

be vnto the Almighty Trinitie

Amen

/flourish/

30

Marginal note, written vertically in left-hand margin:

<God will be re>vendged vppon Saul: for he hath abvsed his
names in his Creatures / <He hath sinn>ed agaynst kinde.

His ponishment is great: and so I ende.

/blank/

[14b]

Mysteriorum Liber Primus, booke
 ending here (as I conceive) after w^{ch}
 followes Mysteriorum⁺Liber: [Pr]
 secundus, but the begining thereof
 is vtterly perished.

5

+ So it appears to be by diu s
 Quotations in the foll^g Books

Marginal note:

line 3 [+so by the / Citation 28 / Ap. 1582.]

[blank]

[15b]

[16a]

Mysteriorum Liber

secundus.

[rule]

[blank]

[16b]

[17a]

<in> <My>steryes,

<....>ow toward a thing <.....>

<... h>owse is hollow, it is empty and voyde <.....>

<..>ants: The God of heuen and erth, will send in<to>

NOTE. We bring tydings ^{*}of light. The Lord is o<ur.....> 5

you and we prayse to gither. His name be praysed for eu<0.....>

in his Mysteries O holy and eternall God.

Δ he bowed down to the Chayre and then to the table, and sayd,
Bene

dictus qui venit in (and there stayed a little) and sayd agayn Bene

dictus qui venit in noie Domini 10

Δ Than came in Michael, with a sword in his hand, as he was
wont and I

sayd vnto him, are you Michael.

Mich. Dowt not: I am he which reioyce in him that reioyceth in
the For=

titude and Strength of God.

Δ Is this Forme, for the Great Seale, perfect? 15

Mi The forme is true and perfect

Thow shalt sweare by the liuing God, the strength of his Mercy, and
his Medicinall vertue, powred into mans sowle neuer to disclose
these

Mysteries

Δ yf No man, by no means, shall perceyue any thing herof, by
me, I wold 20

think that I shold not do well.

Mi. Nothing is cut from the Churche of God. We in his Saints
are blessed for euer.

We Separate the, from fyled and wycked persons: we move the to God.

Δ I Vow, as you require: God be my help, and Gwyde, now and
euer 25

amen.

MIC. This is a Mystery, skarse worthy for vs our selues, to know,
much

lesse to Reueale. Art thow, then, so Contented?

Δ I am: God be my strength.

Mic. Blessed art thow among the Saints: And blessed are you 30
both.

[I will pluck the, from among the wycked [he spake^Δ to my Skryer]
 Thow Commyttest Idolatry
 But take hede of Temptation:
 The Lord hath blessed the. This is a Mystery, 35
 Dee, what woldest thou haue?
 Δ Recte Sapere et Intelligere. etc.
 Mic. Thy Desyre is graunted the.

Vse

Marginal notes:

line 5: < * / / >
 line 13: <M>ichael / Fortitudo / <D>ei
 line 17: <My Oa>the / <or> vow / <r>equired / for secresie
 line 32: ^ΔTo, E.T. / he spake
 line 36: Dee

[17b]

wit<h>

<. t>hey are corrupted <. >
 <... .They > haue byn vused to the wycked <Ther. . . . >
 <..... >
 <But> I will shew the in the mighty hand and strength of God,
 <.....>

5

his Mysteries are. The true Circle of his aetern<ity>
 Comprehending all vertue: The whole and Sacred Trinitie.
 Oh, holy be he: Oh, holy be he: Oh, holy be he.
 Vriel answered. Amen.

MIC. Now what wilt thou? Δ I wold full fayne procede 10
 according to the matter in hand.

vi. Diuide this owtward circle into 40 aequall partes:

whose greatest numbers are fowre. See thow do it presently.

Δ I did so. Diuiding it first into fowre: and then euery of
them into ten. He called, Semiel. and one cam in 15

and kneled down: and great fyre cam out of his mowth:

Michael sayde, To him, are the Mysteries of these Tables
know<ne.>

Michael sayde, Semiel (agayn) and by and by, ^che said, 7 O God
thow hast sa<id>

and thow liuest for euer. Do not think here I speake

to him. Δ he spake that to vs, least we might dowte of his last 20
speches; as being spoken to Semiel: which he directed to the
aeternall god

and not to Semiel. Semiel stode vp, and flaming
fire cam out of his mowth: and than he sayd, as followeth.

Sem. Mighty lord, what woldest thow with the Tables?

vi. It is the will of God, Thow fatche them hither. 25

Sem. I, am his Tables

Behold these are his Tables. Lo where they are.

Δ There cam in 40 white Creatures, all in white sylk long robes
and they like chyltern: and all they fallyng on theyr knees sayd

Thow onely art [Holy Ho] Holy among the highest. O God, 30
Thy Name be blessed for euer.

Δ Michael stode vp out of his chayre, and by and by, all his
leggs

semed to be like two great pillers of brass: and he was as high
as half

way to heven. And by [b] and by, his sword was all on fyre

and he stroke, or drew his sworde ouer all theyr 40 heds. 35

The Erth quaked: and the 40 fell down: and Michael called
 Semiael, with a thundring voyce, and sayd,
 Declare the Mysteries of the Liuing God, our God, of one
 that liueth for euer.

Sem. I am redy. Δ Michael stroke ouer them, with 40
 his sword

Marginal notes:

line 6: <The> Circle / of AEterni / tie
 line 12: 40
 line 15: Δ / Semiel / this etymo= / logie, is as= / though he /
 wer the secre= / tarie, for / the Name / of God
 line 17: The Tables
 line 26: Semiael

 line 28: 40 White / Creatures
 line 41: Δ / Semiel — forte significat Nomen meū Deus: Ita
 quod Tabulae istae sint Nomen Dei / Vel Noīa Diuina
 [with line from 'meū' to 'Name' (line 31)]

[18a]

his sword agayne: and they all fell down, and Vriel allso <on his>
 knees And commonly at the striking with his Sword, flamyng <fier>
 like lightening did flash with all.

¶i. Note: here is a Myserie.

¶ Then stept furth, one of the 40, from the rest, and opened his
 brest, which 5
 was couered with sylk, and there appeared a great T. all of
 Gold.

¶i. Note the Number. Δ ouer the T, stode the figure of 4, after
 <this> manner $\frac{4}{T}$

<T>he 40, all, cryed, Yt Liueth and Multipliyeth for euer:
blessed be

his name.

10

△ That Creature did shut vp his bosome, and vanished away, like
vnto a fyre.

MI. Place that, in the first place. It is the name of the Lorde.

△ Than there seamed a great clap of thunder to be.

Then stepped (before the rest) one other of the 40, and kneled
as the other

did before: and a voyce was herd /^csaying/, Prayse God, for his
name is reuerent.

15

Michael sayd to me, say after me thus

Deus Deus Deus noster, benedictus es nunc et semper: amen

Deus Deus Deus noster, benedictus es nunc et semper: amen

Deus Deus Deus noster, benedictus es nunc et semper: amen

△ Then this Creature opened his breast, and fyre cam oute of
the stone

20

as before and a great romayne G appeared

MI. Write with reuerence, These Mysteries are wunderfull, the
Number of his name, and knowledge

Lo, this it is. 9. Behold, it is but one, and it is Marveylous

△ Then this Creature vanished away 25

MI. The Seale of Gods Mercy: blessed be thy name.

△ It semed to rayne, as though it had rayned fyre from heuen.

Then one other of the 40 was browght furth: The rest all fell
down and sayd. Lo, thus is god known.

Then he opened his brest, and there appered an n, (not of so
big pro=

30

portion as the other), with the number of 7 over it.

MI. Multiplicatum est Nomen tuum in terra

- △ Then that man vanished away as it were in a golden smoke
 MI. Thow must not write these things, but with great devotion.
 He Liueth. △ Then came other furth: Then all falling 35
 downe sayde, Videmus Cloriam tuam Domine. They were
 prostrate on theyr faces. Then this Creature opened his breast
 and he had there a Tablet all of Gold (as it were) and there
 appered a small t vppon it: and the figure of 9 vnder this
 letter t. 40
- Mi. Mark it, for this is a Mysterye. △ Then that Shewer (of the
 40)
 seamed to fly vp into the ayre, like as it were a white garment.
 Mi. Illius Gloria sit nobiscum. △ All sayd; amen: and fell down.
 △ Then stode vp another, and opened his bosom, and shewed on
 his brest
 bare (being like syluer) a small h; and he pointed to it, and ouer 45
 it
 was the number of 22.
- Mi. Et est numerus virtutis benedictus. △ This Shewer went away
 like a
 Videte Angelos Lucis white Cok flying vp.
- △ There came an other in, and sayd
 Et sum Finis et non est mihi Numerus. Sum Numerus in numero. 50
 Et omnis Numerus est mihi Numerus. Videte
- △ There appeared a small n on his skyn, being all spotted with Gold
 Then he

Marginal notes:

line 6: <the> very fas<hion> / of ⁶the / <of> the T, w<as> /
 thus / <t>hus T

line 12: ΔT. / ΔT, in the holy La= / Language is na= / named
 Gisg. vide / vide lib. 5. / post. et est vl= / Vltiza
 Al= / phabeti litera

line 21: Δ Δ/ G,: a^r Ged. / lib^o 5.

line 30: N, a^r, Drux:

line 39: Δ / Gisg.

line 45: Δ / Na

line 48: Angeli / Lucis

line 52: Δ / Drux

[18b]

Then he went away like three fyres, red flaming, and coming to
 gather <again>

in the myddst of the firmament. Δ you must Note that in th<e
 stone>

the whole world in ^c/a⁷ manner did seme to appeare, heuen, and erth.
 etc

Mi. (Δ he cryed with a lowde voyce) Et est Vita in caelis

Δ Then stepped furth one and sayd, Et ego viuo cū bene viuentibus,
 and withall he 5

kneeled down: and Michael stepped furth and toke of his veale
 on his brest

and he made Cursy and stode vp.

Mi. Viuamus Halleluyah O Sanctum Nomen

Δ All fell down on theyr faces, and Michael stroke ouer them
 <with his> sword

and a great flash of fyre: And this man his brest semed ope<n,
 so that> his 10

hart appeared bleading, and therein the letter m, and 6, over
 it thus <⁶_m>

Mic. Benedictus est Numerus Agni

△ Herevppon they all fell down

Mi. Orate invicem △ Herevppon we prayed a psalme; [one]
/my skryer/ saying one verse, and

I the other etc

15

Mi: Omnia data sunt a Deo. △ Then cam one in, hauing a rownd
Tablet in

his forhed and a letter o in his forhed: and 22 ouer it.

Mi. Et non est finis in illo.

Benedictus es tu Deus △ and then that shewer vanished
away: He

flew vp, like a rownd raynbow knyght together at the ends. 20

Mi. Angeli a nomine tuo procident Domine

Tu es primus O Halleluyah.

△. One stode vp and the rest fell down, and out of his mowth
that stode, cam

a sworde: and the point, a [△] Triangle, and in the myddest
of it a

small a thus △, of pure gold, grauen very depe: 25

Et Numerus tuus viuit in caeteris, sayd the shewer. The ruber

²⁰
was 22 ouer the a

This shewer went away with great lightening covering all the world.

Mi. Nomen illius est nobiscum △ He stroke agayne with his

sword ouer them Then stode one vp: who, vppon his garment had an
n: and he turned 30

abowt: and on his back were very many (ens) n

Mi. Creasti tu Domine Angelos tuos ad Gloriam tua △ ouer the, n,

was the number of 14 ouer that n (I meane) which was onely
on his brest

Mi. Et te primus Creauit Deus △. Then the shewer flew vp like a
star

And an other cam in, all his cloth being plucked vp: and so
seamed naked: He 35

hath a little, a,. This, a, did go rownd about him: begynning at his feete: and so spirally vppward: and he seemed to be all Clay ouer the, a, was the number 6.

Mi. Et Creatura sunt et pereunt in Nomine tuo. Δ and therewith

{ this shewer fell down all into dust on the Earth: and his
white
garment flew vp, like a white smoke: and allso a white thing
did

40

fly out of his body

Surgit Innocentia ad faciem Dei.

Δ Michael did ouer them agayn with his sworde, and it seemed to lighten

He began to speak, and he stopped suddenly, and fyre flew from his mowth

45

Mi. Innocentium Nomina, et sanguinem vidisti Domine a Terra, et Iustus

es in operibus tuis Δ Then cam one in, [all] with a garment
all bluddy: he was like a chylde, he had a ball in his hand
of perfume

which smoked: and he hath vppon his forhed a little, h,. He bowed to Michaell and Michael sayd, Numerus tuus est infinitus; et erit

50

finis rerum. Δ This shewer seemed to powre him self awaye

like

Marginal notes:

line 3: stone

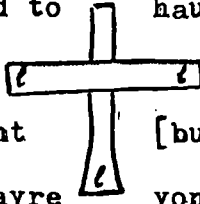
line 11: Δ / Tal

line 17: Δ / Med

line 25: Δ / Vn.

line 27: Corrected thus, / after, by / Vriel / to be 20

line 30: Δ / Drux

△ This shewer seemed to haue three mens heds and to vanish
away in a myst  with a thunder. 20

Mi. Labia mea laudant [bunt] Dominum

△ Then cam a very fayre yong one in with long heare hanging on
her (or his) sholders: and on her belly appeared a great
scotcheon: to hir,

or him, Michael gaue a flame of fyre and she, or he, did eat it

Mi. Et hic est El: and so appeared a little, l, on the scotcheon 25
and it waxed bigger and bigger: and a fyre did seeme to go
rownd

about it

Mi. Benedicta sit aetas tua: △ and there appeared, 30, vnder
the l.

△ There cam a great many of little fyers and did seeme to eleuate
this

yong woman (or child) out of sight. 30

Michael stroke his sword ouer them agayn, and sayd

Natus est illa Lux

Ille est Lux noster.

△ Then stept out an other and opened his white silk garmet
vppermost: and

vnder it, he seemed to be sowed vp in a white silk cloth 35

He had in his forhed an, n, in his brest an, n, and in his
right hand an, n

Mi. Numerus tuus est benedictus △ They all fell down, saying

Numerus tuus est Nobiscum: Nec adhuc nouimus finem [eius]
illius

Venies cum numero tuo O vnus in aet^ern^um


△ and they all fell down agayn. This shewer departed clyming vp
into 40

the ayre, as if he had clymed on a ladder.

Mi. Linguis suis cognouerunt eum

△ All sayd, Benedictus est qui sic et sic est, throwing vp in to the

ayre thre cornerd trenchers of this fashion

one side of the trenchers was thus marked, and  the other side had

nothing on.

△ Then stept one oute: and fyre cam out and in of his mowth: he kneeled, the rest fell down. This seemed a transparent body and he had in his eyes a small 1: and in his forhed the figure of 8.

Mi. Note this, vnder. I meane the figure 8. thus, ¹8 . 50

△ All sayd

Marginal notes:

lines 3 to 6: [A cross]

line 6: Med

line 17: △ / Vr.

line 36: △ / Drux

line 49: Vr

[19b]

△ All sayd, Et es verus in operibus tuis. and so he vanished away in a flame of fyre

Mi Gaudete omnes populi eius, gaudete omnes populi eius, ab hinc
Gaudete. △ All sayd, Amen.

△: one stept furth saying, Incipit virtus nostra. he being covered

vnder his robe, all with armor: and he hath a great G on his armor.

and the figure of, 7, ouer it. He went behynde Michael
and so vanished away

Mi. Recte viuite omnes Sancti eius

△ One stept furth: and opening his brest, there appered a
 boke, and 10

turning ouer the leaves there appeared nothing but a little,
r, and

13 ouer it. He went behinde the Chayre and so vanished awaye.

Mi. Hic est Angelus Eccliae meae, qui doceat Ille viam meam.

△ There stept oute a playn man, and vnder his garment, a
 gyrdel, and

vnder his gyrdle a Rod: and in his hand he had a Sworde, and
 in 15

his mowth a flame of fyre: he had a great H vppon his Sworde
 and vnder it 22. he went behynde the Chayre etc

Michael standing vp still vppon his leggs, like pillers of
 brass.


△ I axed yf I shold not cease now, by reason of the folk
 tarrying for

Vs to come to supper 20

Mic Lay away the world, Contynue your work:

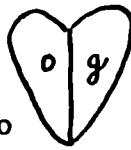
Coniunxit spiritum mentibus illorum

△ Then stept out one, hauing vnder his garment a little Chest,
 and therein

a mans hart raw: and the hart was thus with two letters, one on
 the one side, [and the] o, and on the other a, g,:  as in
 scotcheons of 25

armes, where the man and [th] his wifes armes ar ioyned p pale,
 as the

heraulds term it
and went his way.



This shewer shut vp the chest

Mi. Numerus illius est sine numero

△ Than cam in an other, saying

30

Tempus est Deum vestrum agnoscat.

△ This shewer his armes reached down to his feete: he shewed furth his

right hand and in it a little, t, and ll vnder it

Mi Stay, place this, in the second place. This went away.

Mi /I7Ymago tua, (mors,) est amara.

35

△ Then cam one in, with a big belly, and fat cheekes: an half sword

perced his hart, and a little, y, written on it.

Iustus es malis deus nr △ The number of 15 vnder it.

Mi Place it in the former place

Mi Opera fidelium, Delectatio mea □ △ Then cam one in □

40

Hic est Deus nr He shewed the letter of o on his naked brest and

the figure of 8 vnder it. He went away.

Mi Ecce, Iniquitas regnat in domo mea

△ Then stept one oute very lean, all his body full of little e, and vnder

euery one of them, 2l. He went away behynde the chayre.

45

Mi. Bestia deuoravit populum meum, peribit autem in aeternum.

△ Then stept out one in bluddy apparell. all his body full of serpents heds

and a b on his forhed, and the number of 10 ouer it. He went away.

Mi Iniquitas Abundat in templo meo, et sancti viuunt cū Iniquis.

△ One very lean, hunger sterued cam out, an A on his brest, and, ll, over it

50

and so

Marginal notes:

line 3: Δ / Ged — G.

line 7: Δ. Note / this to be / the first / that vanished /
 away, going / behynde / Michael

line 11: Δ / Don:

line 16: Δ / Na:

lines 24 to 26: Δ / $\begin{matrix} \text{Med} \\ \text{ged} \end{matrix}$

line 33: Δ / Gisg.

line 35: Δ / Gon — cū puncto, Y / Δ Imago. I / writ first but, /
 aunciently, and / vulgarly both in / writing and / print,
 you shall / fynde ymago / though not / according to the /
 LatineImag

line 41: Δ / Med.

line 44: Δ / Graph

line 48: Δ / Pa — b

[20a]

and so went away

Δ There cam in an other

MI. Iniqua est Terra malitijs suis

Δ Then cam in one who drew out a bluddy sworde: on his brest a
 great romayn

I, and 15 over it. he went his way.

5

Mi. Angeli eius ministraverunt sanctis. Δ Then stept one oute
 with a

Target and a little a on it, and ouer it the number of 8: he
 went away.

Mi Regnabit Iniquitas pro tempore. Δ They all cryed Halleluyah

Δ Then stept one furth with a golden crown, and a great arming
sworde

his clothing all of gold with a letter r on his sword and, 16,
ouer it

10

and so he went away.

Mi. Nulla regnat virtus sup̄ terrā. Δ Then stept one oute, hauing
all

his body vnder his white sylken habit (as they all, had) very
braue after

the fashion of these dayes, with great ruffs, cut hose, a great
bellyed

dublet a veluet hat on his hed, with a feather: and he advanced
him

15

self braggingly. He had burnt into his forhed a little n, and
Michael

sayd. Non est numerus illius in Caelis. Δ He went awaye.

Mi. Antiquus serpens extulit caput suum deuorans Innocentes.
Halleluyah

Δ Then cam one who put of his white habit: and he toke a sword,
and smote

vp into the ayre, and it thundred: and he had a seal (suddenly
there)

20

very gorgeous of gold and precious stone. he sayd

Regnum meum: Quis Contradicet?

Δ He hath proceding out of his mowth, many little (enns) n. and
on his

forhed, a great A

Mi non quòd est A, sed quòd contradicit A.

25

Nec portio, nec numerus eius invenitur in caelo

Habet autem Numerum terrestrem

Mysterium

Δ He shewed three figures of, 6, in triangle thus 6⁶ 6

Mi. Vobis est Mysterium hoc, posterius reuelandum.

30

△ And there cam a fyre and consumed him, and his chayre away, suddenly.

Mi Perturbatur terra iniquitate sua

This shewer, his garments, white, vnder: his face as brass:
his body gre=

vous with leprosy: hauing vppon his brest, an o, with the
number of

.10. vnder it: and so he departed.

35

Mi. Surgite O Ministri Dei. Surgite (inquam) Pugnate: No=
men Dei est aeternum

△ Then cam two oute together: they had two edged swords in theyr
hands

and fyre cam oute of theyr mowthes. One had a G, and 5
ouer it, the other had

40

□ △ We fell to prayer. Wherevppon Michael blessed vs. □

The other had an h on his sword, and 14 vnder it: and so they
went away.

Mi. Omnis terra tremet ad vocem tubae illius

△ One stept out, and vnder his habit had a trumpet. he put it
to his

45

mowth, and blew it not. On his forhed a little, o, and 17
vnder

it. He went awaye.

Mi Serua Deus populum tuum, serua Deus populum tuum Israel, ser=
ua (inquam) Deus populum tuum Israel. △ He cryed this, alowde.

△ One appeared with a fyry sword, all bluddy, [his vesture all
bluddy]

50

his vesture all bluddy. and he had s

Est numerus in numero. △ he went away

△ I vnderstand it to be a letter, and the number 5 allso. Mi: So it is

Marginal notes:

line 2: △ I think / it be / supfuous

line 10: △ / Vriel / corrected / it after, / to be vnder

line 30: Mysterium / nobis reue= / landum.

line 32: △ My Skry= / <er> had omit= / ted to tell / me this,
or / els, it was / not told / and shewed / but Vri=
el did after / supply it / by the / Skryer: / The
first / letter of / Perturba= / tur, doth not make /
shew, of / the letter / following / as other / before /
did

line 51: △ / Fam

[20b]

△ There cam one in with diuerse owgly faces, and all his body skabbed

Mi Nunc sunt Dies tribulationis △ he had an a on his [face]
forhed and the Number 5 vnder it.

Mi hic est Numerus predictus

Mi Audite, Consummatum est This had a great pot of water
in his hand and vppon the pot, grauen, a with 5 vnder it <: he>
departed in fyre

5

Mi Angele preparato Tubam tuam

△ Then cam one out with a Trumpet. Venit Tempus.

△ He offered to blow, but blew it not. on the ende of his Trumpet

10

was a little a and 24 vnder it: he went away.

△ They all now seemed to be gon: Michael and all.

He cam in agayn and two with him. And he sayd, Hij duo
Caelati sunt adhuc. . They two went away.

Mi. Vale. Natura habet terminum suum

15

△ He blessed vs and florished his sword towards, and ouer vs.
and so went away: and Vriel after him. who all this while
appeared not.

[flourish]

Marginal note:

line 6: △ / Vriel also / did correct / this place / with
 deliue= / ring this / [for] in the / place of / the
 other des= / cription / before

△ After supper M^r Talbot went vp to his chamber to prayers: and 20
Vriel shewed himself vnto him: and told him that somewhat
was amyss, in the Table or seale which I had [Noted]
byn occupied abowt this day. And therevppon M^r Talbot cam
came to me into my study: and requyred the Seale (or Tables) of
of me: for he wished to correct somthing therin, (sayd he) 25
I deliuered him the Seal and he browght it agayn within
a little tyme after, corrected: both in the numbers, for
quantyt<y>
and some for place ouer or vnder: and also in one letter or
place omitted. Which I denyed, of any place omitted by me,
that was expressed vnto me. And the rather I dowed, vppon 30
Michael his words last spoken, vppon two places then remay=
ning yet empty: saying Hij duo Caelati sunt adhuc. But

If I had omitted any, there shold more than two haue wanted.

Wherevppon we thought good to ax Judgmēt and dissoluing

of this dowte, by Michael. And comming to the Stone

35

He was redy: I propounded this former Dowte. he answered

Mi Veitas est sola in DEO. Et haec oīa vera sunt

you omitted no letter or history that was told you. But the

skryer omitted to declare vnto you. _ May I thus recorde it?

Yt is iustly reformed by Vriel: the one being omitted of the
descrier

40

and the other not yet /to/ [by] vs declared, might make that phrase

meete to be spoken, Hij duo Caelati sunt adhuc.

Mi Thow hast sayd. Δ I pray you to make_vvp that one

place yet wanting. Then he stode vp on his great brasen leggs

agayn: He called agayn: Semiael Semieil Than he cam,

45

and kneled down.

Consummatum est.

Δ The shewer (a white man) pluckt

oute

Marginal note:

line 39: The descryer or, / The Skryer / omitted to / tell

⌈ A line joins 'Hij' (line 13) to 'two' (line 31),

which is itself joined by a line to 'Hij' (line 32) ⌋

[21a]

oute a trumpet, and put it to his mowth, as though he wold blow:
but blew

not: and there appeared at the ende of the Trumpet the greke ω

There arose a myst, and an horrible Thunder.

MI. It is done. Δ Then of the three ⁶6 before Noted, with his

finger he put oute the two lowermost: and sayd Iste est
numerus suus.

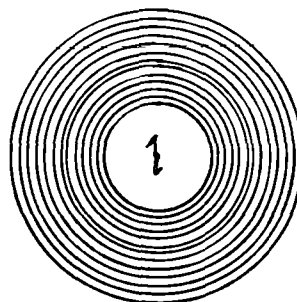
5

and Michael did put his finger into the Trumpets ende: and pulled furth a rownd

plate of Gold, wheron was the figure of .1. With many circles about

it, and sayd Omnia vnum est.

△ The forme of the World
which appered before,
vanished away: and Se
myell went away.



10

And Michael cam and
sat in his chayr agayn:

and his brasen leggs wer gone. and vppon our pawsing he sayd 15

Mic. Go forward. Do you know what you haue allready written?

Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius.

Note: The Circumference (which is done) conteyneth 7 names:

7 names, conteyn 7 Angels:

Euery letter, conteyneth 7 Angels:

20

The numbers are applyed to the letters.

When thou dost know the 7 names, thou shalt vnderstand the
7 Angells.

The Number of 4, pertayning to the first T, is a Number significatiue:

signifying, to what place thou shalt next apply thy eye: and being 25

placed aboue, it sheweth removing toward the right hand. Taking the

figure for the number of the place applyable to the next letter to be

taken. The vnder number, is significatiue: declaring to what place

thou shalt apply the next letter in the Circumference, toward the
left hand.

Which thou must reade, vntyll it light vppon a letter, without
nūber,

30

not signifying. This is the Whole.

So shalt thou fynde the 7 principall Names: known with vs, and apply=
able to thy practise.

Make experience.

△ Then telling from T, 4^h more places (toward the right hand)
exclu= 35

siuely, I finde in that fourth place, from T, (but ^c/being/ the
fifth frō the

beginning, and with the begynning) this letter h: with 22, ouer it.

Therefore, I procede to the right hand, 22 places: and there I
finde

A, and 11 over it. Going then toward the right ^c/hand/ 11 places
further: I finde

a little a with 5 vnder it: by reason of which vnder place of 5 I 40

go toward the left hand, 5 places, exclusively; where I finde o
with

10, vnder it: whervppon I procede to the left hand, farder by
10 places

and there I see the letter t, and 11, vnder it: and therefore going

to the left hand 11 places, I see there the letter h alone without

any number. Wherefore, that letter, endeth my word, and it 45

is in all ThAaoth: ys this, as it shold be?

Mi. That is not the name. Thou shalt vnderstand all in the next

Call. The Rule is perfect. Call agayn within an h<ou>re

and it

△ Note these doings to be

50

accounted Calls

Marginal notes:

line 12: SemiEII

line 24: The decla / ration of / the num= / bers.

line 48: Call

[21b]

and it shalbe shewed

/flourish/

△ The howre being come we attended Michael his retorn to mak^{<e>}
make the Practise euydent of his first Rule.

Mi Saluete.

5

Thow diddest erre: and herein hast thow erred: and yet
notwithstanding

ding, no error in the, bycause thow knowest not the error.

Vnderstand that the 7 Names must Comprehend, as many letters

letters in the whole, as there are places in the Circle: Some
letters are

are significatiue of them selues: in dede no letters, but dubble
numbers,

10

bers being the Name of God. Thow hast erred in the first
name, missetting downe A a, that is, twise a together, w^c/chhich
differ the word. Which thow shalt Note to the ende of

thy work: Where soeuer thow shalt finde two a a together

ther the first is not to be placed within the Name, but rather
with

15

with his inward powre. Thow shalt fynde 7 Names proceeding <from>

/from/ three generall partes of the Circumference: My meaning is
fr^c<om>

/from/ three generall letters: and onely but one letter, that is,
this

/this/ letter A. Accownt thow, and thow shalt finde the names

iust. I speak not of any that come in the begynning of the word

20

/word/ but such as light in the myddest: Proue: proue: and thow
shalt s^c<ee>

/shalt see./ Whereas thou hast go, it is to be red og. This is
the whole

Δ I have red in Cabala of the Name of God of 42 letters: but
not y<et>

yet of any, of 40 letters: That of 42 letters is this 25

אב אלהים בן אלהים רוח [אלהים] הקדש אלהים

שלשה באחד אחד בשלשה

[id est]

id est: Pater Deus, Filius Deus, Spiritus Sanctus Deus: Tres in vno,
[vel vnitas] et vnus in tribus. vel Trinitas in vnitae et 30
vnitas in Trinitate

or this אב אל בן אל [ו]רוח הקדש לא אכל לא שלשה

אלהים כי אם אלוה אחד

which in Latin, is, Pater Deus, Filius Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus, Deus,

attamen non tres Dij sed vnus Deus. 35

And ^c/as/ this is of God, Vnitie in Trinitie, so of Christ onely (the
second persone of the Diuine Trinitie) the Cabalists haue a
name explained of 42 letters, on this maner.

כאשר הכפש המשכלת והבשר אדם אחד

כן האל והאדם משיה אחד 40

That is in Latine Sicut anima rationalis, et caro, homo vnus, ita
Deus

Deus et homo, Messias vnus.

I am not good in the hebrue tung, but, you know my meaning.

Mi. The letters being so taken oute, being a name, and a nūber,

doth certifie the old rule of 42 letters, whan you restore
them 45

in agayn:

Mi. Note, Oute of this Circle shall no Creature pass, that entreth,

^c
/treth/ yf it be made vppon the earth. My meaning is, if he
be defyled:

This shalt thou proue to be a mysterie vnkknown to man.

Beastes 50

Marginal notes:

- line 10: Dubble / Nubers /with hand/
 line 13: Note
 line 16: . Δ / Note / 7 Names, pro / ceding from / 3 generall /
 places of the / Circumference. / or 3 generall / letters,
 being / but one letter, / and that, A.
 line 29: Δ / Vide Gala= / tinu, lib^o / 3^o. cap. 11.
 line 44: Δ / 42, are here / in Potetia / but, non Acta
 line 47: the / Vertu / of this / Circle. /with hand/

[22a]

Beasts, birds, fowle and fish do all reuerence to it. In this they
were all Cre=

ated. In this, is all things conteyned. In tyme thou shalt find it,
in ADAMS

Treatise from Paradise. Looke to the Mysteries: for they are true.

A and ω : Primus et Nouissimus; Vnus solus Deus viuit nunc et
 semper: Hic est, et hic erit: Et [^]hic, sunt Nomina sua Diuina

5

Dixi.

Thou art watcht all this night: who is euen now at the Dore:

Clerkson.

Blessed are those, whose portion is not with the wicked

Benedictamus Dominum. Halleluyah.

10

/flourish/

Marginal note:

line 2: <ADAM>s / <TREA>t= / <ISE, Δ He me>a / <neth my> /
<Booke that> / <I cal>l / Soyga



Tuesday the 20 of Marche circa 10^a mane / ers to them

Δ Are you Vriel?

/ and corrected certayn pray=

Vr. I am. We thank the for
thy great goodwill

-Δ. I had made, and written, [caret] 15

We cannot viset the now. At the twelfth howre thow shalt vse vs.

Δ Fiat voluntas Dei.

[flourish]

A meridiē: circa 2^a

Δ At the twelfth howre, my partner was busyed in other affayres,
and so

contynued tyll abowt 2 of the Clok: when, we comming to the
stone,

20

fownd there Michael and Vriel. but Michael straight way

rose vp and went out, and cam in agayn, and one after him,
carrying

on his right shulder, 7 little baskets, of gold they seamed to
be

Mi. — shut vp your doores. Δ I had left the vttermore dore

of my study, open: and did but shitt the portall dore of it. 25

Δ He toke the 7 Baskets, and hanged them rownd abowt the border
of a

Canapie, of beaten gold, as it were.

Mi. Ecce, Mysterium est. Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.

Δ Therewith he did spred oute, or stretch the Canapy: whereby it
seamed to couer all the world □ which seamed to be in the
stone allso,

30

heven, an erth so that the Skryer could not now see the
heven

And the baskets, by equall distances, did seeme to hang in the
border of

the horizon.

Mi. What wold you haue Δ Sapientiam

Mi Rede the names thow hast written _ I had written these 35
according to the Rule before giuen, as I vnderstode it.

Th[a]aoth

Gal[a]as

Gethog

Horlwn 40

Innon

A^c/a⁷oth

Galetsog

Mi. Loke to the last name. Δ I had written, (as yt appeareth)
Galetsog

Marginal notes:

line 23: askets.

line 24: <Shut> }
<dor>es }

by misreckeing the numbers. Where I fownd it shold be Galethog [wh] [22b]
with an h and not s.

Mi. Lo, els thow hadst erred. They are all right, but not in order
The second is the first (his name be honored for euer: The
first here, must be our third. and the third here must 5
be our second: thus set downe.

1. Galas.
2. Gethog.
3. Thaoth.
4. Horlwn.
5. Innon.
6. Aaoth.
7. Galethog.

10

M₁ work from the right, toward the left, in the first angle
next vnto the circumference

15

△ He shewed than, thus, this letter

M. Make the number of 5 on the right hand, (that is, before it)
at a reasonable

distance, thus



5

△ After that ^che shewed the second letter, a great roman A, thus
 24

Then he shewed 30

20

Then 21

Then 9

Then he shewed 14

Then he shewed this compownd letter, with the circle
and cross.



He willed me, at each corner of these Segmēts, to make little
Crosses and so I did.

25

△ After euery of the 7 letters shewed he did put them vp in his
bosom

assone as he had shewed them fully. The plates wheron those
letters

were shewed [were as the figure principall seale] hath the
forme

of the segment of a circle, thus and seemed to be 30

of pure gold. When the 7 letters were placed, he sayd

Omnia vnum est.

Then he pulled all the 7 plates out of his bosom: and Vriel
kneeled down before him. Then the plates did seeme to haue
two wings (eche of them) and to fly vp to heven vnder the
Canapye.

35

[Marginal flourish and rule to end of 'heven' (line 35)]

△ After this, one of the 7 baskets, (that which is in the east)
cam to

Michael. and he sayd.

Mi. Seal this: For This was and is for euer

△ Then he stode agayn on his leggs like brasen pillers, and sayd 40

Mi Oh how mighty is the name of God, which rayneth in the
heavens. O God of the faithfull, for thow raynest for
euer.

△ he opened the basket, and there cam a great fyre out of it

Mi


45

[23a]

Mi. Diuide the 7 partes of the circle next vnto that which
thow hast done, euery one, into 7.

Note. (for the tyme wilbe Long.) Seuen, rest in 7: and the
7, liue by 7: The 7, gouern the 7: And by 7, all Gouern=
ment is. Blessed be he: yea blessed be the Lord: praysed 5
be our god: His Name be magnified: All honor and Glory be
Vnto him now and for euer. Amen

△ Then he toke oute of the fire in the basket, a white fowle like
a pigeon

That fowle had a  vppon the first of 7 feathers which were
on his brest.

that first feather was on the left side

10

Mi Note. there is a myserie in the seuen. which are the 7
gouerning the 7

which 7 gouern the earth. Halleluyah

Mi. Write the letters: Δ Now, a small l in the second fether.
Then he couered

those first two letters, with the other feathers

The third an l, like the other: then he couered that allso. 15

The fowrth an R. he covereth that

the fifth a great roman H. he couereth it.

the sixth feather hath a little i. then he hid that feather.

the last feather had a small a.

Mi. Prayse god. [Δ we prayed.] 20

Δ Then he put the fowle into the basket: and set it down by him.
Then

he hong it vp in the ayre by him.

Δ Then he lift vp his sworde over vs, and bad vs pray. Δ we
prayed.

Δ Then he stretched out his hand and there cam an other basket to
him.

and he pluckt out a white byrd, much bigger than the other: as
big as a 25

swan: with .7. feathers on the brest

Mi Dixit, et factum est

Mi. Note. Δ The first feather hath a little a, on it: and it
went

away: the next a ζ great as the first

Then a C great

30

Then a little a

Then an other little a

Then a feather with a little c

Then one with a little b Δ Then he couered them all.

Mi. Thow hast truth.

35

Δ Then he put vp the fowle into the basket, and hung it vp by the other in the ayre.

Δ Than the third Basket cam to him: and he toke out a byrd all green

as grass. like to a peacok in form and bignes

Mi. Et viuīs tu cum illo et:

40

regnum tuum cum illis est

Δ There started out of this birds brest, 7 fethers, like gold, and fyrie.

Mi. Pray

3. Mi. Note. Δ On the first feather a small p

Then a small a

45

a little u

Then a small p

Then a small n

then a small h

Then a small r. Then he put the fowle vp into the Basket etc

50

Marginal note:

line 5: Δ / Note of / <the> 7 Baskets

[23b]

Δ Then there cam an other basket to his hand

Mi. Dedit illi potestates in caelis

Potestas illius magna est.

Orate. Δ we prayed

△ Then he pluckt out a fowle, greater then any of the other, like 5
like a griphen (as commonly they are [p..] figured) all red
fyry.

with skales like brass. Then on seuen scales, appered letters.

Mi. Note. △ first a little h.

a little d

a little m

10

Then a little h

Then a little i

Then a little a

Then a little i

△ Then he put vp the fowle, & hung the basket in the Ayre. 15

△ Then there cam an other Basket to him.

□ △ Note: all this while the firmament was not to be seen. □

Mi. Magnus est DEVS in Angelis suis.

et magna est illorum potestas in Caelis

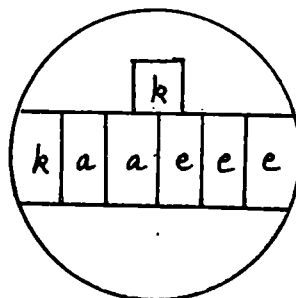
Orate. △ We prayed

20

△ Then he pluckt out a bird like an Egle: all his body like Gold
and he had a little Circle of feathers on his brest: and in it
betwene

betwene fowre parrallell lines, twelue equall squares: and
on the top, on the

myddle, one [equall] like the other twelue, thus.



25

△ Then he put vp the Egle etc

△ Then cam an other Basket.

Mi. Nuncius tuus est magnus in caelis

Orate.

△ He, and the Basket that wer opened, shut, and set aside,
seamed all

30

to be gon: and the Baskets remayning, still hanging on the border
of the Canapie. Then he cam agayn. and went awaye
agayne. Then cam VRIEL and held the Basket: and

his leggs seemed to be such great tall pillers of Brass: as
Michael

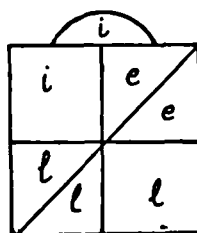
did stand on before.

35

VR This is a Mysterie He is here, and not here which
was here before.

△ He opened the Basket and pluckt out like a phenix or ^Δpelican
of the bignes of a swan: all fyrie, sparkling: His byll is bent
into his brest: and it bled. In his brest was a quadrangle 40
made with his own feathers, thus. He put it vp, and
hung it by the other

Baskets



Then

Marginal note:

line 36: △. Michael / Was the / sixth name / vide post

Then cam the last basket. Vriel stode still: and sayde

VR. Dedit angelis potestatem in lumine Caeli.

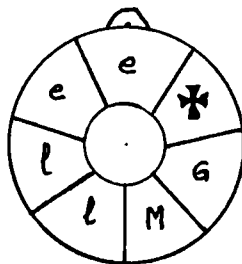
Orate Δ we prayed

Δ Then cam Michael and toke the Basket of Vriel: and becam standing

on the great brasen Legs, as before.

Δ He toke out of the basket a strange fowle with many wings:

This fowle had in his forhed a Tablet of this fashion



Mi. Et Coniunxit illos DEVS in vnum

Δ All the Basket flew vp: and so the Canapie vanished away: and 10 the Heaven appeared.

Δ. Now he cam and sat down in his chayre

Δ. Michael sayd to Vriel: it is thy part, to expownd these Mysteries:

Go to, in the name of our God.

Δ Vriel cam and stode before him and sayde: What will you: ô our 15 fellows, and seruants to God? What will you?

Δ Perfect knowledg and Vnderstanding, such as is necessary for vs.

VR. Looke vppon, and see if thow canst not vnderstand it: we will depart for a little space: and come to the agayne

Δ So they went: and left all the stone in fyre, so that neyther 20 the Chayr or the Table could be seen in it

Δ After a quarter of an howre, Michael and Vriel cam both agayne

Mi Loke into the 7 angles next vnto the vppermost Circumference

Δ Vriel cam and stode before Michael 25
 VR. Those 7 letters, are the 7 Seats of the One and everlasting
 GOD. His 7 secret Angels proceeding from euery letter
 and Cross so formed: referred in substance to the
 FATHER: in forme, to the SONNE: and Inwardly to
 the HOLI GHOSTE. Loke vppon it: it is one of the 30
 Names, which thow hast Before: euery letter conteyning
an Angel of brightnes: comprehending the 7 inward
powres of God; known to none, but him self: a Sufficient
 BOND to vrge all Creatures to life or death, or any thing
 els conteyned in this World. Yt banisheth the wicked, 35
expelleth euyl spirits: qualifieth the Waters, strengthe
neth the Just, exalteth the righteous, and destroyeth the
Wicked. He is ONE in SEVEN. He is twice THREE
 He is seuen in the Whole. He is Almighty. His Name
 is euerlasting: His Truth can not fayle. His Glory is 40
 incomprehensible. Blessed be his name. Blessed be thow,
 (our GOD) for euer.

Marginal notes:

- line 13: Vriel
 line 17: <M>y contynuall & / and auncient p= / prayer
 line 26: Δ / Note these / these ma= / manifold & / and great
 Mi= / Mysteries & / and make th / these 7 diuerse /
 Crosses wth / the 7 letters.
 line 34: Note / this / Bond.

line 38: $\Delta \sim$ He is twice / twice three & / and one

[24b]

VR. Thow must refer thy numbers therin conteyned, to the Vpper
Circle. For, From thence, all things in the inward partes,
shalbe comprehended

Looke if thow vnderstand it

Δ I finde it to be GALETHOG

5

Vr. [So] it is so. Δ . I thank God and you, I vnderstand now (aliso)
the numbers annexed.

Vr. As this darknes is lightened, by the spirit of God, hereaft:
So will I

lighten, Yea so will the Lord lighten your Imperfections, and
glorifie your myndes to the sight of innumerable most holy and
vnspeakable Mysteries.

Vr. To the next part. Δ Michael sat still, with his
sword in his hand

Vr. The parte wherein thow hast labored, conteyneth 7 Angells.

Dost thow vnderstand it? Δ Not yet: Vr. Oh how far is mans
Judgmēt from Celestiall powres? Oh how far are these secrets
hidden from the wycked? Glory be vnto him, which seeth
for euer. Δ . Amen, Amen, Amen.

VR. Note. we can not tarry long.

Thow must set down these letters onely, by 7, in a spare
paper: thus.

20

VR. Rede _____ Begyn at the first, and
rede downward Z l l R H i a Δ I rede thus, Zaphkie
Zadkiel, Cumael a Z C a a c b Raphael, Haniel, M<i>

chaſl, Gabriel p a u p n h r Vr. Thow haſt red right
 h d m h i a i 25
 Δ prayſed be God. k k a a e e e Vr. Thus doſt thow ſee, how
 mercifully God dea= i i e e l l l leth with his ſervants.
 e e l l M G †

Euery letter here, conteyneth or comprehendeth the number of 72
Vertues. Whose names thow ſhalt know: Skarſe yet revealed 30
 to the world.

Vriel and Michael iointly together pronounced this bleſſing on vs.

VR	{	We bleſſ you: your	{	sowles	}	35
				Harts		
Mi.				Bodyes		
				and all yo ^r doings.		

Δ Michael with his ſword, and flame of fyre florished ouer our
 heds.

Yet I will thus^{much}/shew you, for your Cumfort beſide. What
 ſeeſt thow? Δ he ſpake to the ſkryer. and he ſaw an
innumerable [angels] multitude of Angels, in the Chāber or
ſtudy 40

about vs. very bewtifull with wings of fyre. Then he ſayd,
 Lo, thus you ſhalbe ſhaddowed from the wicked Kepe theſe
Tables ſecret. He is ſecret that liueth for euer.

Man is frayle Fare Well.

¶ He muſt

Marginal notes:

line 7: /hand/

line 14: 7. Angels.

line 21: Δ—I haue hitherto / forgotten to ax / wher Vriel /
 his name may / appere.

line 26: Δ / 48. letters / are here: / and One is / noted by a /
 Cross: which / maketh the 49.th / Vide / A^o 1584 /
 Junij 25 / of this Crosse and Angels

line 29: 72: / vertues / multiplyed / by 48: giue / 3456

line 37: [hand]

line 40 : Innumerable / multitudes of / Angells:

Below line 44 under 'He must': \llcorner of this sentence / cam no
 frute nor / furdur information / Therfore consider

[25a]

go for the bokes, els they will perish. Δ He ment that my
 partner

Ed. Talbot, shold go to fatch the bokes from Lancaster (or therby)
 which were the L. Mowntegles bokes. which M^r Mort yet hath:
 whereof mention is made before

ended hor. 5. a meridie

5

Tuesday the 20 Martij.

[flourish] 1582

Marginal note

line 1: The L / Mowntegles / bokes.

Wensday. 21. Martij, circa 2^a a meridie

Δ After appearance was had, there cam in one before Michael (who
 sat in his seat) and Vriel leaned on the table (as he, vsually
 did). This seemed

to be a Trumpeter: he was all in white, and his garments
 bespotted with blud

he had nothing on his hed. his heare very long hanging
 behynde him on his

sholders. The Trumpet seamed to be gold. The sownd therof was
very playne.

15

△ I axed of my Skryer care^c, [How] in what manner Vriel
now shewed, (and Michael likewise.)

Then Michael sayd, I warned the for axing of my apparell or
manner

(Et haec est Gloria illius, quae non comouebitur ab impijs
Mi. Quid vultis? △ Juxta voluntate Dei, Sapietiam

nobis necessarium etc

20

Mi Sapientia mundi, nihil est, peribit autem in aeternum
Veniat aeternitas Domini, ab vniuersis mundi partibus.
Venite, venite, sic vult DEVS ADONAI
fac officium Phanael

△ This Phanael was the Trumpeter, (above mentioned) who
therevpon blew

25

his Trumpet, lustily, turning him self rownd about, to all
the world.

Then from 7 partes of the world, (being equally diuided
about the Horizon,) cam 7 Cumpanyes of Pillers all of fyre
cullour glittring: And euery Cumpany of pillers high and great
and as thowgh they were Pillers of fyre.

30

The Heauen, the Sonne, and, Mone and^c sterrrs seemed to tremble.

Mi. Multiplex est Deus noster

Mi Mark this Mystery Seuen comprehendeth the Secrets
of Heven and erth: seuen knitteth mans sowle and
body together (3, in sowle, and 4 in body)

35

In 7, thow shalt finde the [Trinitie] Vnitie:

In 7, thow shalt finde the Trinitie

In 7, thow shalt finde the Sonne, and the proportion of the

Holy Ghoste. O God, O God, O god, Thy Name (O God)
 be prayesd euer, from thy 7 Thrones, from thy 7 Trumpets, 40
 and from thy 7 Angels. Δ Amen, Amen, Amen.

Mi. In 7, God wrowght all things.

Mi. Note

Marginal notes:

line 12: Note this / Trumpeter.

line 17: We were / commaunded / Not to ax / of the appa / rayle
 of / Michael.

line 24: <Ph>anael

lines 38 and 39: $\begin{array}{l} \text{Thrones} \\ 7 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Trumpets} \\ \text{Angels} \end{array} \right. \end{array}$

[25b]

Note. In 7, and by 7 must you work all things

O Seuen tymes Seuen, Veritie, vertue and Maiestie

I Minister by thy licence This expownd by thy

Vertue (Δ Michael spake that, pointing to Vriel.)

Δ Michael and Vriel both kneeled down, and the Pillers of fyrie 5
 and brasen cullour, cam nere, rownd abowt them vniformely

Mi Sic est DEVS noster

Δ One of the pillers leaned [down] toward the skryer, and had like
 a pommel or mace hed, on the top of it. And Michael with
 great reuerence toke out of the top of it a thing like an S 10

Δ Then leaned down 6 Pillers more: and Michael, cryed lowd

Vnus est DEVS noster, Deus Deus noster.

△ Then orderly he opened all the pillers heds: and then the 7
ioyned

all together, distinctly to be discerned

Mi. Note. △. There appeared a great S 15

A

A

I

△ Then the sides closed vp, and hid those letters first shewed.

After that appered two letters more E 20

M

△ He made Cursy, and semed to go fromward, and vanished away.

Mosepiop est E 8

△ The Pillers all ioyned together at the tops, making (as it
were) One

Mace or Pommell, and so flew vp to heven wards. 25

△ There seamed two Pillers more to come down from heven
(like the other in forme) and toke place there, where the
other 7, stode, which went away.

△ Michael with his sword, Cut them asunder: and cryed out,

Away you workers of Iniquitie

Perijt Malus cum malis

30

△ The pillers fell down, and the grownd swallowed them vp.

Tanta est tua audacia Sathan

sed DEVS noster viuit.

△ The Pillers which before ascended, cam down ioyntly: and oute 35
of them a Voyce saying NON SVM

△ Then the ^c/77 pillers next his right hand, bowed to Michael, And
oute of them, a voyce sayd SVM

△ Then one of the Pillers stode higher than his fellows, and
Michael

opened all the tops of them, and sayd

40

Orate Δ we prayed.

Mi Write the Name down in the Tables

Δ Then he toke of, 3 of the heds of the Pillers, and sett them downe

and there appeared, B T Z, great letters in hollow places like square cumfet boxes.

45

Mi, Ista sunt secreta secretorum

Invoke

Marginal notes:

line 1: /hand/

line 26: NOTE

line 30: Note the / intrusion of / Error by the / Wicked powres / of Sathan.

line 36: Δ / Non Sum / I vnderstand / the refusall of / these two intruded / pillers.

[26a]

Invoke Nomen eius, aut nihil agere possumus.

The key of Prayer openeth all things. Δ we prayed.

Δ Then the other 4 pillers, bowingly shewed 4 letters thus, K A S E, and

the number 30 with a prik vnder

Then the Pillers ioyned theyr heds together very close, and flew vp into the

5

firmament with Thunder

Sic Domine, Sic, Sic.

Mi Place these in the Table. Δ I wrote and he sayd, Thow hast done right Laudate nomen Domini qui viuit in aeternum.

- △ A voyce cam out of the next cumpany of the 7 pillers (ioyning them 10
selues together) saying Ipse.
- Mi. Et Misericordia tua Dñe magna est
- △ Michael kneled whan he sayd this
- △ Michael shewed out of 4 of theyr heds, of the pillers, (and with all
sayd) NO, NOT the Angels of heuen, (but I,) are priuie of these 15
things: △ so there appeared, 4 letters, H E I D
△ Then the other 3 pillers were opened and had E N E
on theyr tops
Dominus collocatur in numero suo.
- △ The 7 pillers mownted vp into the ayre, and it thundred at their going 20
- △ Then the fowrth Cumpany of pillers bowed to Michael: out of them cam
a voyce. Viuo sicut LEO in medio illorum
- Mi. Et tua potestas magna est vbiq_q
- △ Then Michael pluckt of, fiue of the tops.
There appered D: then they ioyned all together: then 25
appered E I M O
- Mi. Hoc non est sine praece
- △ The other two opened, and there appeared 30 A.
- △ Then they closed vp, and went away, with a great thunder
- △ Then cam 7 other pillers to Michael, and a Voyce oute of them 30
saying Serpens sum, et deuorauī serpentem.
- Mi. Et bonis et malis serpens es Domine
- △ Then they closed all vp: and Michael sayd, Orate. △ we prayed
- △ Then Michael toke of the heds of 4: then appeared first an I

then M E G

35

Then he opened the other 3. and C B E appeared.

Mi. Numerus illius, est nulli cognitus.

△ They ioyned theyr heds all together, and ascended vp to heuenward: and

great lightening after them.

△ Then cam an other Septenarie of Pillers: and oute of them a voyce, saying

40

Ignis sum penetrabilis

Mi. Et sit nobiscum Ô Deus. Pray. △ we prayed

△ Then he opened 4 of theyr heds and appered in them I L A O

△ They closed together agayne

△ Then one other was opened, and I apered


45

△ Then ²¹/₈ appered, and did shut vp agayn.

△ Then he smote fyre out of the last pyller, and it thundred and there seemed to come out of it innumerable Angels like little Children

Note these Innumerable Angels

Marginal notes:

line 1:  / Note of / Prayer [with hand]

line 14: [hand]

line 46: △ / <T>here is / <V>, omitted / <by> our / <ne>glect

[26b]

with wings: and there appered N, and suddenly did shut vp.

SIC SIC SIC Deus noster

△ Then they ioyned all together, and flew vp.

Mi Note down in the table. △ I Noted them down.

△ Then cam the last 7 pillers, and out of them this Voyce 5

Finis

Gaudium et Lux nostra Deus

△ Then they closed all in One

Mi. Orate. △ we prayed.

△ Then ^c/.6. of 7 the heds opened and appered I H R L A A 10

△ Then the seuenth opened: Then seamed trees to leap vp,
and hills, and the seas and waters to be trubbled, and thrown vp

△ a Voyce cam out of the Pillers Consummatum est.

△ There appeared in that Piller ²¹/₈

△ They ioyned together and flew vp to heven ward. 15

Mi. VNVS VNVS VNVS

Omnis caro timet vocem eius

Pray △ we prayed.

△ Note that my skryer was very faynt, and his hed [da] in
manner gyddy, and his eyes

dasyling, by reason of the sights seen so bright, and fyrie, 20
etc

Michael bad him be of good cumfort, and sayd he shold do well.

Mi Cease for a quarter of an howre.

△ After we had stayed for a quarter of an howre, we comming to the
stone agayne, fownd him come all ready to the stone: and Vriel
with him. Who, allso, had byn by, all the while, during the 25
Mysterie of the .7. pillers.

Mic. Set two stoles in the myddst of the flowre.

on the one, set the stone: and at the other let him knele

I will shut the eares of them in the howse, that none shall
heare

vs. I will shew great Mysteries. 30

Michael than, with a lowd voyce sayd

Adeste Filiae Bonitatis:

Ecce DEVS vester adest:

Venite.

△ There cam in 7 yong women apparelled all in Grene, hauing theyr
heds rownd abowt 35

attyred all with greene silk, with a wreath behinde hanging
down to the grownd.

Michael stroke [the] /his/ sword ouer them, no fyre appearing.
Then they kneeled: And

after, rose agayn.

Mi. Scribe quae vides.

△ One of them stept out, with a blue tablet on the forhed of her:
and 40

in it written El

△ She stode a side, and an other cam in, after the same sort, with
a great M and a

little e, thus, Me

The Third, cam as the other, and had Ese

The fowrth _____ Iana 45

The fifth _____ Akele

The sixth _____ Azdobn

The seuenth stepped furth with _____ Stimcul

They, all togither

Marginal notes:

line 22: /flourish/

line 27: /hand/

line 32: Filiae Bonita= / tis, / or Filiolae / lucis: vide
pagina sequēt.

1. They alltogether, sayd Nos possumus in Caelis multa.

△ Then they went theyr way, suddenly disapering

Mi. Note this in your next place but one △ I did so

Mi. Go to the next place. Stay.

Mi. Adeste Filiolae Lucis

5

△ They [answered] all, cam in agayn, and answered, Adsumus ^ô
tu qui ante

faciem DEI stas

Mi. Hijs nr̄is benefacite

△ They answered, all, Factum erit.

Mi. Valete.

10

[E]Mi. Et dixit Dominus, venite Filij Lucis

Venite in Tabernaculo meo.

Venite (inquam): Nam Nomen meum exaltatum est.

△. Then cam in 7 yong men, all with bright cowntenance, white
appareled,

with white silk vppon theyr heds, pendant behinde, as the women
had.

15

One of them had a rownd purifyed pece or ball of Gold in his hand

One other had a ball of siluer in his hand.

The third a ball of Coper

The fowrth a ball of Tynne in his hand

The fifth a ball of yern

20

The sixth had a rownd thing of Quicksyluer, tossing it betwene his
two hands

The last had a ball of Lead

They wer all apparayled of one sort

Mi Quamvis [caret] in vno generantur tempore, tamen vnum sunt.

△. [t]he that had the gold ball, had a rownd tablet of gold on his
brest.

25

and on it written a great I _____
 Then he with the syluer ball, cam [he] furth, with a golden tablet
 on his brest
 likewise, and on it written Ih _____
 He with the Copper ball, had in his tablet Ilr _____
 He wth the tyn ball, had in his tablet Dmal _____ 30
 He with the yern ball, had in his tablet Heeoa, and so went asyde—
 He with the Mercury ball, had written Beigia _____
 The yong man with the leaden ball, had Stimcul _____
Mi. Facite pro illis, cum tempus erit

△ All answered, Volumus. 35

Mi. Magna est Gloria Dei inter vos. Erit semper. Halleluyah
 Valete.

△ They made cursy, and went theyr way; mownting vp to heven.

Mi Dixit Deus, Memor esto nois mei:

Vos autem immemores estis. 40

I speak to you. △ Herevpon, we prayed

Mi. Venite, Venite, Venite

Filiae Filiarum Lucis Venite

Qui habebitis filias venite nunc et semper

Dixit 45

Marginal notes:

line 5: Filiolae / lucis

line 7: Michael / one of them / that are / cownted to /
 stand before / the face of God

line 10: [flourish]

line 11: Filij Lucis

line 16: Metalls

- line 24: <Δ pha>ps here / wa<nte> th / non
 line 26: Filij Lucis
 line 43: Filiae filiarū
 line 44: Note these three, / descents [with line to 'qui' (line 44), above which is written 'forte quae']

[27b]

Dixit Deus, Creauī Angelos meos, qui destruent Filias Terrae
 Adsumus, Δ. sayd 7 little wenches which cam in
 They were couered with white silk robes, and with
 white about theyr hed, and pendant down behinde
 very long

Mi. Vbi fuistis vos? Δ They answered: In terris, cum sanctis
et in caelis, cum glorificatis.

Δ These, spake not so playn, as the former aid; but as though
 they had an

Impediment in theyr tung

Δ They had, euery one, somewhat in theyr hands, but my Skryer
 could not iudge

what things they were. Mi. Non adhuc cognoscetur Mysterion hoc.

Δ Eache had fowre square Tablets on theyr bosoms, as yf they
 were white Iuory

Iuory Δ The first shewed on her Tablet a great S

The second _____ Ab

The third _____ Ath

The fowrth _____ Ized

The fifth _____ Ekiei

The sixth _____ Madimi

The seuenth _____ Eseme

- Mi. Quid istis facietis? 20
Erimus cum illis, in omnis operibus, illorū, Δ they answered.
- Mi. Valetē. Δ They answered, Valeas et tu Magnus O in Caelis
 Δ. and so they went away
- Mi. Orate Δ We prayed.
- Mi. Et misit filios filiorum, edocentes Israel 25
- Mi. Dixit Dominus, Venite ad vocem meam
 Adsumus, Δ. sayd 7 little Childern. which cam in
 like boyes couered all with purple, with hanging sleues
es like preists or scholers gown sleues: theyr heds
 attyred all
 (after the former manner) with purple silk. 30
- Mi Quid factum est inter filios hominum
 Male viuunt (sayd they) nec habemus locum cū illis
 tanta est illorum Iniustitia. Veh mundo, scandalis.
 Veh scandalizantibus, Veh illis quibus Nos non sumus.
- Δ These had tablets (on theyr brests) three cornerd, and seemed
 to be very grene 35
greene and in them, letters. The first had two letters in one
 thus, of E, L
- The first ———— E — Δ he sayd Nec nōie meo timet
 Mund/us/us
- The second ———— An — Nullus videbit faciem meam
- The third ———— Aue — Non est virgo sup terrā cui
 dicā, □ Δ and
 pointed to his tablet, wherein
 that 40
 word, Aue was written □
- The fowrth ———— Liba — Tanta est infirmitas sanctitudinis
 Diei.
 Benefacientes decesserūt ab illo.

The fifth _____ Rocle—Opera manuū illorū sūt vana

Nemo autem videbit me.

45

The sixth shewed his

Tablet and said, Ecce — Hagonē—Qui adhuc Sancti sūt,
cū illis viuo.

The seventh

Marginal notes:

line 3: <T>hey<r> Attyre.

line 10: /hand/

line 13: Filiae / Filiarū

line 15: Ath—

line 18: Madimi—

lines 24-25: /flourish/

line 27: Filij filiorū

line 28: Theyr Attyre

line 37: E—

line 44: Rocle

line 47: Hagonel. / (vide de / hoc Hagonel, lib^o 4^o)

[28a]

The seuenth had on his tablet —Ilemese—Hij imitauerūt doctrinā
mea<m>

In me Oīs sita est Doctrina

△ I thought my Skryer had missherd, this word Imitauerūt,
for Imitati sunt. And Michael smyled and seemed to lawgh
and sayd, Non curat numerum Lupus and furder

5

he sayd: Ne minimam detrahet a virtute, virtutem

Mi. Estote cum illis: Estote (inquam cum istis) Estote
(inquam) mecum. Valete.

△. so they went, making reuerence, and went vp to heuen

Mi. Dictum est hoc tempore.

10

Mi. Note this in thy Tables:

Dost thou vnderstand it. Loke if thou canst

△ He sayd to Vriel, it is thy part, to interpretate these things

Vr. Omnis Intelligentia est a Domino.

Mi. Et eius Nomen est Halleluyah.

15

Compose a table diuided into 7 parts, square.

S	A	A	I ²¹ ₈	E [M]	M [E]	E ⁸
B	T	Z	K	A	S	E ³⁰
H	E	I	D	E	N	E
D	E	I	M	O	30	A
I ²⁶	M	E	G	C	B	E
I	L [A]	A [L]	O	I ²¹ ₈	[²¹ ₈]V	N
I	H	R	L	A	A	²¹ ₈

20

Vr. Those names, which procede from the left hand to the right,
are the

Names of God, not known to the Angels: neyther can be

25

spoken or red of man. Proue if thou canst reade them

Beatus est qui secrete

nomina sua conseruat.

Vr. These Names, bring furth 7 Angels. The 7 Angels, and Go=
verners in the heuens next vnto vs, which stand allwayes 30
 before the face of God.

Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus

est ille DEVS noster.

Vr. Euery letter of the Angels names, bringeth furth 7 dowghters
 Euery dowghter, bringeth furth her dowghter, which is 35
 7 Euery dowghter her dowghter bringeth furth a
 sonne. Euery sonne in him self, is 7. Euery sonne
 hath

Marginal notes:

line 13: Vrielis / officiū

line 17: Δ Note: this / Table is made / perfecter by / the next
 side / following

line 25: 7. Names / of God.

line 30: Note these / two orders / of Angels: / and Note / V[i]riel
 doth / name him self / one of the standers / before the
 face of God

line 34: Δ / NOTE / well this / Rule of / Arte

[28b]

hath his sonne. and his sonne is 7.

Let vs prayse the God of seuen, which was and is
 and shall Liue for euer.

Vox Domini in Fortitudine

Vox Domini in Decore

5

Vox Domini reuelat Secreta

In templo eius, Laudemus Nomen eius El.

Halleluyah.

See if thou canst now vnderstand this table.

The Dowghters procede from the angle on the right hand, cleaving 10
the myddle: where theyr generation ceaseth.

The Sonnes from the left hand to the right to the middle.

So proceeding where they number endeth in one Centre.

The Residue thou mayst (by this Note) Vnderstande

△ Then /^cMichael/ he stroke ouer vs ward, with his sword, and the 15
flame

mes of fire yssued oute.

Loke to the Corner on the right hand, being the vppermost: where
thow

shalt finde 8. Refer thyne eye to the vpper number, and the
letter aboue it. But the Number must be fownd vnder neth,
because his prick so noteth. 20

Than procede to the names of the dowghters in the Table: and
thow

shalt see that it is the first name of them: This shall teache
the.

△ Loking now into my first and greatest Circle for 8, I finde
it wit<h>

with l ouer it. I take this to be the first Dowghter 25

Vr. you must in this square Table set E by the 8. and n<ow>
write them Composedly in one letter, thus E .

Nomen Domini viuit in aeternum.

Vr. Glue ouer, for half an howre, and thou shalt be fully
instructed. 30

△ I did so, and after half an howre comming to the stone,
I was willed to make a new square table of 7: and
to write [do] and note, as it followeth.

S	A	A	I ²¹ ₈	E	M	E ⁸ ₈	— Viuit in Caelis
B	T	Z	K	A	S	E ³⁰ ₈	— Deus noster 35
H	E	I	D	E	N	E	— Dux noster
D	E	I	M	O	30	A	— Hic est
I ²⁶ ₈	M	E	G	C	B	E	— Lux in aeternum
I	L	A	O	I ²¹ ₈	V	N	— Finis est
I	H	R	L	A	A	21 ₈	— Vera est haec tabula 40

Vera est haec Tabula, partim nobis cognita, et partim omnibus,
incognita Vide iam.

The 30 by E, in the second place, in the vpper right corner, serueth
not

in the consideration of the first Doughters, but for an other
purpose.

The 26 45

Marginal notes:

line 10: Filiae

line 12: Filij

line 13: Note this / manner of / Center accown= / ted.

line 18: Note of Nubers / with pricks / signifying letters.

line 25: 1 the first / doughter

line 27: ~~E~~

line 44: Note these / other pur= / poses.

[29a]

The 26 by I, serueth for another purpose: but not for this
Dowghters

Dowghter.

The 21, is e, and 8 with the prick vnder it is l: which together
maketh

El, or thus compounded as it were one letter, ~~E~~

The Names in the great Seale must follow the Orthographie of this 5
Table. Virtus vobiscum est.

Orate. Δ we prayed.

Δ Then there appeared SAAI²¹₈ME~~l~~. here is an E, comprehended in L
Vr. Read now the Table.

Angeli Lucis Dei nostri

10

Et posuit angelos illius in medio illorum

Vr. In the table are the names of 7 Angels. the first Zabathiel,
beginning from the left vppermost corner: taking the corner
letter first,

and then that on the right hand aboue: and than that vnder the
first

and than the third from the first, in the vpper row: and then
cornerwise

15

down toward the left hand: and then to the fowrth letter frō
the first

in the vpper row: where there is I with ²¹₈, which maketh El. So

1. have you Zabathiel.

2. Vr. Go forward. Δ So, I finde next Zedekieil.

Vr. this I in the last Syllable augmenteth the true sownd of it. 20

3. Δ. Then next I finde Madimiel _____ Vr. it is so.

4. Δ. Then _____ Semiel _____ Vr. it is true
 5. Δ. Then _____ Nogahel _____ Vr. it is so
 6. Δ. Then _____ Corabiel _____ Vr. it is so.
 7. Δ. Then _____ Leuanael _____ Vr. it is so. 25


Vr. Write these names in the Great Seal, next vnder the 7
 names which thow wrotest last. videlicet, vnder E, An Aue
 etc
 distinctly in great letters.

Vr. Make the E and L of Zabathiel, in one letter compowded, thus
 ZABATHIEL. In this, so fashion your E and L. And 30
 this name must be distributed in his letters into 7 sides of
 that
 innermost Heptagonum. For the other, I will teache you
 to dispose them. you must make for IEL (in this name
only) I with the $\frac{21}{8}$ annexed. So haue you iust 7 places.

Vr. The next fiue names thow shalt dispose in the fiue exterior 35
 angles of the Pentacle: euery angle conteyning one whole
 name

Vr. Set the first letters of these 5 names, (in Capitall letters)
 within
 the fiue acute internall angles of the Pentacle: and the
 rest of eche name following Circularly from his Capitall
 letter, 40
 but in the 5 exterior obtuse angles of the Pentacle.

Vr. Set Z, of Zedekieil within the angle which standeth vp
 toward the begynning of the greatest Circle. And so procede
 toward the right hand.

Vr. In the middle now of the Pentacle, make a cross  45
 like a Crucifix and write the last of those 7 names Leuanael

thus

Va
 |
 LE + NA
 |
 e

Marginal notes:

line 10: Angeli / Lucis

line 20: The true sownd

line 24 RH: Δ This name / Corabiel you / may see in Ele= / mētis
 Magicis Petri / De Abano in the / Considerations
 Diei \rangle

[29b]

Vriel

Vidit DEVS, opus suum esse bonum
 et cessauit a Labore suo.
 Factum est.

 Δ Michael stode vp and sayd

The aeternall Blessing of God the FATHER 5
 The mercifull Goodnes of CHRIST, his SONNE
 The Vnspeakable Dignitie of GOD the Holy GHOSTE
 bless you, preserue you, and multiply your
 doings in his Honor and Glory.

Vriel.

AMEN

10

Vr. These Angels are the angells of the 7 Circles of Heven,gouerning the Lightes of the .7. CirclesBlessed be GOD in vs, and by VsWhich stand contynually beforethe presence of GOD for euer.

15

DIXI.

△ Whan may we be so bold, as to require your help agayn.

Mic. Whan so euer you will, we are ready.

Farewell.

△ Sit Nomen Domini benedictum, ex hoc nunc,

20

et Vsq in saecula saeculorum:

Amen

[flourish]

Anni Dni

At

1582.

Mortlake by

25

Martij. 21.) Richemond

[flourish]

Marginal note:

line 14 (at meeting of rules from lines 11 and 15): Note these /
the order / of Angels

SIGILLVM DEI; AEMAETH EMETH

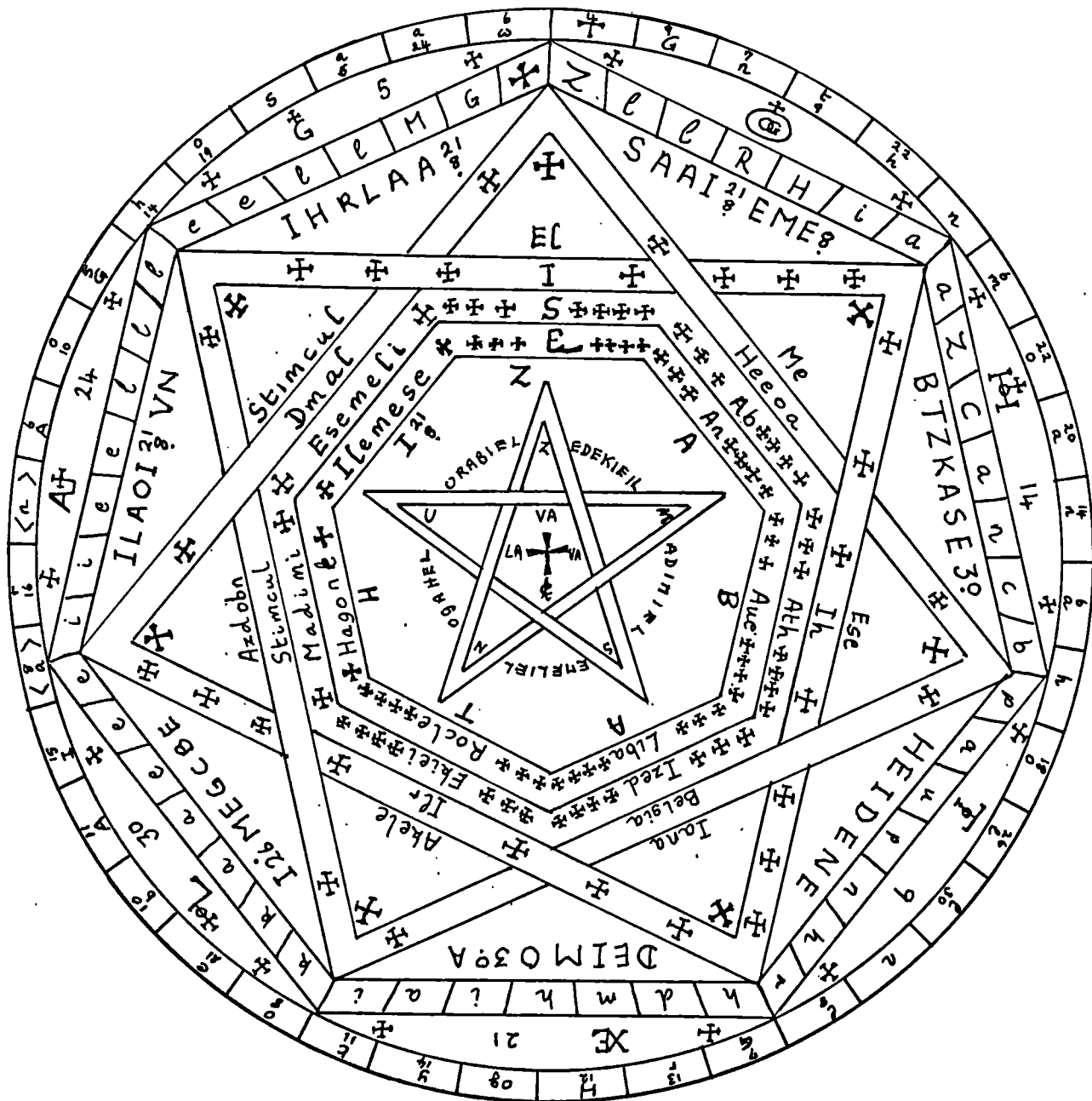
nuncupatum;

נִדְכָּן

hebraicè

DEI

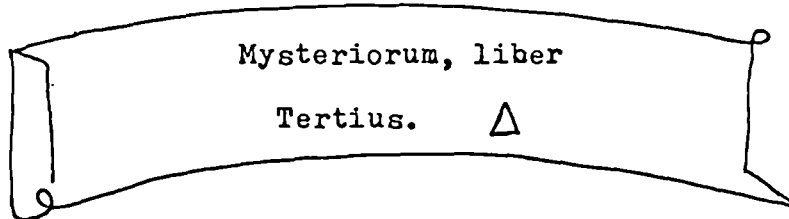
נִדְכָּן



[30b]

[blank]

[31a]



Anno 1582.

Aprilis 28.

Liber: 3^{us}

5

Liber: 4^{us}

[31b]

[blank]

[32a]

A^o 1582. Aprilis 28. a meridie hora 4E T. onely Michael appeared; $\sqrt{\Delta}^c$ and to diuerse my Complayntes,
and requests

sayde

Mi. The Lord shall consider the in this world, and in the world
to cōme

E T. All the chayre seamed on fyre

5

Mi. This is one Action, in one person: I speak of you two

△ You meane vs two to be ioyned so, and in mynde vnited, as yf we wer one man

Mi. Thow vnderstandest

Take heade of punishmet for your last slaknes.

△ Yf you mean any slaknes on my behalf, Truely it was and is for lak of habilitie to 10

buy and prepare things, appointed of you. Procure I pray you habilitie, and

so shall I make spede.

E T. A great hill of gold with serpents lying on it appeared: he smyteth it

with his sword, and it falleth into a mighty great water, hedlong.

Mi. Dost thou vnderstand.

△ No verylie.

15

E T. He razed the hill away, as though there had byn none: and sayd

Mi. Lo, so it is of this worldly habilitie

△ I pray you how must the lamine be hanged?

Mi As concerning the lamine, it must be hanged vnseen, in some skarf.

The Ring when it is made, I will lessen it according to my pleasure

I meane by two Cubites, your vsuall yarde.

Haste, for thou hast many things to do.

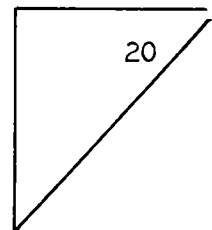
Glory be to God, Peace vnto his Creatures, Mercy to the wicked; 25

Forgivenes to the Faithfull. He liueth, [^] O he rayngeth, O

thow art mighty, PELE: thy name be blessed. △ Amen.

Venito Ese, △ he cryed so with a lowd voyce

E T. he is now couered, in a myghty couering of fyre, of a great beawty.



There standeth a thing before him I cannot tell what it is. 30

Laudate Dominum in caelis

Orate. △ we prayed.

E T. His face remayneth couered with the fyre, but his body
vncouered

Mi Adesdum Ese

Adesdum Iana. 35

Vobis dedit demonstrationem in Tabulis vris.

E T. There appeare of the figure, (before, imperfect) two little
women:

One of them held vp a Table which lightened terribly: so that
all the

stone was couered: with a myst.

A voyce cam out of the myst, and sayd, 40

Ex hijs creata sunt et haec sūt noīa illorū.

E T. The myst cleareth, and one of the women held vp a Table
being thus written vppon.

Numerus Primus.

△ The Table semed square, and full of letters and numbers, and 45
Crosses, in diuerse places, diuersely fashioned

△ Remēber, Ese and Iana, ar the thirddth and fowrth of the
septem Filiae Bonitatis, sūp lib.^o 2.^o They are thus in
order these, El, Me, Ese, Iana, Akele, Azdobn, Stimcul.

a finger

Marginal notes:

line 6: <V>nion / of vs <two.>

line 15: Worldly / hability.

line 19: The lamin / not simpl^{as} / spoken: for / No such
Lamyn / <w>as to be / <m>ad<e>

line 27: PELE
 line 28: Ese
 line 35: Iana
 line 42: Creatio

[32b]

A finger cam out of the mist, and wyped oute, the first Shew, wit<h>
 the Cross, letters, and numbers.

The second was in like wise

The third was a b with the tayle vpward thus *q*

The 52 with the three great B B B, seme to be couered wth Gold 5

The two Crossed ones he did not wipe oute with his finger.

The next he blotted oute.

He blotted not oute the three ^b~~b~~ with the 8 and ~~3~~
^b

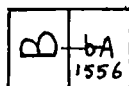
The two barrs must go clere and not towch the

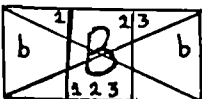
The ^G~~M~~, the square, wherin it standeth, is all gold:

and that he let stand.

b	b	b
The bars		
b	b	b
b	b'	b

Five cam oute and burnt



The  is all of a bright cullour, like the brightnes of
 the Sonne

and that was not put out.

15

The places are very black, but where the letters and numbers do
 stand.

E T. hard a voyce saying Finis Tenebrarū: Halleluyah.

E T There commeth a hand and putteth the little woman into the
 clowde.

Mi. Prayse God: Be inwardly mery.

The Darknes is comprehended

20

God bless you: God bless you: God blesse you.

You must leave of for an howre and a half: for you haue .6.
other

Tables to write to night.

Prayse God: be ioyfull.

/flourish/

25

After supper we resorted to our scholemaster.

E T. I here a voyce but see nothing: he sayeth

Initium bonum in nomine eius

et est. Halleluyah.

E T. Three quarters of the stone (on the right side) are dark,
the other

30

quarter, is clere.

Mi. Venite filiae filiarū Ese

The nethermost.....

E T There come six yong maydens, all in white apparell, alike.

Now they all be gone into the dark parte of the stone, except
one

35

There cam a flame of fyre out of the dark, and in the flame
written

Vnus on this manner

Vnus
nus
nus

She that standeth without, putteth her hand into the dark: and
pulleth out

a ball of light: and threw it oute: and it waxed bigger and bigger:
and

40

it Thundred.

E T. A voyce sayd———Dies primus

an other voyce———Vbi est Tabula?

an answer ———Est, Est, Est

She wyndeth and turneth her self abowt, begynning at her hed, and
s<o>

45

was Transformed into a Table, rownde

E T. Three faces do shew and shote oute, and ouer returne into
one he<ad>

agayne: and with it cam a mervaylous swete sauour

The Table was of three cullours: white, redd, and a mixture of white

and red 50

Marginal notes:

line 32: Filiae filiarū / Ese / sup lib'. 2^o.

line 33: Δ somewhat / wanting.

line 40: Lux

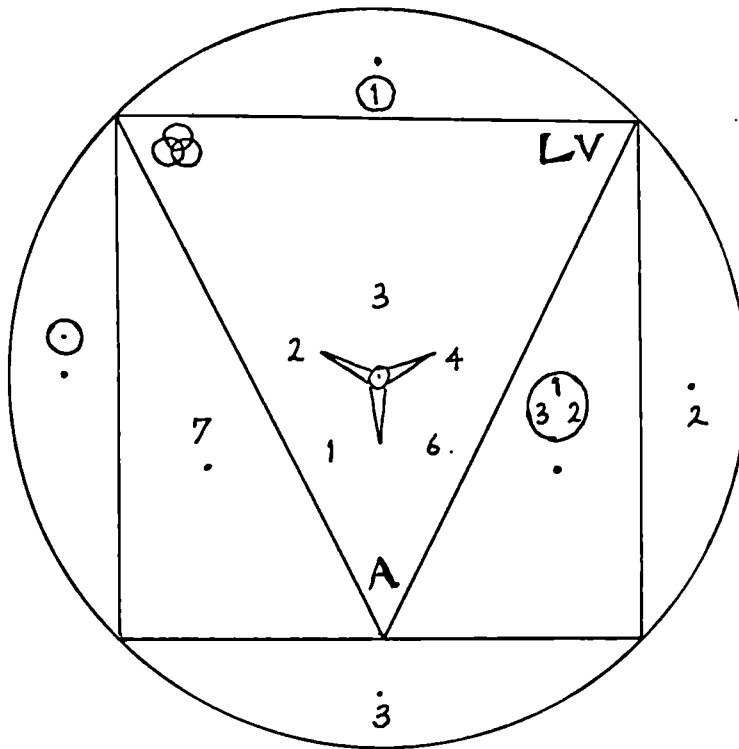
line 49: The Table / cullored

A line joins 'very black' (line 16) to 'Tenebraru' (line 17).

[33a]

Numerus Primus

2 1 6 6 1 3	G 6 6	g	B 2 2	2.4.6 6 6 6 2 4 6	6 6 L 6	B rog	Ⓟ
8 6 6	ff 8	G 6	G G 6	1 5 2 6	1 5 2 6	5 2 B B B	B +
2 q B q	6 + o o	B 7 9	6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	11 B 5	6 6 6 6	6 6 6	6 8 f 3 6
6 6 6 6 6 6	6 6 6 15 6 6 6	6 M 1 6 6	7 △ 6 6	6 Ⓟ 5	G M +	6 A 1 5 5 6	
6 B 1 2 3	2 3 6	6 T 6	4 B B 9	B B B 6	6 6 7 2 F	6 b	



Δ

Of these seven tables, Characters, or scotcheons

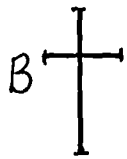

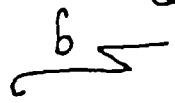
5



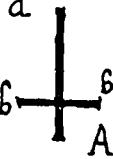

Consider the words spoken in the fifth booke A.^o 1583,
Aprill 28

How they are proper to every King and [pin] prince in
theyr order.

They are Instruments of Conciliation

volumine 5^o. wher my Character, is fashioned

G 23 B 	m · 30 · q B · 9 d · 4 ·	q · q · q Q B o · g og
f 30 B G 33 A	 B A — 9 — 0	E B get h go
5 	d 2 id b d 2A	L 30 b pp
V H b 9 22	q q q Q b og a	L 25 b d

2 bb 2	6 6 	5 3 7 6 6 6	6 B G 11	T · 13 6 6 6	6 9
V · 2 B	04 BB	B · 14 a	6 6 6 p · 3	6 go	6 6 C : v 3
8 e b	Q · 0 7 b 6	 5	q q b 3	q · 9 B	L b. 8.
go · 30 B	q · 3 b 6	q q 5 b · 6 ·	d  A	7 · 2 b · B	BB  8 3

and red, changeably. A strong sownding cam withall, as of clattring
of har<ness,>

or fall of waters, or such like.

There cam a sterre shoting oute of the dark, and settled it self
in the myd<le>

of the Table: And the fyre which cam oute with the woman, did
cumpas

the Table abowt

5

A voyce sayd. O honor, laus et gloria; Tibi qui es, et eris.

The Table sheweth wunderfull fayre and glorious

Onely seuen priks appeare in the Table.


The three angles of the triangle open, and in the lower point
appeared a

great A

10

And in the right vpper corner LV. (E T. the Table trembled)

And in the other Corner appeared thre circles of aequall bignes,
aequally, or

alike intersecting eche other  by theyr centers.

A Voyce——Vnus est, Trinus est; in omni Angulo est

Omnia comprehendit: Fuit, est, et vobis erit.

15

Finis et Origo (E T. \hat{O} , \hat{O} ; with a dullfull sownd
he pnown/ced/

E T. The woman sayth, Fui: sum, quod non sum

A voyce——Lux non erat et nunc est

E T The woman being turned, from the shape of the Table, into
womans shape

agayn, went into the dark.

20

Then one part of the darknes diminished, In the dark was a
mervaylous

turmoyling, tossing, and stur, a long tyme during.

A voyce——For a tyme Nature can not abyde these sightes.

E T. It is become Quiet, but dark still.

A voyce.—Pray and that vehemently, For these things are not
revealed

25

without great prayer

/flourish/

E T. After a long tyme there cam a woman: and flung vp a ball
like glass: and

a voyce was hard saying Fiat

The ball went into the darknes, and browght with it a great
white Globe

30

hollow transparent.

Then she had a Table abowt her neck, square of 12 places

The woman seamed to daunce and swyng the Table:

Then cam a hand oute of the dark: and stroke her and she
stode still, and

becam fayrer: She sayd Ecce signū Incomprehensibilitatis

35

E T. The Woman is transformed into a water, and flyeth vp into
the Globe of

Light: [a voyce was hard Est, Est, Est]

/flourish/

E T. A voyce. Est, Est, Est.

E T. One commeth [out], (a Woman) out of the Dark very demurely,
and

40

soberly walking, carrying in her hand a little rownd ball:
and threw

it into the dark and it becam a great thing of Earth. She taketh

it in her hand agayne, and casteth it vp into the rownd Globe
and sayd

Fiat.

E T. She turned her back toward E T and there appeared a Table
divided

45

in 24 partes. yt seemeth to be very Square.

A voyce.——Scribe. Veritas est.

E T. A sword cam out of the Dark: and claue the woman asunder
and the one half becam a man, and the other a woman: and
they

went and sat vppon the Ball of clay or erth.

50

[flourish]

Now seemeth.

Marginal notes:

line 17, over 'sum': Δ forte fui

line 26: Prayer

line 36: Water.

line 42: Erth.

line 49: Man / Woman

[34b]

Now seemeth the Dark part to quake

A voyce ——— Venito Vasedg

E T. There cōmeth a woman oute of the Dark: she sayd

Vita hijs ex mea manu.

E T. She sheweth a Table Square full of holes, and many things
creeping out

5

of it. This square is within a rownd

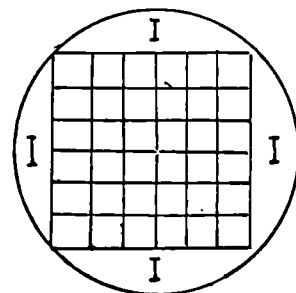
A voyce O Lux Deus n̄r

Hamuthz Gethog

E T. Then stept out an other woman

hauing a sword in her hand. She

toke a thing oute of the dark



10

(a bright thing) and cut it in twayn and

the one parte she cut into two vnaequall partes: and the other half, she

cutteth into a thowsand (or innumerable) partes. Then she toke all the partes

vp into her skyrt. She hath a Table, and it hangeth on her shulders

15

She stept before the other woman, whose hed standeth in the dark.

This woman her Table is fowresquare. She is very bewtifull:

she sayd Lumina sunt haec Intelligentiae tuae

She sayd Fere nulli Credendus est hic numerus.

This woman taketh the little peces, and casteth them vp, and they becomē

20

little Sparks of light: and of the things she cast, There were two

great rownd things. And they were allso cast vp to the white Transpa=

rent Globe. And she went away into the Dark: which was, now, very

much lessened:

25

Then the other woman, (who was forestept) thrust oute her hed who had the rownd conteyning the Square, with 36 places.

She crymbleth clay, and it turneth to byrds. She seameth to be

like a witch. Into the bosse of her Table, she put her hand

and that bosse, was in the Dark: and oute of the bōsse, she seemed to fatch that Clay . she sayd

30

Ad vsum tuum Multiplicati sunt.

E T She went into the Dark.

/flourish/

E T. A voyce,

Marginal notes:

line 16: Note this / stepping / before / with a line connecting
'stepping' with 'forestept' (line 26)7

line 21: The sterrs / Sonne and / Mone / Created

Lines join 'Square' (line 5) to 'Square' (line 27), and also 'rownd'
(line 6) to 'rownd' (line 27).

[35a]

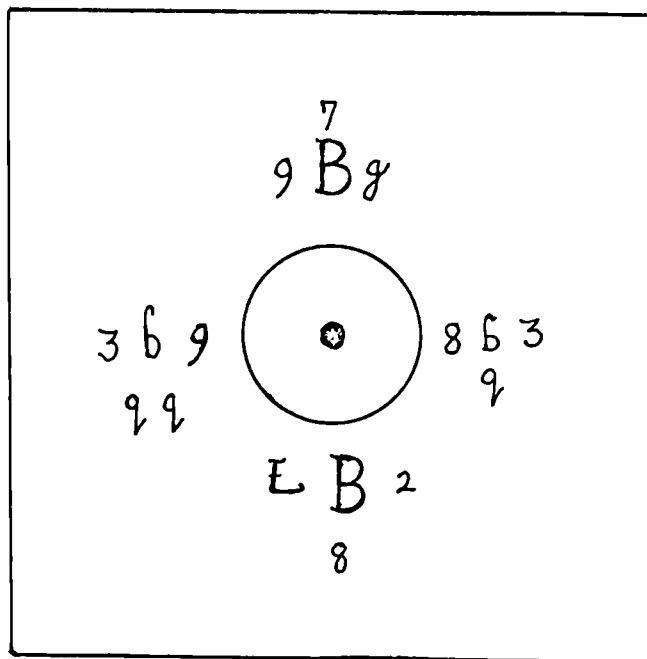
g D 2 g	B l 30	B B 8 2	B 22	B · 0 d 30	L · 0 B · q q · 29	B 82	g 6 B
o p B 98	⊕ j C B	ff 2 · 8 · G	ff 9 F	b 3 q	bbb 9 Q	b ii Q	BB i 2 T
BB b 8	M 2 b b	M 5 b	M b b b 20	M b · 89 F	d B 17	A b 3	B B 2 H
M b 99 L	b 6 ⊕ 4 b	b 9 ⊕ b	bb T 9 16	6 B 2 4	I B 38	N B 9	b b 4 b

I					
3 ^p 4 ^p	A ⁸ B ³ 3 ^o	b ^d	b ^c	b ^p	b ^g
b ^l	b ^o	b ^z	b ^l	b ^s	b ^v
bb	b ^e 3	b ^m	b ^y	b ^f	bb ^f 2
3 ⁶ A 2	6 ³ 8 ⁶	B ⁸	B ⁷	B ²	B ⁵
B ⁶	B ⁴	B ¹	B ⁹	bb ^o .	B ³ G ²
8 ⁶ BB	B ^Q 3 ⁶ 2	B ⁷ A	6 ⁸ 6 M	.6.6 .96	.6.6 8.6.7
I					

Marginal note:

bottom line of first Table: Note / the Cross / with the two /
 bees, the 4 and / the 6, is one of / the Notes
 annexed / to the second Table / of the 4 of Enochs /
 Tables: And the T^{'''} of Enochs / Tables semeth to answer /
 vnto the T first in / the Seale of AEmeth / and the
 cross allso /

A ⁸ B ³ 3 ^o
3 ^o



[36a]

E.T: A voyce is hard saying

Omnia gaudent fine

E.T: There comneth oute a woman, out of the Dark. She plucketh at
the dark, and casteth it on the grownd: and it turneth to
herbes, and plants

becomming like a garden. and they grow vp very fast: she sayd 5

Opus est.

E T. She hath a fowre square Table before her.

Then cam one, all in white, and taketh the Darknes, and
wrappeth it vp

and casteth it into the myddle of the Erthen Globe, on which
appeared

Trees and Plants.

16

E.T: Then appered Michael, his Chayre, and Table agayne manifestly,
which

all this while, were not seen.

Mi Obumbrabit vestigia vra veritatis Luce

The Actor, The Actor, The Actor:

One Disposer; he, which is one in all; and All in all: 15

bless you from the wickednes of Deceyte: Create you

new vessels: To whome I commyt you.

E.T: he holdeth his sword over vs, in manner, out of the stone.

Mi Fare Well. Serue God. Be patient

Hate vayne glorie. Liue iustly. Amen. 20

△ What spede shall I make for the yard square Table, the Wax, the
Seale, and the Character? Mi. As thow ar motioned, so do.

△ Gloria Pri et F et SS. S.e.i.p.e.n.e./^cs.e.7i,ss. amen,

/flourish/

△ Note, All the Tables before were by E T, letter by letter noted
out 25

of the stone standing before him all the while: and [so wer] the
[my] Tables following wer written by me as he repeted them orderly
out of the stone.

/flourish/

Marginal notes:

line 4: hearbs / &c

line 8: <...> Centre }
<D>arknes. }

Aprilis 29: Sunday: Nocte hora 8 $\frac{1}{4}$.

E.T. Two appeare Michael and Vriel. 30

Mi. Et posuit illos in ministerium eius.

Quid desideratis?

Δ Sapientiam et Scientiam nobis necessariā, et in Dei servito
potentem

ad eius gloriam.

Mi Sapere, a Deo: Scire a Creatura et ex creaturis est. 35

Δ
Vr. Venite filiae

E.T: Seuen women appeare bewtifull and fayre

Mi. This work is of wisdom (Δ sayd Michael, and stode vp).

E T, sayd to me (Δ), He putteth oute his sword and willeth me to
sweare, to

that, that he willeth me: and to follow his counsayle. 40

Mi. Wilt thou Δ Then with much ado, E T sayd as follovetn

E T. I promise, in the name of God the Father, God the
sonne and God

the holy ghost, to pforme that you shall will me, so
far as it

shall lye in my powre.

E.T. Now they two seeme to confer to gither 45

Mi. Now you towche the world, and the doings vppon earth.

Now we shew vnto you the lower world: The Gouvernors that
work and rule vnder God: By whome you may haue

powre

Marginal notes:

line 36: <Δ> I am not sure / if it wer Mi. / or Vr, that / <c>alled
for the

line 42: <E>.T. his / <p>romise

line 48: <Pr>actise. / The lower world

[36b]

powre to work such things, as shalbe to god his glorie, profit all
your Cuntrie, and the knowledge of his Creatures

What I do wish to do, thow shalt here ^c/know/, before thow go.

We procede to One GOD, one knowledge, one Operation.

Venite filiae

5

Behold these Tables: Herein lye theyr names that work vnder

^c
^c/vnder/ God vppon earth: not of the wicked, but of Angels of
 <Light>

^c
^c/light/ The Whole Gouernment, doth consist in the hands of 49:
 (<in>)

(in God his Powre, Strength, Mercy, and Justice) whose nam<es>

Names are here euident, excellent, and glorious

10

Mark these Tables: Mark them. Record them to your <.....>

This is the first knowledge. Here shall you hau<e>

haue Wisdome Halleluyah.

Mighty and Omnipotent art thow, O God, God, God,

God amongst thy Creatures. Thow fillest all thing<s>

15

things with thy excellent foresight: Thy Glorie be

be amongst vs, for euer. Δ Amen.

E.T. All the 7 (which here appeare) ioyne theyr Tables in One:

One Which, before they held apart. And they be of this

Forme all to gither. The myddelmost is a great Square

20

and on eche side of it, One, as big as it, ioyning close to it

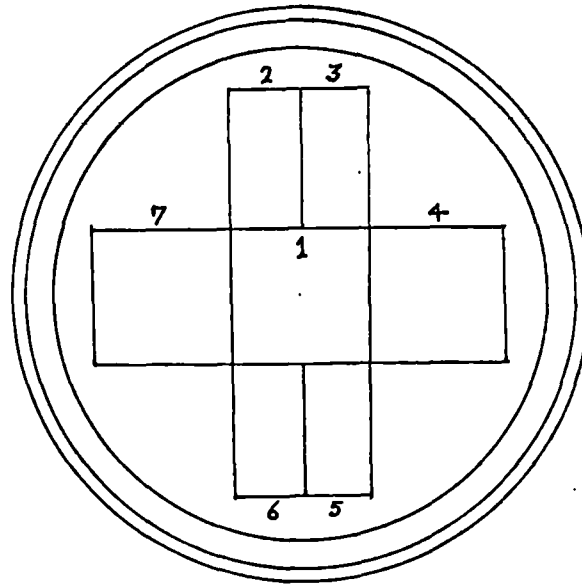
And ouer it ioyned two, which both together wer aequall

to it: and vnder it, wer such other two, as may appe<are>

in this little pattern. Being thus ioyned, a bright Circle
did cumpas and enclose them all, thus: but nothing was in
the

25

Circle.



E T: one

Marginal notes:

line 3: To E T. he / spake

line 5: Filiae

line 7: .49. good / Angels / Governors.

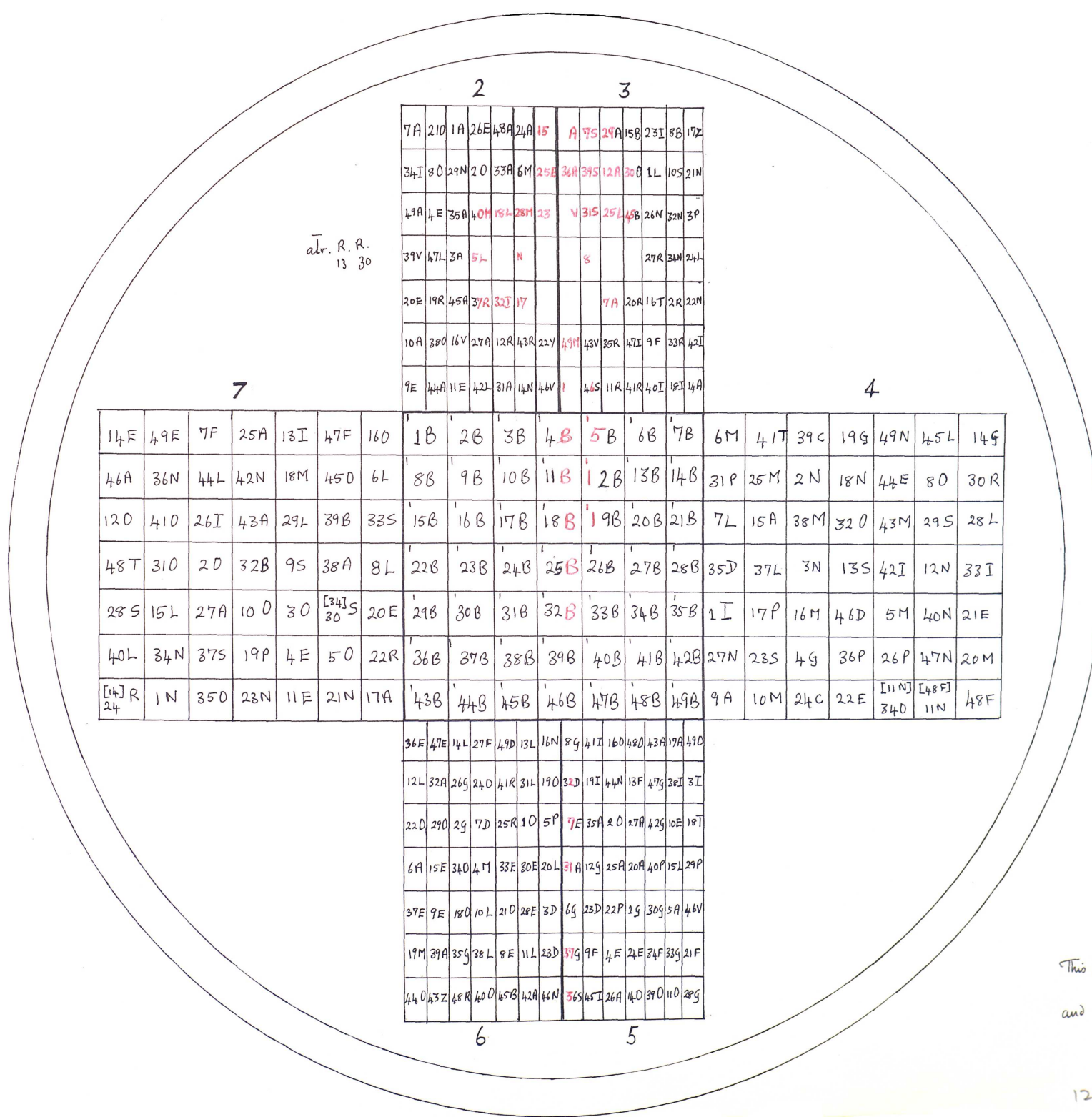
line 1 : The / first / know= /ledg

[37a]

/blank/

[376]

[38a]



[38b]

[blank]

[39a]

E.T: one stept furth, and sayde,

> Wilt thou haue witt, and wisdome

Here, it is. (△ pointing to the middle table)

.> { An other sayd, the Exaltation and Gouvernment of Princis, is in my
hand. (△ pointing to that on the left hand of the two
vppermost) 5

3.> { In Cownsayle and Nobilitie, I prevayle (△ pointing to the other of the
two vppermost: which is on the right hand)

4.> The Gayne and Trade of Merchandise, is in my hand: Lo, here it is.

△ he pointed to the great table on the right side of the
myddle Table

that I meane which is opposite to our right hand while we
behold 10

those 7 Tables.

5.> The Qualitie of the Earth and waters, is my knowledge

and I know them: and here, it is: (△ pointing to that on
the right hand of the two lowermost.

: The motion of the Ayre, and those that moue in it, are all 15
known to me. Lo here they are. (△ pointing to the other
Table

below, on the left hand.

7. I signifie wisdome: In fire is my Gouvernmēt. I was in the be=
gynning, and shalbe to the ende (△ pointing to the great table
on the left hand of the Middle Table. 20

Mi. Marke these Mysteries: For, this knowne, the State of
the whole earth is known, and all that is thereon.

Mighty is God, yea mighty is he, who hath Composed for euer.

Giue diligent eye. Be wise, mery, and pleasant in the

Lorde; in Whose Name, NOTE, 25

Begynne the Myddle Table etc Δ I wrote oute of the

stone the whole 7 Tables (as you see them here with theyr numbers

and letters) while E.T. did vew them in the stone, and orderly express them.

Δ As concerning 39 V. 47 L in the second Table, where are 7 places:

and there but 6 numbers and letters, and yet euery place semeth to

30

haue a letter, in the iudgemēt of E T his sight. Which is the Number and letter wanting, and where must it be placed?

Mi. Non potestis hoc videre sine ratione.

Δ The Next day, as I was loking on the Tables being finished, and ioyned

all to gither in One Compownd Figure: [and] E T, cam to me, and

35

stode by me, and his ey was on the forsayd place which I was forced to

leauue empty, in the 7th and last. And behold he saw houerling and

hopping in the ayre $\sqrt{\cdot^c \cdot}$ ouer the sayd place, and the next before it:

And that, which I had placed the sixth, was to be put in the seuenth

place, and that which was wanting, was to be set in the sixth place

40

being 30.N.

E.T. Euery of the 7 Tables, as they wer written out of the stone

do seme afterward to burn all in fyre: and to stand in fyre

E.T: After all the Tables wer written, eche toke [her] his Table aparte agayn

and stode in theyr order.

45

E.T. Note moreouer, The First, had Bokes in hi[r]s hand

Kings ————— The Second, a Crown in hi[r]s hand

Nobilitie _____ The Third, Robes

Merchants— Δ — A^a — The fourth, aial quadrupes viuū oīm colorū

Terra—The fifth, Herbes

50

Aer—The sixth, a fanne

Ignis—The seventh, a Flame of fyre in this land

... Doe ...

Marginal notes:

line 12: $\langle \Delta \rangle$ I mar= / $\langle v \rangle$ ayle that the / $\langle Ea \rangle$ rth and atele
are / $\langle her \rangle$ e ascribed to one.

line 34: Δ / This I enter= / sert now; / though it war / ...
at the / first Noting

line 38: $\langle \sqrt{\cdot}^c \cdot 7 \rangle$ t>wo numbers and / $\langle t \rangle$ wo letters cuppled
to them.

A line joins 'wisdome' (line 2) and 'wisdome' (line 19).

[...]

Decedite in noīe eius, qui vos huc misit.

E.T:—Vriel opened a boke in his own hand, and sayde

Vr. — The Fontayne of wisdome is opened. Nature shalbe $\langle e \rangle$
knowne: Earth with her secrets disclosed.

The Elements with theyr powres iudged

Loke, if thow canst (in the name of God) vnderstand ...

Tables. Δ No: Not yet.

Vr. Beholde, I teache. There are .49. Angels glorious an
 $\langle excellent \rangle$ / excellent

appointed for the governmēt of all earthly actions. ...
4<9 doe >

do work and dispose the will of the C... ted from
t<he >

the begynning in strength, powre, and glorie:

These shalbe Subject vnto you, In the Name, and by Inv<o>

Invo= cating vppon the Name of GOD, which doth lighten, dispose
a<nd>

and Cumfort you

By them shall you work in the quieting of the estates, In
lerning

15

learning of wisdom: pacifying the Nobilitie; iudgement in the

the rest, aswell in the depth of waters, Secrets of the Ayre, as
in t<he>

as in the bowells and entralls of the Earth,

Vr. Theyr Names are comprehended within these Tables. Lo, he
/teaches/ teacheth

he teacheth. Lo he instructeth, which is holy, and most
highest

20

Take hede, thow abvse not the Excellency, nor oversha dow it
with

with Vanitie. But stick firmly, absolutely, and perfectly, in
the Love

Love of God (for his honor) to gither

Be mery in him: Prayse his name. Honor him in his Sainces.
Behold

=hold him in wisdom: And shew him in vnderstanding.

25

Glorie be to him; To the [^]o Lord, whose name perseth through
the earth

Earth, Glorie be to the, for euer. Δ. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Vr Lo, I will breifly teache the: you shall Know the Mysteries
in him:

him, and by him, which is a Myserie in all things.

The letters are standing vppon 7 equall numbers. The Number
before

30

before them is signifying, teaching and instructing (fro the first
Table

Table to the last,) which are the letters that shalbe icyn^{*}ed together:

beginning all, with B, according to the disposition of the
number

^c
[number] vntyll the 29 /49/ generall names be known. The first
29 are more

more excellent than the rest. Euery Name doth consist vpon the
quantitie

35

quantity of the place: Euerie place with addition bringeth furth his
name,

name which are 49. _____ I haue sayde _____

Δ I pray you to tell me the first Name. Vr. The first name is
BALI/CON/GON

Mi I haue to say to the*, and so haue I done

Δ Now he spake to E T, of the matter he sware him to, at the
beginning of

40

of this last Instruction: and he told me after ward what Michael
had willed

willed and moved him vnto. Wherat he seamed very sore disqu
and sayd this to me

to me E.T: He sayd that I must betake my self to the world, and to
the

world. That is that I shold marry. Which thing to do, I haue
no na=

naturall Inclination: neyther with a safe Conscience may I do
it, contrary

45

ry to my vow and profession. Wherefore I think and hope, there is
is some other meaning in these theyr wordes.

Mi Thow must of force kepe it:

Thow knowest our mynde.

Δ Deo opt. Max^o ois honor laus et gloria

50

in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Ended hora noctis, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a circiter.

[flourish]

Marginal notes:

- line 2: a boke
- line 9: Erthly Actions
- line 12: Practise
- line 23: We two / to gither
- line 31: * Δ / Vide ipam / Tabulam ho= / r \bar{u} 49 n \bar{o} l \bar{m} / Collect \bar{a} ,
pa= / gina sequente
- line 34: The first 29
- line 39: * le ment / to E T.
- line 44: E.T must / marry

[40a]

Tabula Collecta: 49 Angelor \bar{u} Bonor \bar{u} , No \bar{i} a continens ☐ per Δ

1	BALIGON
2	BORNOGO
3	Bapnido
4	Besgeme
5	Blumapo
6	Bmangal
7	Basledf
8	BOBOGEL
9	BEFAFES
10	Basmelo
11	Bernole
12	Branglo
13	Brisfli
14	Bnagole
15	BABALEL

16	BVTMONO
17	Bazpama
18	Blintom
19	Bragiop
20	Bermale
21	Bonefon
22	BYNEPOR
23	BLISDON
24	Balceor
25	Belmara
26	Benpagi
27	Barnafa
28	Bmilges
29	BNASPOL
30	BRORGES
31	Baspalo
32	Binodab
33	Bariges
34	Binofo[s]n
35	Baldago
36	BNAPSEN
37	BRALGES
38	Bormila
39	Buscnab
40	Bminpol
41	Bartiro
42	Bliigan
43	BLVMAZA
44	BAGENOL
45	Bablibo

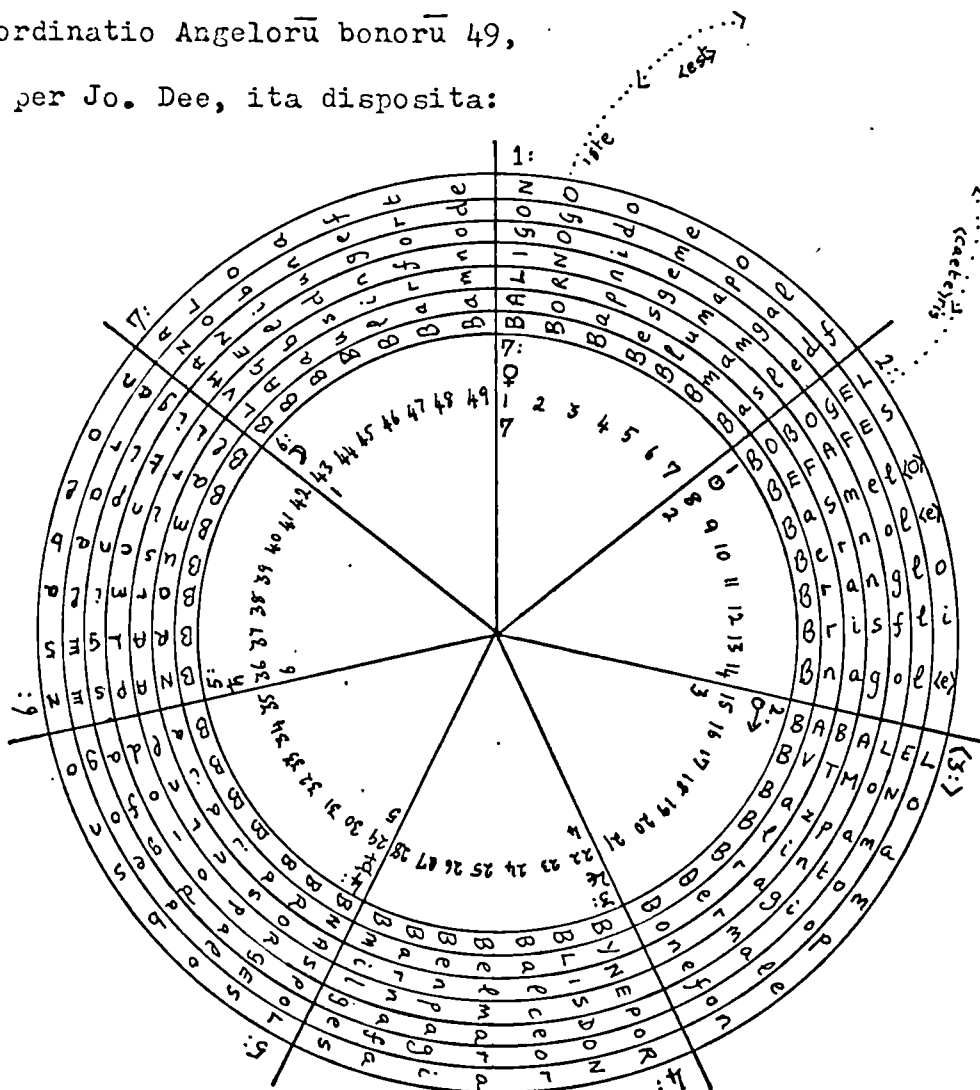
46	Busduna
47	Blingef
48	Barfort
49	Bamnode

blank

[40a]

[41a]

Coordinatio Angelorū bonorū 49,
per Jo. Dee, ita disposita:



[blank]

[42a]

Liber <4.>

<1>^2.> Fryday Maij 4. hor 2½ a meridie

Δ J.T: wold not willingly now deale with the former Creatures:
veterly <m>islik<ing>

and discrediting them, bycause they willed him to marry. Neyther
wold

put of his hat in any prayer to god, for the Action with
them: where=

5

vppon I went into my Oratorie, and called vnto God, for his
grace and lp

for the vnderstanding of his laws and vertues [knowing and
vnderstand[ing]]

which he hath established in and amongst his Creatures, for the
benefyt of mankinde, in his seruice, and for his glorie etc

And comyng to the Stone, E.T. saw there those two, whom 10
nich rto, we wer instructed to be Michael and Vriel.

E,T: Michael and Vriel, both kneled holding vp theyr hands: and
Michael

seemed to sweat water abundantly, somewhat reddish or bluddish.

There cam 7 Bundells down, (like faggots) from heven ward. And
Michael

taketh them kneeling. And Vriel taketh a thing like a
supercaltare

15

and layeth it vppon the Table: and with a thing like a Senser
doth make

perfume at the fowre corners of the Table: the smoke ascending
vp:

and the senser, at the last, being set on the Table it seemed
to fall through

the Table

VRIEL semeth to be all in a white long robe tucked vp: his garment 20

full of plighes and seemed now to haue wyngs (which, hitherto,
from

the begynning of these kinde of Actions he did not) and on his
hed

a bewtifull crown, with a white Cross ouer the Crown.

Vriel taketh the .7. Bundells from Michael: and with reuerence

layeth them on the forsayd Superaltare. 25

E:T. there cometh a man, as though he were all of perfect pure

glistring gold: somtyme seeming to haue One eye, and somtyme
Three.

From vnder the Table cometh a great smoke, and the place semeth

to shake. 30

Vriel lieth now prostrate on his face: and Michael continually

prayed sweating

The Glorious man seemed to open the Covering of the 7 bundells

(being of diuerse cullored sylk,) and there it appered, that
it se

Bundells seemed to haue in them, of all Creatures some, in 35

most glorious shew.

The glorious man seemed to stand vppon a little hill of flaming fyre

He taketh of, of one of the Bundells a thing like a little byrd; and

it hoouerth affore him as though it had life: and than it rested

vppon the thing like a superaltare 40

This glorious man seemeth to be open before, and his brest somewhat

spotted with blud. He hath a berd forked of brownish cullour.

his heare of his hed, long, hanging down to his sholders: but
his

face, for beutifull glittring, can not be discerned. His heares
do

shake, as though the wynde carryed them.

45

This man blesseth the bird, making a Cross ouer it: and, so he did three

tymes. He looketh vp to heven.

Now the byrd, which, before, seamed to be but as byg as a sparrow, seareth to be as great as a swanne: very beutifull: but of many cullours.

Now looketh Michael vp, and held vp his hands to heven, and sayeth 50

Sic, Sic, Sic, Deus noster.

Vriel, (sayd)—Multiplicabit omnia, benedictione sua.

The former Bewtifull man taketh this fowle, setteth it on the bun^dell, and

on the place, from whence it was taken: And, now, the place

where 55

Marginal notes:

line 4: E.T. is to / marry


line 20: Vriel his / manner / of apparition

line 26: A Glorious / man.

line 35: All Creatures.

line 41: A / A description of / of the glorious / man.

line 49: Many / Many cullours in all / all his garmets are / ar
shewed in se / sequentibus libris

line 53: Δ 

[42b]

where this byrd stode before, seameth allso, to be (proportionally)
wa<x >

as big, as the byrd, (thus enlarged).

this man taketh an other byrd, and putteth the wyng of it, beh<ind>

the wing of the first (as though he yoked them

This second byrd, at this his first taking, was as byg, as
the <first.....>

5

was become, (encreased, as it shewed), and it was allso a
very bew<tifull.....>

E.T: All is suddenly dark, and nothing to be seen, neyther Chayre,
<nor>

any thing els.

E.T: a voyce was hard, like Michael his voyce, saying,

It was a byrd, and it is a byrd, absent there is nothing 10

but Quantitie

△ A voyce. Beleue. The world is of Necessitie: His Necessit<y>

is gouerned by supernaturall Wisdome

N cessarily you fall: and of Necessitie shall rise ag<ain>

Follow me, Loue me: embrace me: behold, I, AM. 15

E.T: Now all the Darknes vanished, the man is gone. Vriel standeth
at

the Table: and Michael sitteth now in his Chayre: and sayd

Mi. This doth GOD work for your vnderstanding

It is in vayne to stryve: All Government is in his hands

What will you els, what will you els? 20

△ Progressum et profectum in virtute et veritate ad Dei honorē
et gloriam.

Mi This hath answered all our Cauillations
....

△ What hath answered all our Cavillations?

mi Thow hast written

One thing you shall see more, as a persuasion to the
Infirmitie. 25

E.T: The two byrds, which were there, before, [are] and gon out
of it, now

are shewed agayn: but none of the bundells appere

They seme to grow to a huge bigness, as byg as mowntaynes:
incredibly

byg: and they seeme to hover vp in the ayre, and to fly vp
toward

heuen, and with [theyr wing] theyr wings to towch the sky: And
one 30

of them with his bill seemeth to take sterrs into it: and the
other /bird/ to

to take them from the same byrd, and to place them agayn in the
Saye.

And this they did very often: and in diuerse places of the
heuen

with great celeritie.

After this they semed to fly ouer Cities, and townes, and to break
u. 35

clowdes in peces, as they passed: and to cause all dust to flye
from all walls, and towres, as they passed, and so to make them
clene:

clume And in the streetes, as these two Byrds flew, seemed diuerse
brave

fellows, like bisshops, and Princis and Kings, to pass: and by
th

wyngs of these byrds, they were striken down. But Simple 40.

Seely ones, like beggers, lame and halt, Childern, and old
and

men, and women, seemed to pass quietly, vntowched and

vnouerthrown of these two Byrds.

And than they seemed to come to a place, where they lifted vp,
with

[theyr wyngs] the endes of theyr wyngs, fowre Carkasses of
dead 45

me (owte of the grownde) with crownes on theyr heads: wherof
one seemed to be a Childe

First

Marginal notes:

line 3: <The Yoa>king / <or cup>pling of / <the> two byrds
 line 12: Δ / E.T: sayd the / Voyce to be / like Michael / his
 voyce.
 line 14: Necessitie.
 line 19: Vayne to / strive.
 line 22: Δ / forte your

 line 30: The byrds towch / the sky and / sterrs

[43a]

First these 4, seemed leane, and deade: Then they seemed qui<ck>
^c
 /quick/ and in good liking: And they being raysed vp: parted eche
 fro<m>

other, and went into 4 sundry wayes, Est, West, North and
 Sowth.

Now these two fowles hauing theyr wings ioyned together, light
 vppo<n>

5

a great hill: and there the First fowle gryped the erth mightily
 and there appeared diuerse Metalls, and the /caret/ Fowle spurned
 them away
 still,

Then appeared an old mans hed, heare and all on. very much

wythered. They tossed it betwene them, with theyr feete: 10

And they brake it: And in the hed appeared (in steede of the
 braynes) a stone, rownd, of the bignes of a Tennez ball
 of 4, cullours, White, black, red, and greene

One of them (he that brake the Skull) putteth that rownd stone
 to the others mowth or byll.

The other eateth or nybbleth on it, and so doth the other allso

¶ Now these two byrds, are turned into men: And eche of
 them haue two Crownes like paper crownes, white and
 bright, but seeme not to be syluer. Theyr teeth are gold.
 and so likewise theyr hands, feete, tung, eyes, and eares
 likewise

20

All gold

On eche of these two men, ar 26 Crownes of Gold, on theyr
 right sholders, euery of them, greater then other

They haue, by theyr sides, Sachels, like palmers bags, full of gold.

and they take it oute, and seemed to sow it, as corne, going 25
 or stepping forward, like Seedmen.

E.T: Then sayd Michael, This, is the ende.

E.T: The two men be vanished away.

Mi. Learne the Mysterie hereof.

△ Teache vs (ô ye spirituall Creatures). than sayd Michael, 30

Mi.—Joye and helth giue vnto the riche:

Open strong locks:

Be Mercifull to the wicked:

Pluck vp the poore:

Read vnto the Ignorant:

35

I haue satisfyed the: Vnderstand:

Read them ouer: God shall giue the some light in them. I haue
 satisfyed the: Both, How you shalbe ioyned,

By whome,

To what Intent, and purpose:

40

what you are,

what you were,

What you shalbe, (videlicet) in Deo.

Lok vp this Mysterie:

x Forget not our Cownsayle:

45

^ GOD

Marginal notes:

lines 3-5: [some faint marks remain on damaged margin]

line 6: <Great> hill

line 22: 26. / Crownes

line 45: x to E T:

[43b]

O GOD, thow openest all things: Secret are thy Mysteries

and holy is thy name, for euer

The Vertue of his presence, here left, be

amongst you.

Δ Amen

5

Δ What am I to do, with the wax, the Table, the ring or
the Lamine? etc

Mi. When the things be ready, then thow shalt know, how to vse it.

Δ How shall I do for the grauing of the ring: May not a man
do it, though, E.T, graue it not?

10

Mi. Cause them to be made vp, (according to Instruction) by any
honest

Δ What say you as concerning the Chamber, for our practise
May my furdermost little chamber, serue, yf the bed be taken
d<owne>

downe. Mi At the next Call for the Chamber, you shall know what to do
to doe. Δ Benedictus Deus in donis suis:

15

et sanctus in omnibus operibus [suis] eius.

Amen. ended hor. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$.

/flourish/

[44a]

✠
Quartus Liber Mysteriorū [Tertius]

/flourish/ A^o 1582



Nouēbris 15.

Post reconciliationē Kellianam :

/flourish/

Miserere nri Deus

Dimittite nobis, sicut et nos dimittimus

Liber. 5^{us}
~~~~~

---

[44b]

/blank/

---

△ Note. For, of Hagonel

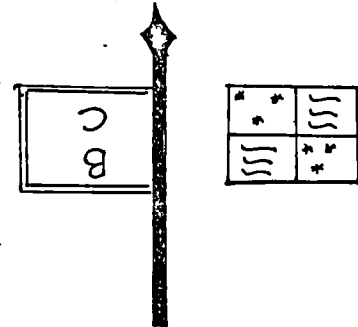
△ Carmara, otherwise  
Baligo <n. Vide.....>

we never had  
any thing before.

<On>e (of the 7 which was by him) he who stode before him, w<sup>th</sup> his  
face fro<ward>

him, now turned his face to him ward.

<W—> Regnat potestas tua in filiis  
Ecce signū Operis.



5

△ There appeared these two letters, euersed  
and aversed, in a white flag: and a  
woman standing by, whose armes did not appere

10

<W> Note. my name is Carmara.

<△—> On the other side of the flag, appeared the armes of England.  
The flag /seemed old/ [sem<ed>] //o<ld>7

Adhuc duo, et tempus non est, (△, sayd the man which stode  
before

Carmara. and lifted vp his hand and avaunced his body: and the  
other 6

gaue him place. he spred his armes abroad: and so turned  
rownd toward all the

15

multitude (appering within the Globe:) as if he wold require  
audience. he sayd

than thus.

The Sonnes of men, and theyr sonnes are subiect vnto my  
comaundemēt

This is a mystery. I haue spoken of it. Note it throwghly.

They ar my seruants. By them thow shalt work mervayles. I gouern 20

for a tyme: My tyme is yet to come The Operation of the Earth

is subiect to my powre! And I am the first of the twelve: my

seale is called Barees: and here it is ⊙ (△ This he held in

the palm of his hand: as though it had byn a ring, hanging also over his myd=

dle fingers. with a great voyce he sayd Come ô ye people of the erth:

25

1. (Δ Then there came a great Number of onely Kings from amongst the rest of the multitude within the Globe. They kneele down; and some kyssed his seale and some did stand frowning at it. These kings that kissed it, had, each of them, a sword in one hand, and a payre of

Ballance in the other: the balances being euen, and cownterpeysed. But

30

the other had also ballances, which hong vneuen, the one scale lower then

the other. The euen balanced kings were of glad cheare: but

the other wer of sowre and hevy cowntynance

It is, and shalbe so: And the workmanship of this, is to this ende.

Then cam noble men: (Δ and he held vp his hand, and they

35

parted them selues into two Cumpanyes. and ouer the heds of them, appered

2. these two wordes Vera, over one Cumpany:and Impuria over the other

.....

.....

.....

.....

..... etc

.....

..... etc

40

Verus cum veris, et Impurus cum Impuris

Come ô ye Princes of Nature. (Δ Then cam in Auncient and grim

3. Cowntenanced men in black gownes: of all manner of sortes Diuerse of

them had bokes: and some had stiks like measures: and they parted

into two Cumpanies. Eyther Cumpany had his principall. One of

45

these Cumpanies fell at debate among them selues. The other Cumpany

stode still. There appeared before eche of these Cumpanyes a great boke

Vppon the bokes was written: on the one, Lucem; and on the other,

Mundi tenebras. The Forman [(or Principall)] spred his hands  
 ouer them, and they all fell down: and the boke with Lucem on it 45  
 waxed bright

Marginal notes:

- line 16: Æagenol
- line 17: Filij Filij & Filij / Filij Filiorū supra / sup  
 libro 2<sup>o</sup>.
- line 20: Kings / <Kin>gs of the erth / etc
- line 21: Earth
- line 22: :12.
- line 23: Barees
- line 24: ○
- line 25: All people / of the Erth.
- line 26: Kings
- lines 29-30: part of a sketch of a pair of evenly balanced scales  
 and a sketch of a sword
- lines 31-32: part of a sketch of a pair of scales unevenly  
 balanced in favour of the right hand side
- line 35: No / Noble men
- line 42: Philosophers
- line 21, over 'a tyme': Δ gouerns
- line 21, over 'my tyme': Δ particular or my governmet lasteth not
- line 44, over 'measures': Δ Geometrae
- At the foot of the page: Δ / He hath recyted the offices of  
 [three] two Kings, as of Blumaza and Bobogel / And  
 then he sayeth, Gather by these few spriggs etc: which  
 Bobogel is over the Nobility and written of / < Wisdome  
 of Metalls, & all Nature >



lines join: 'Δ' (line 1) to 'I haue spoken' (line 19),  
 'Regnat' (line 6) to 'Philosophers' (MN 42),  
 'in filijs' (line 6) to 'the Sonnes' (line 18),  
 'Carmara' (line 11) to 'twelve' (line 22) and  
 thence to 'O' in the diagram (lines 5-9),  
 'the <sup>Δ</sup>man' (line 13) to 'first' (line 22),  
 'come' (line 21) to '.3.' (line 43).

[45b]

waxed bright: and they which attended on that boke (Lucem)  
 <departed>

Gather by these few spriggs the Cumpas of the whole le field.

Δ I demaunded of him, what his name was: and he answered

I am Primus et Quartus Hagonel

Δ This Pri: Quar, shewed his /the/ seal O to the Multitudes and  
 th<ey> they..... 5

1. it, and of them some florish: som stand, and some fall.

Δ Then he sayd □ The first were /the/ Kings of the earth:  
 which t<ell> tell the

priks of the last 8, take place, are, and shall be.

In this thow mayst lern science. Note a mysterie.

Take a place, is as much, as, Ende with place.

10

Δ Then he threw down a great many of them before him

Here is his name, (pointing to <sup>th</sup>Ho ( □ Δ Car[a]mara ) □ on the y  
vpper

part of the Globe) Notwithstanding I am his Minister —

Δ  
in □  
P □  
□ □  
B □

There are kings, fals and vniust, whose powre as I haue ue augme...

and destroyed, So shalt thow.

15

Thow seest the weapons. The Secret is not great.

△ I know not what the weapons are.

Pri. Quar sayd. Write, and I will tell the. △ The three, of eche side did syt down: while Pri Quar did thus speake.

I am the first of the fowrth Hagonel.

20

△ I had thought that ye [sad] sayd before, you had byn the first and the Fowrth

of Hagonel.

Pri. Quar.   I am HAGONEL, and govern HAGONEL. There is Hagonel the first, Hagonel the second, and Hagonel the third, I am the first that govern the three. Therefore I am the first and the last of the

25

fowre △ In the meane space of the former multitude some were falln deade, of some theyr mowthes drawn a wry: of some theyr legs broken.

And then, pointing to Ho <sup>†</sup> (△ N Carmara) he sayd.

In his name with my name, by my character and the

rest of my Ministers, are these things brought to pass.

30

These things that lye here, are lyers, witches, enchanters, Deccyvers, Blaspheme

mers: and finally all they that Vse NATVRE, with abvse: and dishonor him which rayneth for euer

2. The second assembly were the Gouvernors of the Earth, whose glory, yf they be good, the weapons which we haue towght the, will augment: and

35

Consequently, if they be euill, pervert

3. The third assembly are those which taste of Gods mysteries, and drink of the

iuyce of Nature, whose myndes are diuided, some with [eyse] eyes looking toward heaven, the rest to the center of the Earth. vbi nō

Gloria, nec bonitas nec bonum est. It is wrowght, I say, it is wrowght

40

(for thy vnderstanding) by the seuen of the seuen which wer the  
sonnes of sempiternitie, whose names thow hast written and recorded  
to Gods Glory   △ Then he held vp his hands, and seemed to speak  
but was not herd (of E.[T]K.) as he told me: and ther vppon Pri quar:  
sayd Neyther shalt thow heare, for it is Vox hominibus non digna   45  
Illi autem cum filiis suis laudauerunt Deum. Benedictus est  
qui filius est vnicus, et Gloria Mundi.

E K. saw like a black cloth come in and cover all the forepart of  
the

---

Marginal notes:

- line 1:       <Hagonel.>  
line 3:       < The Foreman / with the short / .... >  
line 7:       <Ki>ngs / Kings  
line 12:      Carmara his / Minister: forte / Prince, / Hadonel  
line 14 RH:   △ / in <generall> / pa<rticularly> / .. B<lumaza>  
line 16:      Weapons wher= / with to destroy  
line 25:      Note this First, / and Last, / bycause of / Baligon  
              ali / Carmara. his / <prince> & tables.  
line 29:      Practise, w<sup>th</sup> / spirituall wea= / pons  
line 31:      Liers / Witches / Enchanters  
line 34:      Gouernors  
line 42:      Note / :: Practise / lib<sup>o</sup>. 2<sup>o</sup> Filij filiorū /

- |         |       |    |           |
|---------|-------|----|-----------|
| E       | _____ | 1. |           |
| An      | _____ | 2. | These 7   |
| Aue     | _____ | 3. | are na=   |
| Liba    | _____ | 4. | med in    |
| Rocle   | _____ | 5. | the great |
| Hagonel | _____ | 6. | Circle    |
| Elemese | _____ | 7. | following |

line 48: The black cloth / of silence, and / staying  
 At the foot of the page: Note: how he governeth Three / and  
 Carmara (his King) hath also a Triple crown  
 lines join: 'et' (line 4) to 'first of' (line 20),  
 'shewed' (line 5) to 'seest' (line 16),  
 'threw down' (line 11) to 'destroyed' (line 15),  
 'Fowrth' (line 21) to 'filius' (line 47),  
 'Ministers' (line 30) to 'seuen of the seuen' (line 41),  
 'the weapons' (line 35) to 'weapons' (MN29),  
 the second 'seuen' (line 41) to 'Illi' (line 46),  
 'whose names' (line 42) to 'Illi' (line 46).

[46a]

In the first leafe were the Offices  
 of the two Kings Blumaza & Bobogel  
 recited, as appeares by the Note at the  
 bottome of the 2<sup>d</sup> page: / & also 5: May 1583.<sup>c</sup>7 phaps this  
 first leafe was lost bifore he drew vp  
 his Booke of de Bonorū Angelorū invitatiōib<sup>us</sup>  
 because I find a Blank where Blumaza  
 is placed.

~~¶~~ This Character seemes to stand for

Carmara, as apps from sev<sup>d</sup>all places  
 in .fol. 2.a. & b. & many other.

It apps by a note of D<sup>r</sup> Δ: (de Heptarchia &c:  
 Cap. 1.) That Michael & Uriel were p<sup>s</sup>ent at the  
 begining of these revealed Misteries & gaue authority  
 to Carmara to order the whole Heptarchicall Revelacō<sup>n</sup>

5

10

15

phaps this authority was entred in the first lost  
leafe of this /5.7 4<sup>th</sup> booke (though D<sup>r</sup> Δ: calls it [here]  
the 2<sup>d</sup> Booke in this Note.) see Chap: 2. at y<sup>e</sup> begining.

By a m<sup>d</sup>ginall note at the begining of the first Chapter,  
it should seeme, y<sup>t</sup> the D<sup>r</sup> meanes by the first [chapter] Booke 20  
the Action only of the 16 of Nov: 1582. & by the 2<sup>d</sup> Booke  
the Actions of the 17 [&] 19 /+ 20<sup>c</sup> of Nov. 1582. but his m<sup>d</sup>ginall  
Note of 19 should be 20 of Nov, for so it apps by y<sup>e</sup> Actions  
entred. The 21 of Nov: vizt: the action of y<sup>t</sup> day he calls  
the Appendice of the 2<sup>d</sup> chapter. 25

[46b]

This is the writing  
of Elias Ashmole.

FM

[47a]

the stone, so that nothing appeared in the stone: then was hard  
a voyce

saying. Loke for vs no more at this tyme: This<sup>Δ</sup> shalbe a  
token, (from this tyme furth) to leaue.

Δ Laus et Honor sit Deo Immortali et Oip<sup>o</sup>potenti nunc et semp.  
A<m>en

/flourish/

5

Marginal note:

line 2: <The To>ken / <to le>aue of, by a black / <shad>dowing  
all /in<sup>c</sup>/ y<sup>e</sup> stone.

<158>2 Die 9. A meridie: hora 5. Nouemb. 16

△ He with the triple Crown on his hed, in the long purple robe,  
had now onely


that part of the rod in his hand, which was clere red: the other  
two parts being

vanished away. He shoke the rod, and the Globe vnder him did quake.  
then he

sayde Ille enim est Deus, Venite △. All the 7 did bow at his  
speache

10

He holdeth vp the flag, with the picture of a woman [in it]  
paynted on it, with

the  (as before was noted) on the right side of her.  
And on the

other side of the flag, were the Armes of England. He  
florished

with the flag very [much]e, and went as though he <did>

marche, in warlike manner vppon the vpper & vtterparte of the  
Globe.

15

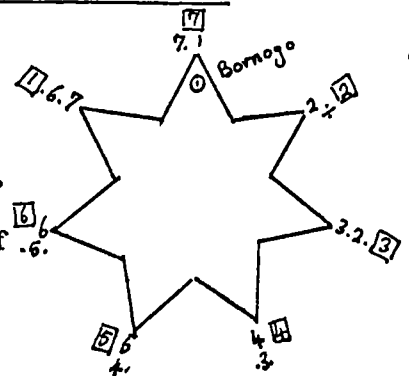
He pointed vp to the Flag and sayde There is two to come,  
there

is no more. All the people in the Globe seamed to be glad and  
reioyce

Now he setteth down the Flag, and sayd, Come, Come, Come; And  
the 7 cam all before him. they hold vp all together Heptago-  
num stellare, seeming to be Conner.

.1: The first Holder, sayd, Ille nosti and  
so pulled his hand of frō the Heptagonū.

2: The second of the .7. taketh his hand of  
and doth reverence and sayd I am he  
which haue powre to alter the



20

In corruption of NATVRE. with my seale, I seale her  
and she is become perfect. I prevayle in Metalls: in the

25

knowledge of them. I haue byn in Powre with many  
 but Actually with few. I am of the first of the twelue  
 the Secend of the Seuen. wilt thow know my name

30

△ full gladly. I am BORNOGO: this is my seale:

[what thow desyrest] This is my true Character. what  
thow desyrest in me, shalbe fullfilled. Glory to God. △. He  
~~knelt~~ kneled down, and held vp his hands toward the Heptagonum.

- 3: The next (or third,) sayd, I am Prince of the Seas: My powre 35  
 is vppon the waters. I drowned Pharao: and haue destroyed the  
 wicked. I gaue life vnto the seas: and by me the Waters move.  
 My name was known to Moyses. I liued in Israel. Beholde  
the tyme of Gods visitation. I haue measured, and it is .8. This  
 is a mysterie. God be mercifull to his people. Behold, Behold  
 Lo, Behold

Marginal notes:

- line 13: △ There is a marginal drawing of the arms of England  
 in Sloane MS. 3677, similar to that at 45a,67
- line 15: △ There is an illegible marginal note which has been  
 erased7
- line 18: △ so he sayd / in latin, in / the forpart of / the  
 leaf before.
- line 20: △ — Note. / Copper apperteyneth / to q
- line 21: △ / Hagonel △ with line to 'Holder' (line 21)7
- line 22: △ Forte / Bagenol / Hagonel, if H be for B / Than  
 B/a7gonel/< conteyned> Ba / genol
- line 27: Metalls .

line 29: One of the / first of the / Twelue.

line 31: Prince / Bornogo

line 35: The Seas

line 39: 8 / Gods visitation / And it is 8: may be 8 yeres /  
added to this tyme, and that maketh 1590. Noveb. 16.

That 8, or 88, I know not yet [with line to '8' (line  
39)]

lines join: 'Ille' (line 10) to MN18,

'Flag' (line 16) to 'There' (line 17).

[47b]

Lo behold, my mighty powr consisteth in this. lern wisdome  
by my <words.>

This is wrowght for thy erudition, what I enstruct the from God:  
Lok<e>

<sup>c</sup>  
/vnto thy/ Charge truely. Thow art yet deade: Thow shalt be  
reuiued. But <oh,>

blesse God truely. The blessing that God giueth, I will bestow  
vppon the by per<mission>  
~~////////~~

Ô, how mighty is our god, which walked on the waters: which  
sealed me w<ith> 5

his name. whose Glory is without ende. Thow hast written me,  
yet dos<t>

not Know me. Vse me in the name of God. I shall at the tyme  
appointed be ready

I will manifest the works of the seas, and the miracles of the  
depe snal<se>

knowne I was Glorified in God. I Skurged the world. Oh oh oh,  
now they do

repent. Misery is theyr ende, and Calamitie theyr meat. Behold  
my name is pr<int.....> 10

for euer: behold it Δ he opened his bosom and seamed leane: and



<sup>c</sup>  
seemed to haue feathers vnder his robes: He had a golden  
 gyrdel: and on it, written, B < EFAFES > BEFAFES

Than he sayd. Blessed be thou Ô God, God, God, for euer. I  
 haue said

Δ he toke his hand of frō the Heptagonum.

Δ The black Cloth was drawn. which is now appointed  
 to be <our>

15

token from them, that we must leave of for that instant

Δ. Deo soli, oīs honor, et Gloria. Amen

flourish

Marginal notes:

line 1: Δ

line 2: Δ / My charge

line 8: The seas

line 12: Prince / Befafes / w<sup>th</sup> feathers / vnder his robes.

Friday After drinking at night circiter hora 8<sup>a</sup>

Δ On the left side of <sup>+</sup>Ho (sitting in the Chayre) appeared yet  
 three

20

holding vp the Heptagonum. [and] on one and the other side  
below. He sat with his

his face from E K toward me. I stode and my face southward. E K  
he

sat at the same table, with his face Northward.

4.

The Fowrth (holding below) Cryed. Earth, Earth, Earth.

E.K. he speaketh Hollow, so that I vnderstand nothing. Δ than he 25

answered They are the wordes of my Creation, which you are not

not worthy to vnderstand. My Powre is in Erth: and I kepe the  
bodies

of the Dead. They members are in my bokes. I haue the key of  
Dis=

solution. Behold Behold, All things, yea /bis/ All things, haue  
theyr


there workmanship with me For I am the ende of Working. E K 30

He falleth down prostrate, and speaketh I know not [what] what;  
△

than he sayd I haue the Light of his anger, and I will destroy  
it. <sup>o</sup>,

<sup>o</sup>, Behold, It is in a light left within the bottomles pit. It is  
the ende

and the Last. O blessed shall thy name be, Blessed shall thy name

be for euer. Behold this is my seale  Behold, the bowels 35

Bowells of the earth are at my opening △ Then I requested

/ted/ him to help me with some portion of Threisor hid, to pay  
my detts withal

<sup>c</sup>  
/withall/ and to buy things necessarie etc. He answered O  
Wordling

thow shalt be satisfyed with welth of this world. Behold Behold

Behold Lo lo Behold, vehemētly I say Behold I haue, horded vp 40

<sup>△</sup>  
Threisor, for the Sonne of perdition, the first Instrument

of his destruction. But, Lo these Cauerns △ he

shewed to E K the Cavernes of the earth, and secret places therof

thereof and afterward sayd: Mark this, All spirits, inhabiting  
within

the earth; where, their habitation is, of force, not of will,  
(except

<sup>c</sup>  
/except/ the myddest of my self, which I know not), are subject  
to the

powre hereof. △ Pointing to his Seale. With this you

shall

## Marginal notes:

line 21, over 'and the other': and one on the other side below

line 27: In earth. /

line 28: The Dead mens / bodyes.

line 32: The Light of / his anger. with a hand

line 37: Threasure hid / requested.

line 41: Δ / Antichrist

line 46: How can the / middest of a / <s>pirituell crea / ture  
be ima= / <g>ined? / my dowl to ax / <He meant the  
middest or > / Center of the Earth. The middest of  
his <charge> with a hand

lines join: 'his' (line 21) and 'ende' (line 30),

the diagram of the seal (line 35) and 'this' (line 44).

[48a]

shall govern, with this you shall vnlok: with this (in his name who  
revellet) you shall discover her entrayles. How say you now?

Can you do it? Ar not your Magiciens acquaynted with me Yt

greueth me to regester the bones of the Wicked. Prayse him Butmono,

Prayse him Butmono, prayse him. Δ Is that your name, I pray you 5

tell me. he answered Yea it is my name. It is the ende of all  
things. E K. now he sitteth down.

<5> Δ Now the Fifth turned his face toward .E.K. (who /E K/ sat before  
me,

and opposite vnto me) and stepped furth and sayd: I am life

and breath [of all things] in Liuing Creatures. All things 10

liue by me, The Image of One excepted. Behold the face

of the Earth E K. There appeareth all [Creatures] /Kindes/ of brute beastes,

fowles, Dragons, and other Δ He Clapt his hands to gither

and /<sup>c</sup>they/ all, vanished away /<sup>c</sup>at/ ones: they cam agayn: and went then away

and returned no more. But the people within the Globe remayned still 15

as from the begynning: he sayd while the beastes were yet in sight

Lo, all these, do I endue with life: my seale is theyr Glory.

Of God am I sanctified: I reioyce: the Li<sup>1</sup>uing, The e<sup>2</sup>nde, and be<sup>3</sup>ing of these things, are known vnto me: and by sufferance

I o dispose them vntyll my Violl be run E K. he taketh 20

out of his bosom a bottle vyol glass. and there seameth to be fiue or

six spoonefulls of oyle in it. Δ He answered and sayd. That it

is: and it is a mysterie. Δ I spake somewhat of this oyle, and

he answered me, and sayd Thow sayst true. In token of God

his Powre and Glory, write down BLISDON. 25

E K. he taketh his hand of from the Heptagonu

6. The sixth pulleth open his Clothes and red apparell, and there

yssueth mighty fyre oute of his sides □ Δ Note, the

cote of the first of these seuen is shorter then any of his fellows coats

are. □ The sight of the fyre is very owgly, grisely, terrible, and 30

skarsly of mans eye can be beholden. At length he pluckt his

coates to gither, and sayd to E,K. Ô I wold shew the, but flesh and

blud cannot see. write shortly, (it is enowgh) Noui Januam

Mortis. Δ than sayd he to me in an earnest muse, Ô, Muse not, My

words ar dark, but with those that see, light enowgh. Et per 35

cussit Gloria Dei, Impiorum parietes. Dixi. Δ In

mervaylous raging fyre, this word BRORGES did appeare,

tossed to and fro in the furious flames thereof, so abundantly streaming

out, as yf all the world had byn on fyre. so that E K, could

not endure, (without great annoyance to his ey sight) to behold the same 40

and finally he sayd Mysteria <sup>c</sup>/in/ animis vestris imprimite. and so the

fyre vanished away:

E K

---

Marginal notes:

line 1: <P>ractise

line 2: /nand/

line 5: <Pr>ince / <Butm>ono

line 10, over 'Liuing Creatures': Δ In Animantibus oratis

line 11, over 'Image of': (Δ x man)

line 17, written vertically: Δ A great dowl <.....> / me yet  
the <di> / uersity of t<he 4<sup>th</sup>> / and fifth  
offi<cers, > / and officis as they are here a<nd in  
the > Repetition ensuing

line 18: Virtus officiij / sui

line 21: A little Viol / of oyle

line 25: Prince / Prin[ce] Blis= / Blisdon

line 29: Short Coat. / The first.

line 37: Prince Bo= / Prin[ce] Brorges:

lines join: 'ende' (line 6) to MN17,

'Liuing Creatures' (line 10) to 'all these' (line 17).

---

E K. The stone semeth all Blew: and onely One now <sup>c</sup> /beholdeth/  
the Heptagon<sup>u</sup>: all the rest being set down: who semed now  
<sup>c</sup> /t<sup>c</sup> ext<sup>c</sup> rd/ theyr hands one toward an other, as though they  
played, now being  
<sup>c</sup> /ri/ of theyr work. Now the last putteth his hand to the  
Heptagonon  
and turned his face to E K. hauing his face (all the while before) 5  
turned toward  $\Delta$ , he sayd The Creatures liuing in my  
Dominion, ar subiect to my powre. Behold I am BRALGES  
The powres vnder my subiection, are Invisible. Lo what...  
are. E K. All the world semed to be in brightnes or w...  
fire: and therein appered Diuerse little things like little  
sunnes 10  
without any forme. he sayd. This is the seale of my Go=  
uernment. Behold I am come, I will teache the Names  
with ut Numbers. The Creatures subiect vnto me shalbe known  
vnto y u. ¶ Beware of wauering Blot out suspition of us  
for we are Gods Creatures, that haue rayned, do rayne & shall 15  
raigne for euer. All our Mysteries shalbe known vnto you.

E K. All the 7 vanished away. onely Ho remayning  
who sayd (being stand vp and leaning vppon his Chayre, and turned  
to E K Behold, these things, and theyr mysteries shalbe  
known vnto you, reseruing the Secrets of him 20  
which raigneth for euer:  $\square$  E K The voyce of a mul=  
titude, answered singing,  $\square$  Whose name is Great for  
euer. Ho Open your eyes, and you shall see from the  
Highest to the Lowest. The Peace of God be vppon you.  
 $\Delta$  Amen. E K. The black Cloth was drawn before 25

all the things conteyned in the stone: which was the Token  
of Ceasing for that tyme.

Δ sanctus sanctus sanctus Dñs Deus n̄r

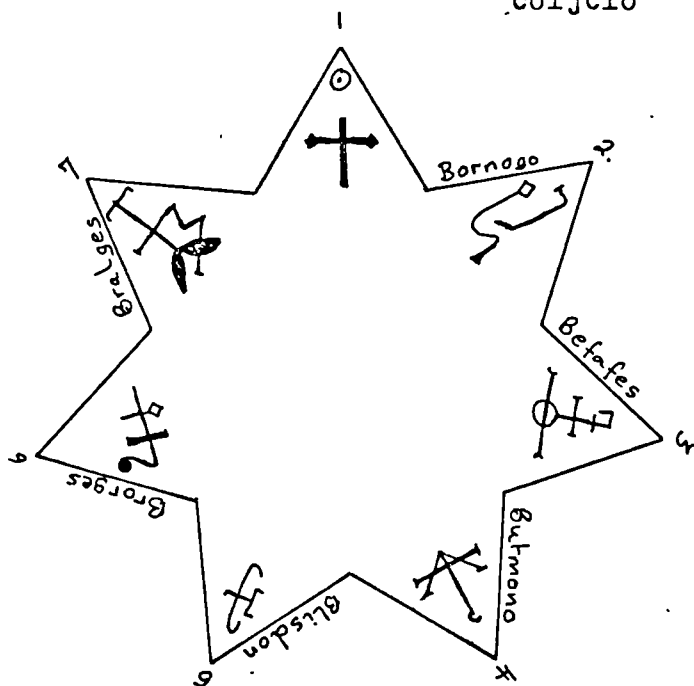
[flourish]

Δ BLVMAZA Rex est sup Reges Terrae

30

et illius sunt primus

princeps, et illius Ministri vt  
coījcio



Marginal notes:

line 6, written vertically: But Baligon, <als> / Carmara, in the  
ende of this boke / sayeth it to be his / office.

Consider well

line 7, over 'Dominion': Δ forte, in Aūre

line 7: Prince / Bralges / hath Blumaza / his king

line 11: The scale.

line 14: Exchue / Wauering or / suspition

line 16: All Mysteries / shalbe known / to vs

line 20: Secreta / Dei, non / sūt hōibus / reuelanda.

line 24: Δ / Note Highest / and Lowest / to be vnderstode / phaps  
in Ta= / bula collecta.

LH of Heptagon: Hanc partem primā / vocat Ho vnum / Librum  
in / quinta pagina se= / quente, ad hanc / Notam <sup>+</sup>

RH of Heptagon: Δ / It shold seme that this / character shold  
be onely / a circle and a pryck / fol. 6.b. I haue  
forgotten / how I cam by this Crosse / annexed to it

RH next to 'Befafes': ālr / Remēber / Obelison his promise to  
m < e > / of knowing and vsing

RH at bottom of page:

Words  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} 9 \\ 9 \\ 9 \\ 7 \\ 11 \end{array} \right\} 45$

[49a]

An: 1<sup>82</sup>: Saturday Die 17. Nouēb: A meridie hora <sup>a</sup>  
circiter 1<sup>a</sup>

Δ—The Cloth remayned drawn, a prety while after we had done our  
prayers to God

and so was all the things in the stone kept from sight.

Δ—The Man with the Crowne, (he onely) appeared first, and the  
transparent Globe

with the people of the world in it, as before. The Diaphanitie,  
or (as it wer) the Shell

of the forsaid Globe, was very glystring bright. The <sup>+</sup>man shook  
his hand toward me

and the bak of the Chayre was toward E.K. On this globe  
appeared a trace

like a seame, of two things ioyned to gither, or rather a very  
narrow plat: which began



below on the Convex superficies of this globe and went vppard to the verticall point or

(as it wer) the zenith prik of it: but frō the lower part of the same to the place where

10

the chayre stode, it seamed broder, and more worn, than from the chayre vp to the vertex

or top prik: for that part (which semed to be about the eighth part of the whole

did appere very smalle, and vnworne, or vnoccupied.

△—He turning his face toward E K, spake this. I haue declared things

past and present: And now I speak of things to come. The

15

Whole shalbe manifest. Nam ipse vnus et Indiuisibilis est.

Gloria Gloria Gloria Creatori nrō

Two partes are yet to come, the rest are finished allready △ He shewed the

rownd table with letters and numbers which master Kelly sent me: and than

he toke it away agayn. then he sayd:

20

Venite gradatim repetamus opera Dei.

△ The first of the .7. which had yesterday appeared, did now appere w/th/ the short

robe, as he did before. Than Ho sayd smylingly (being turned to E K)

Haec sunt documenta tua, quae nondum intelligis

△ Than the man with the short robe, the Forman of the 7 (yesterday appearing) sayd

25

Vnus est Deus, et vnum est opus nr̄m

△ Then cam very many vppon the Globe his convex superficies and they sayd,

Parati sumus seruire Deo nostro.

△ Eche of these had somewhat in theyr hands. som had crownes, some garmets, etc

The number of them was: 42. and stode in this order.

30

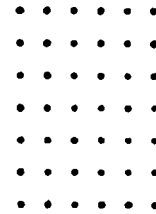
and sayd embracing (as it wer) the whole

nûmber of this Cumpany

Et nomen meum, numerus est totus

Nec est crimen in numero nostro

Moyses nos nominauit



35

Potestas istorū, quā istarum, quamvis non vna, tamen in vno sunt.

Δ I sayd that I thought there wanted at the begynning of this sentence, this word Tam.

he answered, <sup>c</sup>/it/ might be vnderstode by his pointing to them there standing, and sayd

further in respect of this my dowl: Quatenus est haec vanitas vestrorū?

Tu nosti numeros hos esse in Deo, in Mundo, et in minori mundo.

40

In Deo, id est, Nobiscum. In Mundo, quantū apud vos: In

Minori Mundo, quantū in vobis.

(Combinatur animus tuus cogitatione)

Disscritur apud Phos, idq<sub>k</sub> maxime. ) de NATVRA, quae non vobiscum, sed nobiscum (ah, ah, ah,) et nra potestate est.

45

Videbis Deum. Vidisti opera nra, Opera (inquā) manuū suarū:

Digito Dei mouebimur. A Deo venit. Homo et cū hominibus

fuit: est enim cū illis. Illius namq<sub>k</sub> potestas vim, virtutem, et esse dat,

non nobis solum modo, sed operibus nris

Inhumata tibi anima tua, quid quaerit? Δ I vnderstand you not he answered

50

Ab humo, homine; Ab homine dictum est. I axed the, what thow desyrest.

Δ Wisdom, and Veritie, I answered: || then, he, answered,

Ho Thow shalt. Δ there cam in a smyling fellow: and they pluckt

him

△ ( Note this to be a REPETITION of the Heptagonon this 55  
 little Treatise affore. Lern to reconcile  
 the 4<sup>th</sup> and the <5th>

Marginal notes:

- line 4: Carmara / al: Baligon
- line 7: /there is evidently a note missing/
- line 15: past / present / to come
- line 18: <△ hā ....bis / dext... Adhuc / duo, et tempus / non  
 est.>
- line 18, over 'partes are yet': △ forte, of this work.
- line 19: The rownd / Table.
- line 22: Short Coat.
- line 24: △ I think he / ment by the / rownd table / shewed,  
 wnich / M<sup>r</sup> K. had sent / me etc. bycaus / the names  
 cam / out of that / Table
- line 29, over 'garmets': Vide lib<sup>o</sup>. 3<sup>o</sup>.
- line 31: △ / I dowl it shold / be short / coat holding / or  
 ēbracing all / the Table with / his hands, and not Ho.<sup>†</sup>
- line 36: △ / Note Istorū / Istarū / as if it were / filios et  
 filias etc
- line 40: Numeri
- line 44: Natura
- line 48: Dei / potestas.
- lines join: 'repetamus' (line 21) to note at line 55,  
 'Nobiscum' (line 41) to 'Deum' (line 46).

pluckt him, and towsed him. He cryed he wold tell Newes: and they answered, that

there was none for him to tell and he skaped from them, or they let him slyp wit<h>

with all his clothes torn of: and he semed to crepe or get away vnder the globe, an<d>

and (as it wer) to get behinde the Diaphanous Globe.

△ These 42 had all of them somewhat in theyr hands: as eyther whole Crownes or  $\frac{1}{2}$

5

of Crownes, or robes etc. Six of them semed more glorious than the rest

and theyr Coates longer: and had cerclets (abowt theyr hed) of Gold: and they

had pfect Crowns in theyr hands. The second six had thre quarters of Cr<ownes> /Crownes/

The Third six, haue clothes in theyr hands. All the rest semed to haue balls <of>

of gold: which they toss from one to an other: but at the catching they sem<ed>

10

seemed empty wynde balls: for they gripe them, closing theyr hand [closing theyr]

as yf they wer not solid, but empty, like a bladder.

△ The first six sayde. Our names cannot be expressed neyt<her> can the names of these that follow.

△ The first six made cursy to the man with the short robe: the 15 second six made cursy to the first, and the Third to the second and they all, and the short robed man, made cursy to Ho.<sup>cr</sup>

Our workmanship is all one △ sayd the short robed man

Ho The whole day is diuided into 6 partes: Euery part occupyeth a part of them here (△ pointing to the 42 standing ther. Therefore yf

20

thow wilt work with Kings (thow knowest my meaning) finally

what soeuer thow wilt do in theyr estate; Cast thyne eye vnto the

first place. In all good causes thow shalt work by six in generall.

The rest are for Depriuation: I meane the next six. The residue all do serue to the entents and purposes apperteyning vnto Kings. 25

But bycause thow shalt not be ignorant, what they are, in name, they shall shew forth theyr Tables

△ Than they, spedyly (eche of them vppon the place of theyr table, made a square table: and euery table had but one Letter. The first of the first first six did go away, and in his table appeared an O. etc and so of the second 30

|                                                                   |               |   |             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|---|-------------|
| six, orderly theyr letters appeared in                            | E             | △ |             |
| theyr tables: but the Third six,                                  | O F S N G L E |   | 4 howres    |
| they cowered down <sup>c</sup> /vppon/ theyr letters, and         |               |   |             |
| were loath to shew them: but at                                   | A V Z N I L N |   | 4 howres    |
| length, aid. etc. and at the                                      |               |   | 35          |
| last of euery row, they all cam to=                               | Y L L M A F S |   | 4 howres    |
| gither etc.                                                       |               |   |             |
| ho Remember, how they stode, when                                 | N R S O G O O |   | 4 howres    |
| they wer secondly disposed vnto the:                              |               |   |             |
| They stode first in six rowes, and next                           | N R R C P R N |   | 4 howres 40 |
| They wer turned into .7. I speak                                  |               |   |             |
| of the greater number and not of the                              | L A B D G R E |   | 4 howres    |
| less. In speaking of the greater, I haue comprehended the lesser. |               |   |             |

△ They went euer away toward the ..... hand

The third row went of lamenting: being commaüded: by the Short rob d 45

man. All parted in fire, falling into the Globe

The fifth now did synk into the Globe, euery one in a sundry fyre by him self.

The sixth fell with smoke down into the Globe.

E K. Now remayneth onely the man with the Crown Ho: he made shew with his hands, beckning toward E K and sayd, I haue told the, that theyr workmanship is to gither.

50


Theyr names are vppon these tables.

The first letter, is the Second letter of the first name of the Table



△ How can Bobogel Thow  
be accountd the first name?

---

Marginal notes:

- line 7: Note this / reckening / by Six and / six
- line 13: Names.
- line 15: Short coat.
- line 18: So he sayd pagina / precedete, vnū / est opus nr̄m.
- line 19: The diuision / of the Daye
- line 23: Practise
- line 25: . Kings.
- line 29: The first 6
- line 30: The second 6.
- line 32: The Third six /with line to 'The third' (line 45)7
- line 40: In sexto et / 7<sup>o</sup> sunt oīa / fol. 10.
- line 52: \* △. Now he / meaneth at / Bobogel in / that table / collected frō /  made before:
- lines join: 'six of' (line 6) and 'six' (line 24),  
'names cannot' (line 13) and 'in name' (line 26).
-

< Note >

The Table  to be conferred with the rown < d  >

Thow hast 49 names in those Tables. Those names thow hast in former Tables,

by the written: in that of 7 tymes 7. Confer it with the\* rownd Table


The first letter from the point of his<sup>#</sup> sword, is B. That B signifieth the

5

number of the Bees, begynning the 49 names, environing that Circle

In the former Tables thow shalt fynde B.1. B.2. B.3. B.4. etc and so to B.49

Those Bees begynne the names of all the powres that haue governed.

do gouern, and shall gouern 

The next letter hath his circle and members going rownd about it: which

10

thow shalt fynde in the former Tables.

The Letter standeth in the myddest of euery square, of euery Circle: though

some be turned vpside down: Which onely signifyeth that they are

Spirits of Destruction, wrath and Indignation in Gods Judgement.

There are two numbers: that, on the right hand, over the letter, is the nuber

15

pertayning to that Letter.

0 in the Circumference is the ninthe letter

Gather the former Tables to gither, which thow hast made before, contayning

49, depending onely on B. Where thow shalt finde BOBOGEL, a

name consisting on 7 letters, and so the rest.

20

Reade my instructions as concerning those Tables, and thow shalt fynde

the truth of them. \_\_\_\_\_ I haue sayd.

Mighty is thy name, o [Lord] God of Hostes:

Blessed is thy name, Ô Lord, for euer.

Δ Amen.

25

[flourish]

Marginal notes:

line 5, over 'the first letter': \* sent to me by E.K.

line 8: Note

line 9, RH: # a sword in the mans hand / within the Circle [refers to line 5]

line 17: O in this Table. [(in this Table] / <O>FS etc) is of / <th>e eighth name / <the> second letter / <but> the ninth / <here> in respect / <of> the circle of / numbers.

line 21: Note who / <s>ayeth this.

line 22: Δ / Note the like phrase / fol. 2. of Hagonel / who sayd he had spoken of / it. wheras we had receyued / nothing of him before.

a line joins 'my' (line 21) to 'I' (line 30) and also to MN22.

After 7 of the klok at night. die<sup>h</sup>.

†

Ho Lo, here I byd them do, and they do: I haue appointed them, and they

are contented,. My Charge is not of my self, neyther do I speak darkly

obscurely or without truth, in affirming that I towght the those Tables: 30

For they are frō him, which made and created all things: I am from them



in powre and message, vnder whome I here rule and shall do, tyll  
the ende

of all things be: ô Great and bowntifull is his liberall mercy.  
The mercy of

him, whome we prayse and laude and sing vnto, with Joy for euer.

Behold thou desyrest, and art syk with desire. I am the  
disposer

35

though not the Composer of Gods medicines. Thou desirest to be  
cumforted

and strengthened in thy labors. I mynister vnto /<sup>c</sup>the/ The  
Strength of God.

What I say, is not of my self, neyther that which is sayd to  
me, is of th<sup>m</sup>

selues, but it is sayd of him which Liueth for euer.

These Mysteries hath God Lastly, and of his great mercyes,  
granted vnto the

40

I haue answered thy dowting mynde.

Thow shalt be glutted, yea filled, yea thow shalt swell and be  
puffed vp

with the perfect knowledge of Gods Mysteries, in his mercyes.  
Advse

them not: Be faithfull. Vse mercy. God shall enriche the

Banish wrath: yt was the first\*, and is the greatest  
Commaundemēt

45

I rayng in him, and liue by him which rayngeth and liueth for  
euer.

△ I pray you make some of these last instructions more playne,  
and euidēt.

---

Marginal notes:

line 31, over 'them': △ him

line 32: <Ba>ligons rule / and governmēt

line 32, over 'tyll the ende': sup fol. 1. b.2.

line 32: <t>he / ende / <of> all / <t>hings  
 line 35: Δ / <D>ee his / <l>anguishing / <d>esire  
 line 39: /hand/  
 line 40: <God> graunt.  
 line 45: < \* Δ I > vnderstode / <not> this to / <be> so: tyll he /  
 <ca>lled to my / <re>mēbrance / and made me / <tu>rne  
 my bokes / <to> that Parcell which he called the Prologe  
 declared by Annael: whan Saul skryed. etc  
 line 5, over 'greatest Commaundemet': Δ ~ hardest, for me, in  
 respect of my Imperfect<ions>  
 lines join: 'them' (line 31) to 'them' (line 38),  
 'art syk' (line 35) to 'medicines' (line 36).

[50b]

&lt;Those as he&gt; semed &lt;to&gt;

Embrace them &lt;fo. 5.&gt;

<sup>†</sup>  
 Ho I haue shewed the perfectly. Behold I teache the agayn O how  
 mer

cifull is God that revealeth so great secrets to flesh and blud?

Thow hast 42 letters. Thy Tables; last, conteyn so many. Euery  
letter

5

is [a name] the name particular by him self of the generall  
actions, being,

and doing of these 42, which appeared with theyr workmanship. The  
first wa<s>

theyr Prince: and he gouerneth onely the estate condition and  
being, <limited>

by God vnto Kings of the earth. The 7 next him, are those that  
 are <Messagers>

<sup>c</sup>  
 { /Messagers/ of God his good gifts to those that beleue him, and  
 faithfully serue him: wherof few <re.....> and  
 and rayng now frutefull in his sight.

10

Regnat Regnat, Regnat <sup>ô</sup> regnat Iniquitas super  
faciem totius terrae

Cor hoīs impletum est malitia, et nequicijs

Incipit, incipit enim noua illorū potestas, illis non sine re  
dedita, nec dis...

Vide quaeso. Δ He pointed down to the people, in the Globe,  
all bei<ng....>

15

sore and diseased of some sore, vlcer, botch, etc

Ho

All the residue of the Angels, (for so they are in dede) ar  
ministers of God h<is>

wrath and indignation vppon the Faythless: whose mysterie is  
most lamenta<ble.>

7 nely, haue 7 letters comprehending the dignitie of theyr  
vocation: The rest

are particular, not onely in powr, but allso in theyr vocation.  
Like leaves

20

they spring and grow from one branche.

These words which thow seest in the last Table, some of them  
vnhabable to be

pronounced, are notwithstanding the names of those 7 which held  
the fayr

and bewtifull Crownes. which names (as I sayd before) do  
comprehend not

onely the powre, but allso the Being of the rest.

25

The whole Composition is the truth of the words. I will ones  
more teach.

There were 42 that appeared, besides him, which was theyr prince.

The first 7, are called by these names, that thow seest, as OFS  
etc.

Δ and so of AVZNILN etc Ho Thow hast sayde

There are but .6. names, that are in Subiection. I teache  
brcifly

30

Doost thow not remember the Circle and the prik in the myddest:  
which was on

the right hand of him, that was theyr Prince?

That onely representeth 7 in number. Which being added vnto the rest

maketh .49. Read the letters.  $\Delta$  I red OF etc and he willed me to strike them out. 35

Ho That is the name of those of the first of the 7, which held the Crown<es>

in theyr hands

{ The second line, is the name of the second, and so to the ende of the table.

{ 42, letters: 42 names: 42 persons.

The first where his fote stode, is both his Name and Character. 40  
And so of the second, Third etc.

Notwithstanding, Generally these are the names, the first 7, the  
One presupposed, the rest being six in order.

This is the truth, and some of the Tables. Yt is easy to be vnderstode

and perfect 45

{ Whan thou wilt work for any thing apperteyning vnto the estate of a good King: Thou must first call vpon him which is theyr prince. Secondly the ministers of his powre are Six: whose names conteyne 7 letters apeece: as they Tables do manifest: by whome generally, or by any one of them, in particularitie, thou shalt 50

work for any Intent or purpose.

As concerning the letters particularly, they do concern the Names of 42

which

---

Marginal notes:

line 5: 42 letters.

line 8: The Prince.

line 9: Kings of / the erth.

- line 11: The Prince and / his first 7
- line 14: Istorum / Noua potes= / tas incipit
- line 14, over 'dedita': \ data
- line 18: Angels, minis= / ters of Gods / wrath.
- line 19: Consider / the recke= / ning here by 7 / but below he  
/ had a reckening / by .6. [with hand]
- line 25: The Powre and / being of the / rest.
- line 24 RH:  $\Delta$  There were but 6. holding / bewtifull Crownes
- line 27: NOTE / The Prince
- line 28: Now by 7
- line 30: Six names / in subiection
- line 30, over 'but six names':  $\Delta$  each of .7. letters.
- line 32:  $\odot$  on the / right hand
- line 36, over 'of the first of the 7':  $\Delta$  forte of the first 7. /  
 $\Delta$ Videlicet
- line 38, over 'The second line':  $\Delta$ : of the six lines
- line 39: NOTE
- line 40: Note, Name / and Character.
- line 47: Praxis / Call.
- line 48: Prince .1. / Ministers .6. [with hand]
- line 52: 42
- lines join: 'Those' (line 1) to 'next him' (line 9),  
'first' (line 7) to 'him' (line 27) and to 'theyr  
prince' (line 28),  
'The 7 next him' (line 9) to 'onely in powr' (line 20),  
'those 7' (line 23) to 'first' (line 36),  
'7' (line 23) to ' $\Delta$ ' (MN24 RH) and to '7' (line 36),  
'Crownes' (line 24) to 'Crown<es>' (line 36),

'The first 7' (line 28) to '7 letters' (line 49),

'onely' (line 33) to 'One' (line 43),

'vnderstode' (line 44) to 'powre' (line 48),

The first '42' (line 39) to 'the Names of 42' (line 52).

[51a]

<w>hich 42, in generally, or one of them do and can work the  
dstruction

nindrance or annoyance of the estate, Condition or degree, as well  
for body

as government of any Wicked or yll Liuing Prince.

In outward sense, my words are true. I speak now of the vse of 5

one of the first, that I spake of, or manifested yesterday

Sayd I not, and shewed I not, which had the gouernment of Princis?

For, as it is a Mystery to a farder matter, so is it a purpose to  
a present

vse. Yf it rule worldly princis, how much more shall it work

with the Princis of Creation? 10

Thow desyrest Vse, I teache Vse, and yet the Art is to the furder

Vnderstanding of all Sciences, that are past, present or [to come]

yet to come

Frute hath a furder vertue than onely in the eating: Gold his furder  
con=

dition, property, and qualitie, then in melting, or common vse. 15

Kings. there are in Nature, With Nature, and above Nature.

Thow art Dignified.

Δ yf I wold haue the King of Spayne his hart to be enclined to  
the pur

pose I haue in hand; What shall I do?

Ho First Cast thyne ey vnto the Generall prince, Gouernor or  
Angel

20

that is principal in this world    $\Delta$  as yet, is BALIGON or Carmara,

Secondly consider the circumstances of thy Instruction

Thirdly place  <sup>$\Delta$</sup>  my name, whome thou hast all ready

Fourthly, of him, which was shewed the yesterday, whose garmets were short, and of purple. 25

Firstly, his powre, with, the rest of his six perfect Ministers

With those thou shalt work to a good ende. All the rest thou [maist]

mayst vse to Gods Glorie. For euery of them shall minister to thy necessities

Moreover, when thou workest. Thy feete must be placed vppon those tables 30

which thou seest written last comprehending 42 letters, and names.

But with this Consideration, that the first Character, which is

the first of the 7, in thy former booke, be placed vppon the top of the

<sup>$\Delta$</sup>  Table, which thou [was commaunded] wast, and art, and shalbe commaunded to haue, and Vse. 35

Last of all, the Ring, which was appointed the: with the

Lamine comprehending the forme of thy own name: which

is to be made in perfect gold, as is affore sayd.

Euen as God is iust, his iudgements true, his mercies vnspeakable

so are we the true messagers of God: and our words are 40

true in his mercy for euer.

Glory,  $\hat{o}$  Glory, be to the,  $\hat{o}$  most high God.

E K. Now commeth Michael and heaveth his hand out of the stone

and sayth GOD Bless you.

Ho As concerning the vse of these Tables, this is but the first step. 45

Neyther shalt thou practise them in wayne.

And whereas thou dost vse a demaunde, as concerning thy doings  
to a good

I shall not practise these Tables  
in Vayne

50

---

Marginal notes:

line 2:     Destruction / or hurt.

line 7:     [there appears to be a note missing]

line 7, over 'Princis':     Δ ∞ Kings

line 12:     <... Scienc>es / <past prese>nt / <or to co>me

line 16:     Diuers <kin>gs

line 17:     Dignifica= / tion

line 20:     Δ who is that?

line 21:     Practise.

line 21 RH:   Δ Is it not / Annael w<sup>th</sup> / whome I began? [with line  
to 'Generall prince' (line 20)]

line 23:     Δ — Ergo it / shuld seme / to be his office / to deale  
with / Kings: but / in the ende / he declareth / his  
office to / be of all A~~E~~= / reall actions

line 24, over 'of him':   Δ the name

line 24, over 'whose garmets':   Δ. Hagonel

line 26, over 'powre, with':   Δ Character

line 26, over 'perfect Ministers':   of 7 letters a pece

line 30:     The placing / of my fete / in practise [with hand]

line 33:     ⊙     Note former  
              ⊕     boke

line 34:     Δ / The Table / of practise / of a yard square / libro: 1<sup>o</sup>.



line 36: The Ring.

line 37: The Lamine.

line 38: The stone was / not yet browght

line 40: Truth.

line 43: Mich.

lines join: 'my name' (line 23) to MN23,

'perfect' (line 26) to MN40,

'them' (line 46) to 'I shall' (line 49).

[51b]

to a good intent and purpose: and for the prayse and advancem<sup>t</sup>: of  
Gods

{ Glorie, with Philip the Spanish King: I answer<sup>t</sup> y what=

soeuer thou shalt speak do or work, shalbe profitable & accepted

And the ende of it shalbe good.

Moreouer wheras thou vrgeest the absence of thy frende, as an excuse 5

for the ring. No excuse can preuayle: Neyther canst thou shew

the frutes of a iust mynde, but of a faynting stomack w<sup>th</sup> y excuse

-God hath retorned him, and wilbe mercifull vnto you both.

Thy Chargis in worldly affayres, are not so great, that God cannot

Minister help to theyr necessities. Thou shalt be comforted But 10

Respect the world to come; (wherevnto thou art provided)

and for what ende: and that, in<sup>3</sup> what tyme.

Serue God truely: Serue him iustly

Great Care is to be had with those that meddle with Princes  
/affaires/

Much more Consideration, with whome thou shalt medle or vse 15

any practise. But God hath shaddowed the frō destruct<ion>

tion. He preserueth his faithfull, and shaddoweth the iust with  
a shi<eld>

shield of honor.

None shall enter into the knowledge of these mysteries with th<sup><ee></sup>

but this Worker

20

Thy estate with the Prince (now raynging) shall shortly be <sup>c</sup>/amended/  
[am<sup><ended></sup>]

Her fauor encreased, with the good wills of diuerse, that are  
now, deceyuers

Thy hand, shall shortly be theyr help: and thou shalt do wunder  
=full and many benefits (to the augmenting of Gods Glorie) for  
<sup><thy></sup>

25

thy Cuntry.

Finally God doth enriche the with Knowledge: and of thy self, <sup><hath></sup>  
hath giuen the vnderstanding of these worldly vanities He is [w..]

[derfull] Mercifull: and we his good Creatures, neyther haue,  
<sup><do></sup>

do, nor will forget the. God doth blesse you both: who<sup><se></sup>

30

Mercy, Goodness, and Grace, I pronownce and vtter vppo<sup><n></sup>  
you. I haue sayd:

△ Laus, honor, Gloria, virtus et Imperium,

Deo Opt<sup>o</sup>. Max<sup>o</sup>.

Amen

35

Ho yf you will stay one half howre, I will say further vnto you.

△ We will: by gods leave.

/flourish/

△ After that half howre passed, (being 10½ Noctis h̄.) he sayd

Ho Venito BOBOGEL Rex et princeps Nobilitatis

40

Venito cū ministris: venito (inquam) Venito cum

satellitibus tuis munitus

Δ I fele: and (by a great thundring noyce, thumming thuming in  
<myne>

myne cares) I perceyue the presence of some spirituall creature  
about me

E K. And I here the thumming.

45

<sup>u</sup>  
Ho Behold, Before this work be finished, (I meane the  
Manif<estation>

festation of these Mysteries) thou shalt be trubbled, with the  
Contrarie Powres

and bey<ond>

Marginal notes:

line 3: Dei Miseri= / cordia magna / ipi Δ concessa

line 11: Respice / ista Tria

line 19: Secresy.

line 21: Dee,

line 24: God graunt.

line 28: Worldly vanity.

line 29: Good Angels

line 41: Noble / men

line 46: Note

At foot of page: F

[52a]

and beyond any accustomed manner. But take heade, they prouoke the  
not to

work agaynst our Commaundemēts. Both thy ey and hand shall be ma=  
nifest witnes of it: well, this is true.

E K, They that now come in are ioly fellows, all trymm'd after the  
manner of Nobis

litte now a dayes: with gylt rapers, curled heare: and they  
bragged vp and down.

5

BOBOGEL standeth in a blak veluet coat; and his hose close,  
rownd hose of vel=

uet vpperstoks: ouer layd with gold lace: he hath a veluet  
hat-cap, with a blak

feather in it: with a cape on one of his sholders his purse  
hanging at his neck

and so put vnder his gyrdell. his berd long: he had pantofells  
and pynsons.

Of these, in Company, are 42. 7 of them, are apparayled like  
BOBOGEL:

10

sagely and gravely: All the rest are ruffyn like. Some, are  
like to be men and women:

for, in the foreparte they semed women, and in the bak part,  
men, by theyr apparayle.

and these were the last 7. They daunsed, lepe and kissed

E K. The stone is brighter, where the sage and graue 7 do stand  
and where the other do stand

the stone is more dark

15

E K. Now they come to a circle, the sage and the rest, but the  
sage stand all to githner

Δ The first of the sage, lyft vp his hand a loft, and sayde:

Faciamus secundū voluntatē Dei: Ille Deus n̄r est verē nobilis

& aeternus. he pluckt vp his right fote, and vnder it appeared,

an L.

L

20

Then the Second moved his fote, and ——— E ——— appeared.

Vnder the third, likewise

E

etc.

N

A

R

25

B

Then the last, B. and immediately they grew all to gither in a  
flame of fyre

and so sonk down into the former Globe

Of the rest the first pluckt vp his fote

and there appeared an L. etc

L 30

N

A

N

A

At the last, they fell down like

E 35

drosse of metall.

B

Then whipped out fowr in a cumpany

R

O

E

L E E N A R B

M

40

N

L N A N A E B

A

They clasp togither, and fall down

in a thick smoke \_\_\_\_\_

B

R O E M N A B

L

E

L E A O R I B 45

A

O

N E I C I A B

R

I

A O I D I A B

They ioyne to gither and vanish

like drops of water. \_\_\_\_\_

B

50

N

E

2.

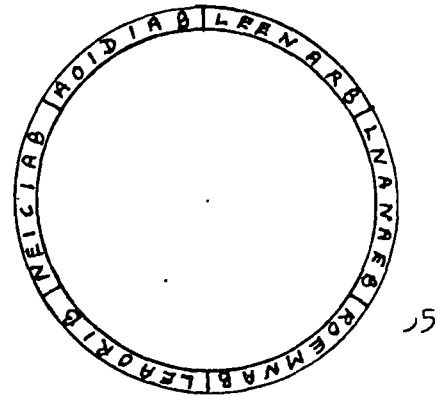
3.

4.

5.

They fall down like a storme  
of hayle.

I  
 C  
 I  
 A  
 B




---

Marginal notes:

line 1: <Ca>ve

line 4, over 'ioly': Jolly

line 6: BOBO / <BOBO>GEL his / <a>pparayle

line 16: Circle [part of this note is missing]

line 38 RH, over the table of letters: Δ This I fashioned thus  
 after / my first dictata penning / of my own fantasie.

---

[52b]

.6.

A  
 O  
 I  
 D  
 I  
 A  
 B

5

The last vanished away.

Δ then he sayd Well, I will shew the more of these things at the  
 next time.

God be with you: God bless you both.

Δ Amen.

10

Δ When shall that next tyme be? a voyce spake, on monday.

Δ Deo soli omnis Honor et Gloria. Amen

/flourish/

Monday. Nouembris 19. Circiter 1<sup>a</sup> horā a meridie

△ Long after our comming to the stone (abowt half a quarter of an hower 15

the Cloth of sylence [was] /remayned/ drawn: and nothing appeared: but E K heard

as a far off very pleasant Musik the while

Ho He seamed to take the cloth away with his hands. After that (abowt 6 mi=

.6. minutes, Nothing altered or shewed, other than the standing furniture, vsually

of late appearing ther. 20

E K. Now come in 7 men with Musicall Instrumēts and before them cam one

with a veluet Coate, and a kat Cap, with a sword by his syde, and a Cloke or

or Cape hanging on one sholder: and a blak feather in his hat. etc.

Afterward cam 42. more, seeming to be very far behynde the first 7. Their

Melody sownded very swetely and pleasantly all the while frō the begynning 25

The forme of theyr Musicall Instrumēt

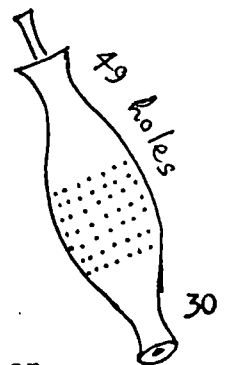
These Musiciens play, one with an other, iestingly they bobbed one an other, and than played agayn.

The 42, which semed a far off, cam nerer and nerer, and seamed to bring a rownd thing, like a table in theyr hands

The 7 Pipers went away: and the Man w<sup>th</sup> /the<sup>c</sup>/ Cape hanging on one of his sholders (somwhat like a Nobleman) remayned.

Then wer they come at hand, the 42 with the rownd table.

These seamed to be of two sortes. Of which, the last 7: on the forepart



to behold seamed rather wemen, with fardingales very much sprouting  
out 35

but they face had no peculiar attyre of wemen.

The 42 held the circle (or rownd Table) vp, over theyr hed, flatwise.

Then they layd the Circle down, and stode rownd about it

<sup>†</sup>Ho sayd. Tam mali, quam boni, laudant te,

Deus, Deus, Deus noster.

40

△ The letters appeared to E K, and he told me them, and I began to write

L E E N A R B

<sup>†</sup>Ho Thow writest in vayne. Thow hast written them allready

△ It is true: I see them now last below noted down.

<sup>†</sup>Ho Loke the eight / [<sup>†</sup>ninth] 7 name in the Tables  $\square^{\Delta}$  of 49, 45  
collected  $\square$

Loke to his Character in [  $\square$  the Heptagono,  $\square$  ] /  $\Delta$  the great Circle / [the the Table w<sup>th</sup> 7 Angles.]

Loke the second name in the Table w<sup>th</sup> 7 angles.

△ That I finde to be Bornogo.

E K. He with the cape on his one sholder; sayth, Nomen meū est Bobogel.

.And he that is my subiect, is Governor of the second Angle of the 7 50

Bobogel——Rex

Bornogo——Princeps

---

Marginal notes:

line 22: BOBOGEL / Rex,

line 30: a rownd / Table

line 31: The .7. pipers / went away

line 35: women like

line 37: The Circle



line 45 RH:  $\Delta$  / eight / that is Bobogel.

line 46: Charac= / ter

line 49: Bob.

line 52 RH:  $\Delta$  / in Heptagono / with line to 'of the 7' (line 50) /

line joins 'far' (line 24) to 'far' (line 29).

[53a]

Bob: I weare these robes, not in respect of my self, but of my Governmēt.

I am the Prince, Chief,  $\square$  E K. he falleth down on his knees and speaketh

wordes which I vnderstand not  $\square$  Yea the onely distributer, giver, and

bestower of Wisdome and Science.

I weare this apparayle, for that in dede, being a Prince I am a  
Cownsaylor 5

to estate and dignitie. All Dignitie and gouernmēt that is not cownsayled

by me, and my subiects, is frustrate, voyde, and cleane without firm grownd.

Those which thou sawest (being pipers) [wh] signifie praters, with vnaccustomed, and not vsuall Instruments: which allwayes seame to sound 10

that, which None but I my self, with my subiects, (yea not all of them,

but the fewest) can performe

But I am true Philosophie. I am true vnderstanding. Oh

my descending from him which rayngeth, is euen vncomprehensible

of the Angells. Neyther do I know, my self: But what I 15

think, I vtter, and What I measure, I am.

he sayd. Ordinationem Infinitae potestatis eleuate

E K. Now come Thre<sup>a</sup> out of the 42, and layd theyr fingers vppon the  
the three first letters. and

The first sayd. O Vnitas in Natura et in Deo 20

The second sayd O AEqualitas Dei et Naturae. Deus in Deo  
Natura a Deo et se.

The Third sayd. Conventus eius, est sine numero: Tamen  
nobiscum est in Vno, Fons et Caput Naturae

E K. They ioyne them selues to gither and become, all One Man,  
most beaw= 25

tifull to behold: Whose hed and to the brest, seamed to be neare  
to heven.

His brest and myddle part, in the ayre: His feete seamed to  
stand on

the earth. There cam like a Fire, out of the Crown of his hed,  
and


to enter into the heven, hard, by it: This great high and fayre  
man

sayde Veritas quaesitas, nra est. 30

E K. His apparayle is diuided, into two halfes: frō the Crown of  
his hed to

his fete. The one half seemed to be most fresh flourishing herbes:

The other half seemed to be of diuerse metalls: and his right  
fote seamed

 to be Leade. he sayd (with an Aposiopesis) thus

Beatus est qui Lumen capitis mei etc. 35

E K; The rest, all, quake. he sayd furder

Vnus in Capite, vnus in pectore, vnus in pedibus

E K. Then stept oute 9, at ones

E K. Then the great man, returned, or was restored to his former  
estate of threa

particular men agayn: and they three leaned to the Gentlema 40

with the Cape on his sholder.    & BOBOGEL. who sayde

Dee, Dee, Dee, at length, but not to late.

E K. In the place of the former first thre, appeared LEE

E K. of the 9, which stept out, they of the first Ternarie

sayd eche thus orderly

45

1     Volumus

2     Possumus

3     Quid non

This Ternarie sayd, Faciamus, quae fecerunt, nam nos Tres,  
sumus Adam, societate.

E K. They become one man, as the other before, but a slender and a  
weak one

50

neyther so high as the first, euer laboring or striving w<sup>th</sup> it  
self to stand vp

right, but still it bended, bowed, and inclined downward, as  
though it wold

fall for feeblenes [of ..] The Body of this Compownd man, seemed  
to be

of Gold

Marginal notes:

line 4:     Wisdom / & Science: / true No= / bility.

line 5:     < Councell >

line 9:     Pipers.

line 13:    philo= / sophie

line 19:    .1. / ^ LEE

line 32:    Vegetible, / Minerall.

line 34:    h.

line 42:    Dee

line 44:    2 / NAR

line 49: Adam

[53b]

Of Gold glittering. When they returned to theyr distinct shape: they  
semed /naked/ nake<d>

and to be sorry, and lament: and Bobogel did put them frō him,  
[wi<th>]

with his sworde, skabbard and all, as it hanged by his side:

Theyr letters were NAR

E K Then cam the Ternarie — BLN, and orderly they sayd thus 5

|   |   |           |
|---|---|-----------|
| { | 1 | Ab illo   |
|   | 2 | Per illum |
|   | 3 | Cum illo  |

Bob. Qui caret hijs tribus, [ ] E K: he whispereth to the first  
Three lea<ni...>

to him and with all, seeing me muse at the Aposiopesis,  
h<e...> 10

No No , Thow shalt not dowl [ ] pointing to me. [ ]

In ecclesia Dei, laborabit in Vanum.

E K. This Ternarie of men becam to haue one onely hed, and three  
<b....>

and that one head was in good proportion

E K. The side of the Diaphanous Globe opened, and this Transformed  
Tern<arie.....> 15

point into it, toward the multitude: and the people had theyr  
brests nak<ed:>

and semed to wepe: and to wipe theyr brests, and where they  
wiped the place

becam fayre.

E K. This Ternary did seme to stand vppon a triangular stone, and  
to turn

(as a horsmyll doth, abowt one axeltree) orderly agaynst, and by,  
the hole 20

of the Globe so opened. and euery of the three bodyes, in theyr turning, as they

cam agaynst the open place of the Globe, they extended, and stretch out theyr

hands toward the people: The first seamed to hold a rownd ball in his hand

.1. being very little, but fayre white.

2 The second body, his hand had in it, a little sword flamming w<sup>th</sup> fyre. 25

3. The third had a thing like a hatt band of lawn, of many cullours, which

ever as his turne cam to be agaynst the opened hole, he seamed to cast tow=

ard the people, and the people did seme to be drawn to him ward, by the

casting of it toward them.

These three bodyes, though they turned contynually, yet did the face 30

or Cowntenance of that one Compownd hed, stedyly and immoveably regard or loke into the Globe at the forsayd hole therof.

✠

Ho A wonder to behold the heuen, much more this.

E K. Now this Ternarie separated it self, and the hole or Clyft in the Globe

did shut to. These three did sit down by Bobogel. 35

✠

Ho ——— Sunt semper, et Cibus illorum est vnus.

△ Note. The first Ternarie, they seemed to stand leaning to Bobogel

The Third Ternarie was set orderly and vicissim, close by Bobogel his feete, one of these betwene two of the first, euer

so that orderly one of the first, and one of the Third ternarie: 40

one of the first and one of the third; one of the first and one.

of the third.

E K. Then cam the Ternarie ANA

They sayd, orderly thus. 1. Ab illo sed

2 Cum illo sed, looking on his  
own belly

45

△ Then I demaunded of theyr [Appr]

Apparayle: and E K sayd that

these were brauer than the former

Ternary. Bobogel sayd, Aliqui a dignitate, Caeteri talia quia  
non

sunt Digni. this he sayd pointing to  
theyr appa=

50

Then the third sayd. 3. Per illum, Per illū, Per illū || rayle  
with a frowning countenance thrusting furth his hand.

E K. They loyne to gither into one hed and three bodyes.

The Hole of the Globe opened very wyde now


This one 55

---

Marginal notes:

line 5: .3. / BLN

line 17: Penitence

line 19: 

line 43: 4 / ANA

---

[54a]

This one Compownd Hed had many eyes, many noses, many mowthes,  
as though it were a Cahos of Faces, in one hed, but three

bodyes. One of this bodyes had in his hand a little Ball, like the  
other before, [but] very white, but with twynkling  
brightnes in it.

The other two bodyes, theyr hands were emptie.

5

E K. They turn in order agaynst the Hole of the Globe. But the People

regarded them not: but at the comming of the hand with the Ball, against

the hole, the people loked a little vp at it.

Bob. sayd. Et quia carebant in ardentibus ignis

E K. These, being dissolved into theyr former state, go and sit (with hevy

10

chere) by them that sat affar of from BOBOGEL. Theyr apparail semed to be simple: theyr good apparayles was gone.

Δ. Here I fownd a certayn error in my writing of the first Notes: which I since

amended in the writing of this: But while that error did trubble me, the

spirituall creature sayd these wordes Bob — The Fawt is in E K his

15

remembrance, and not in his will. Note this,

LEE ar the Three that stand with me

NAR are the Three that I reiect

BLN are the Thre which are enterlincked with me

ANA are the Three that are reiectd.

20

Bob. sayd. Omnes naturam ad, Sed, Nōn in illo.

E K. The 30 remayning, cam all away, and satt betwene Bobogel and the reiectd Cumpany. and frō that Cumpany cam onely

7 to the Circle agayn. Euery of these 7, sett theyr feete, eche

vppon a letter of the Circle, which letters are these,

25

AOIDIAB

E K. They say, In\* vse, we are perfect; Misvused, we are Monsters.

Sumus septem Januae Naturae, et sui ispius qui novit Deum.

E K. These 7, seme to vanish into wynde, or white smoke, and to fall into

the Globe. And the six relected, turn into a black smoke: and the rest

30

of the 30 seemed also converted into black smoke, and to fall into the Globe.

Bob. sayd In sexto et septimo sunt omnia.

E K The six that were next him, semed to clyng hard and close to Bobogel

(Bob. Behold.) E K They be ioyned all into One body, and becam like

the sonne, into the forme of a bowle or Globe: and so moved vp [the] or rowled

35

vp the small narrow race, or line vnworne, which remayned higher then the

chayre, toward the top of the Diaphanous Globe, as before is declared.

So that this Princely [Jen] Noble man, and his six adherents, in this manner

went out of sight

Ho Formator horum, secundus est in Heptagono:

40

They are diuided into the day, as the other wer before: But wheras

the other are chiefly vppon that day which you call Monday, so are these to be Vsed onely on the Sabaoth day.

Theyr Vse, is onely thus (obseruing the former order) with the

Circle vppon the grownd. The first six, /  $\Delta$  of the six orders / with theyr King

45

and the seale of theyr Prince, taketh place in the whole body of the

day: The other being 6 tymes six, are diuided into the partes of the

day as before.

The Letters onely where they stode, are theyr names and Characters

What doth the heven behold or the earth conteyne, that is

50



·Δ·

not

Note the Circle vppon the grownde.

Marginal notes:

line 22: Δ There re= / mayned 10 / tymes Three

line 23, over second 'Cumpany': Δ of 30

line 27: Note by theyr sitting / that they are / indifferent:  
and so / they say:

line 27: \* Δ They se= / med therfore / to sit betwene / the  
perfect / and the re= / iected: as / indifferēt.

line 31, over 'the 30 seemed': Δ beside AOIDIAB

line 32: 6, 7.

line 36: NOTE / the narrow / path, above / the chayr.

line 38, over 'adherents': LEE. BLN

line 40: Δ / Bornogo.

line 42: Monday

line 43: Sondag:

line 44: Note former. ergo / There is also a / ·Δ· circle on the  
grownd

line 47: Practise. / by .6.

line 49: Names and Cha= / racters

line 52 RH: vide ante 3folia, of my fete placed vppon the /  
Tables: Ergo they shold seme to be on the grownd

line connects 'ANA' (line 20) to 'six' (line 30)

[54b]

is not (or may be) subdued, formed and made by these.

What lerning, grownded vppon wisdome, with the excellencies  
of Nature, cannot they manifest?

One in heuen they know

One and all in men, they Know.

5

One and all in erth, they know.

Measure heuen by a parte, ( my meaning is, by these few)

Let God be Glorified: His name prayed.

His Creation well taken: and his Creatures, well vsed.

△ I craued for some playner Instruction, as concerning the vse  
of the...

10

and he answered:

† Ho Behold: Are thy eyes so blynde? Dost thou see and wilt not see.

Thy mynde telleth the. Thy Vnderstanding [furdeth the] furthereth

and thy Judgemēt doth establish it: That as thou sawest a

Body in three places, and of Three Compositions: Though but two  
in forme/

15

So shall this work haue relation, to tyme<sup>1.</sup> present &

present vse, to Mysteries<sup>2.</sup> far exceding it. And Finally<sup>3.</sup> to

a purpose and intent, Wherby the Maiestie, and Name of Go<d,>

shall and may, and of force must appeare, with the Apparit<ion>

of his wonders, and mervayles, yet vnhard of.

20

Dixi.

△ Than Immediately after he began agayne as followeth.

† Ho Venito, Veni (inquam) adesto. Veni Rex.

O Rex, Rex, Rex Aquarum, Venito, venito inqu<am.>

25

Magna est tua, maior autem mea potestas

Deus nr, restat, regnat, et est, Quod, et sicut fuit

E K. Then cam one and sayd

———— Parati sumus nomen eius Creatoris nr̄i, nomen, nomen  
laud<are>

Nomen (inquam) Vnius nunc. et viuentis. 30

Obscura sunt haec aī̄s obscuris. Vera et manifesta Veris  
et perfectis.

Ecce adsunt E K. he that sayd this, is as thowgh  
h<e>

were a king, with a Crown on his hed: His apparayle was a  
long

robe whitish: But his left arme was very white, and his  
righ<t> 35

arme, black.

E K There cam after this King a Cumpany of 42: and [euery] e<very>  
one of them had a letter in his forhed, and they were 7 in a row  
and six, downward.

The King had written in his forhed

BABALEL

The first 7, (begynning frō E K his left hand

toward his right) had these letters, and

the second, Thirddth etc had these letters as

here appeare.

†  
Ho At the next tyme, more.

△ Ōe quod viuit Laudet Deū

Vnum et trinū, in ōe aēnum

E K The cloth draws. Amen

[flourish]

50

Marginal notes:

line 1: Theyr off<ice>

line 2: Wisdome.  
 line 8: Δ / This boke is / sometimes / called liber / Creationis  
           / & sometimes / Tabulae / Creationis  
 line 16: A Threfold / Vse of this / Doctrine  
 line 25: Rex Aquarū  
 line 34: Note this / Kings appa= / rayle, and / shew.  
 line 40: King / BABALEL

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[55a]

Nouēb. 20. Tuesday, a meridie circa 2<sup>a</sup>.

Δ After a great half howre attending, and diuerse tymes our prayers to god

The black Cloth was pulled vpward: and so vanished away.

<sup>st</sup>Ho appeared sitting in his chayre, and his face toward me: and so looking

about he paused awhile half a quarter of an howr.

5

In the meane space cam one skyping lightly, a little boy, in a grene coate

and sayd, He is here, at an ynche Than he sayd, Hark. To

me he sayd, Ha Sir ha. Δ what wilt thou say to me? ☐ Grene Coate ☐ I am Multin his minister, wilt thou any thing with me? I cannot tarry. Δ Then this skipiak espyed a spirituall creature coming, and

10

sayd: Ha, ar you there? Δ and so went out of sight

Δ This was King BABALEL, with a crown of Gold on his hed, his garment whitish, and his right [ar] sleue [of] on his arme, blak: and the left sleue very

white. He seamed to stand vppon water

The other 42 cam likewise and stode

15

Bab. Veni princeps 7 principū qui sunt Aquarū Principes.

Ego sum Rex potens et mirabilis in aquis: cuius potestas est [in]

aquarū Visceribus.

Princeps iste (Δ pointing to a Prince, new cōme to sight which had

a red long robe, and a cerclet of gold on his hed) est  
Tertius

20

principium in Heptagonon. Δ I sayd Heptagono: he replied  
Heptagonωρ, [ad] and sayd: verè, planè; et perspicuè dixi.

Bab Mensurasti aquas? Befafes answered, Factum est.

Δ I seemed to dowl of some matter here, and [Bab] /Befafes/  
sayd, Thow

shalt be answered in any dowl. I am thy frende: I haue  
fauored

25

the in many things. Phers haue imagined vaynely of my name.

For thy loue towards me, Thow shalt know my name.

I was with Salomon; I was also (vnknown) with Scotus.

I was in respect of my powr: vnknown, in respect of my name.

He called me Mares. Since I was not with any. And I preserued 30

the from the powre of the wicked, when I told the things of truth to

come. When I rid thy house of wycked ones, and was with the in

extremities. I was with the. Behold: I was with the throwghly.

Δ Then he bad E K Ax me, yf I knew Obelison. Δ I had to do

with Obelison, but by reasons of my Skryers nawghtynes, I was in  
dowl

35

what I might credit.

Bef. Thow shalt know this for a most manifest truth hereafter.

I am Obelison, the fifth of the Seuenth which haue the  
skowrging of Obelison the wicked: but not wicked for euer,  
neyther accursed to the ende.

40

We Angels haue tymes, and our faultes are amended.

Δ shall I Note your name, by Befafes. he answered, my

name is so, in dede: The AEgyptians called me [so] Obelison  
 in respect of my nature. Δ I pray you what is the Etymologie  
 of Obelison? Bef. A pleasant deliuerer 45

E K The former 7, haue Crownes: Theyr letters stand betwene theyr  
 feete. EILOMFO etc

Bef. Thow hast receyued these letters allready.

E K. The water seameth, contynually to pass ouer these letters.

Bab. I Gouvern vppon Tuesday 50

E K the first seuen take the water and throw it vp, and  
 it becomethh

∴ Δ The fifth of the seventh

I vnderstand not this yet Vide lib. 5. A<sup>o</sup> 1583  
 Maij <.l.>

---

Marginal notes:

line 9: Multin / his Mini / ster

line 12: <Babalel.>

line 16: <He calleth / Befafes.>

line 19: Befafes.

line 20: The Prince his / apparayle.

line 24: Prince / Befafes / my old frende / vnknown of me

line 30: Mares

line 34: OBELISON

line 39: NOTE of / Wicked spirits / some restitution / to favor

line 46: or Cerclets / <p>haps.

line 50: Tuesday.

line connects 'principū' (line 16) and '7' (line 46).

---

1 it becommeth clowdes.

2 The second throweth it vp, and it becommeth hayle and snow.

One of the first 7. sayde, Behold, Behold, Behold:

All the motion of the waters, and saltnes thereof is aequally  
<mea>

sured by vs: we giue good success in battayles, reduce ships,  
& 5

all manner of vessells that flote vppon the seas: our might <is>

is great. Muse not For whan the seas are trubbled, with <the>

the wickednes or vprore of man, our Authoritie giueth victor<y,>  
<from>

from him that is most Victorious. Fishes and Monsters <of the>

of the sea, yea all that liueth therein, are well known with  
iii 10

Behold we are (generally) the Distributers of Gods Judgm<ents>

ents vppon the waters that couer the earth.

E K Than stept furth all the rest

The Third seuen sayd, some of vs conduct the waters through the

.3. earthe. Other of vs, do beawtify Nature in her Composition. 15

The rest of vs are distributers and Deliuers of the Treasures  
and the vnknown substances of the seas

Bab. Praysed be God which hath created vs, from the begynning with

with Glory. His Glory be augmented.

E K. Now the 42 diue into the Water and so vanish away: and 20

Befafes, and Babalel also wer suddaynly gon.

Ho. standing vp sayd, Lo, Thus thou seest the glory of Gods crea=

tures: Whome thow mayst vse, with the consideration of the

day, theyr king, theyr Prince, and his Character.

The King and prince gouern for the whole daye: The rest  
according 25

to the six partes of the day

Use them, to the glory, prayse, and honor of him, which created  
them to the Laude and prayse of his Maiestie.

A day is 24 howres.  $\Delta$  But whan doth that Day begyn?

<sup>tr</sup>Ho Thow shalt be towght the rest.

30

<sup>tr</sup>Ho, proceded, and { Vitam dedit Deus omnibus Creaturis  
sayd { Venite. Veni Ignis, veni Vita mortalium  
(inquam) Venito. Adesdum. Regnat Deus

$\hat{O}$  Venite. Nam vnus ille Regnat, et est

35

Vita Viuentium.

E K. Now there commeth a King, and hath a Prince next him  
and after them 42, like ghostes or smokes, wit<hout>  
all forme; hauing euery of them a little glittering spark of  
fire in the myddest of them.

40

The first 7, are red, as blud }  
The second 7, not so red } The sparks of these were greater  
The Third 7 like whitish smoke } then of the rest.

45

$\Delta$  Whereas in the former Treatise, ther was a dowl of Butmono The  
fowrth

and Blisdon theyr offices, being assigned here clere contrary:  
The dowl may

<be answer>ed by <the> notes A<sup>o</sup> 1582 Maij <.5.> of the Table  
and my character.

---

Marginal notes:

line 4: Theyr officis

line 7: <sup>\*</sup> $\Delta$

line 14: The Third 7.

line 16: Threasors in / the seas.



line 23: Practise  
 line 25: King and Prince / <g>overn the whole / day.  
 line 27: Vse  
 line 29: A Day:  
 line 33: Ignis  
 line 46: Therefore I suspēt / <some Intruder / to have first  
 ....>

[56a]

The fowrth 7 }  
 The fifth } are diuerse cullours: All had firie sparks in theyr  
 The sixth } middle.

Euery spark had a letter in it.

|                                                 |               |    |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------------|----|
| Verè beatus (sayd this King                     | B B A R N F L | 5  |
| that now cam)                                   | B B A I G A O |    |
| △ I pray you to tell me yo <sup>r</sup> , name. | B B A L P A E | P  |
| I am the fowrth in <u>the Table</u>             | B B A N I F G |    |
| and the two and twentyth                        | B B O S N I A |    |
| △ I vnderstand in the Table of the              | B B A S N O D | 10 |

names collected frō the 7 Tables

of 49. And in those tables taking of the first septenarie Baligon

for the first /<sup>c</sup>King7, and in the second septenarie Bobogel for the second King,

and in the third septenarie, taking Babalel, so accownted the third

and in the fowrth septenarie, the first of septenarie is Bynepor, and

so accownted the fowrth: but accownting euery one from Baligon he is the 22<sup>th</sup>: and so the fowrth and the two and twentieth.

15

E K. a Voyce I here, saying, you shall begynne to work  
agayn, at 6 of the klok next.

△ Oīa bonorū largitori, laus perennis et immensa, 20

Amen.

/flourish/

-----  
Marginal notes:

line 8: <..... / .... or / King.>

line 8, over 'fowrth': △: King

line 12: < △ Butmono / his Pri>nce  
-----

△ Abowt half a quarter of an howre after 6: we retorned to the  
work

and the cloth was drawn away. <sup>†</sup>Ho sitting in the chayre.

Ek There appeared a little ronning water very clere chrystalline:  
and on 25

this side the 42 last specified.

Bynepor sayd: Lo, (□ and than he kneled down, and semed to pray,  
a prety

while)□ The generall state and condition of all things  
resteth, onely

and dependeth vppon the distribution, and participation of my  
exalted

most especiall and glorified powr. My sanctification, glory, 30

and renowne, all though it had begynning, cannot, shall not  
nor will haue ending. He that Measureth, <sup>\*</sup>sayd, and I was the  
ende of his workmanship. I am like him, and of him, yet not  
as partaking nor adherent, but distant in One degree.

The Fire that holdeth, or is, the first Principle of all things  
in 35

generally, /generaltye/ hath his [workmanship of my creation]  
vniversall and

vnmeasurable powre in the workmanship of my Creation: Visible  
and Invisible, were not, withoute my record. when he cam  
I was magnified by his comming, and I am sanctified, world  
Without ende:

40

Vita suprema,

Vita superior,

et Infirma, sunt meis mensurata manib<sup>us</sup>

Notwithstanding, I am not of my self, Neyther is my powre myne  
owne,

Magnified by his name: Behold I dubble life from One, vnto a 45  
thowsand of Thowsands: and one thowsand of thowsands, to a  
number

---

Marginal notes:

line 25:    △ Note this Chrys= / talline water.

line 32:    Ipse\* dixit.

line 35:    Fire, one of / the 4 Elemēts

line 38:    Ipse

---

[56b]

number, exceeding cownt: I speak in respect of mans Capacitie. I  
am <in all>

and all hath some being by me: yet my powre is nothing in respe<ct  
of>

his powre, which hath sent me. Write this reuerently.

note it with Submission: What I speak hath not byn reuealed <no>

<sup>c</sup>  
/not/ in these last tymes, of the second last world.

5

But I begynne new worldes, new peoples, new kings, < & new>

knowledge of a new Gouernment. To be short,

Vitam [dedit] tradidit, dedit<sup>q</sup> mihi pot<estatem>  
tem esse, Viuere, et in perpetuum, glorific<....>  
 omnibus et vbi<sup>q</sup>.

10

As these cannot be comprehended, what they are, with m<or....>

So cannot any thing be browght to pas in me, without a <living>  
sight, and a perfect mynde.

I Gouern vppon Thursday. For Instruction, the rest as befo<re.>

Thow shalt work mervaylously, by my workmans<hip>

15

in the highest. To whome\* (with overshadow<ing>

thy light, with life, and blessing you both, in his name

of whome I am the Image,) I prayse God.

E K. Now he descendeth into the Globe, and it becam very bright there  
 among

the people: which, allso, at his comming, seamed to be more  
 cherefull.

20

---

<sup>†</sup>  
 Ho stode vp and moved his hand, aboue his hed, cumpassing with it  
 a loft.

After that cam a Cumpany, with a King, and after him a prince

The king had a red robe on, and a crown on his hed.

25

The Prince had a robe of many cullours, and in his hed a Cerclet.

The Cumpany seemed to stand rownd about a little hill of Claye  
 Behynde this Cumpany seamed to stand an innumerable multitude of

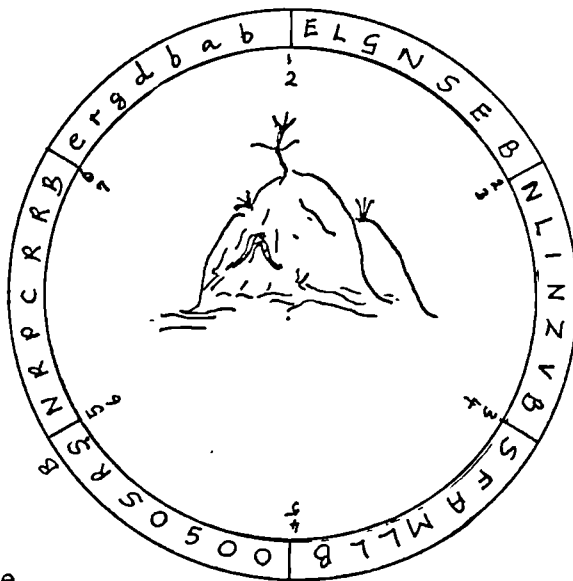
Vgly people /a far of: Those which seeme to stand rownd about the  
 little

hill seme to haue in the palmes of theyr hands, letters, in order  
 as here appereth.

30

[BINEPOR sayd]

Δ The King spake. Beholde, All  
the Earth with her bowells  
and secrets what soeuer, are  
deliuered vnto me. And what I  
 am there thou mayst know.  
 I am great, But he in whome  
 I am, is greater then I. Vnto  
my Prince, (my subiect)  
are deliuered the keyes of the  
Mysteriēs of the earth. All these hand  
are Angells that gouern vnder  
him whose Gouernment is diuided, as  
before, Vse them, they are  
and shalbe at thy cōmaundement. Those that stand afarr of



35

40

45

vide lib<sup>o</sup> 5: 1583. Martij 26 / Vide de istis / are the  
 in libro Craco=  
 vie<nsi. Junij> 26.

# Marginal notes:

line 5: Note second / last world.

6: Ecce oīa / Noua.

line 12: Note.

line 14: Thursday

line 16: \* Δ I dowl, / I did not here / pfectly at / this  
writing / down.

line 25: The king

line 26: The prince

line 27, over 'Cumpany': 42

line 28: An Innume= / rable Cum= / pany of vgly / Creatures, a /  
far of.  
line 33: Δ / Bnaspol  
line 35: Wensday  
line 40: Δ / Blisdon  
line 43: Angells.  
line 45: Vse them.

[57a]

are the spirits of perdition, which kepe earth with her Threisor, for  
him etc. and so furth. I haue sayd.

Δ <sup>cr</sup>Ho, standing vp, sayd, His name is the fifth and the 29<sup>th</sup>: and  
his Prince his

name, <sup>s</sup> fifth, and the 23<sup>th</sup>. Δ The first name, I vnderstand in  
Tabula collecta,

The second name I vnderstand, for the fifth to be in Heptagono  
and the

5

23<sup>th</sup> to be so fownd the same, in Tabula collecta.

<sup>cr</sup>Ho: Venite, vbi nulla quies, Sed stridor dentium

E K. Then cam the man agayn, with vgly fyrie flames out of his  
sides, which

was here before, the last day. <sup>cr</sup>Ho beckened with his hand vnto  
him, [and]

10

and his coates went to gither, and so couered that horrible  
sight.

E K. There appeareth a rownd Table, which 42 hold, and toss, all  
in fyrie flames.

<sup>cr</sup>Ho: Write quickly, thow /E K/ canst not behold it

E K. The first seameth to be a King with a crown on his hed, and  
the etc

Lo I Gouvern (as I haue sayd before) All enchanterers, Coniurers,  
witches,

15

& Wicked spirites that are hated of God, and included for euer, in  
 owteward darknes (except a few which remayn in a second payne,  
 which  
gape and grone for the mercies of God, and haue tyme of Joye,  
whose  
measure I haue, and kepe account of) are all my governmēt.

By me thow shalt cast oute the powre of all wicked spirits 20

By me thow shalt know the doings and practises of euill men, and  
 more

then may be spoken or vttered to man.



Blessed be his name, whose Glory is euerlasting, fode to the Just,  
 and sem=

piternall .'. to the Wicked. 25

Ho The 36<sup>th</sup> name, is the King his name, And his Prince his name  
 is the

lâst written in the Heptagonon.

Δ Brorges.

Ho Venite vos qui sub mea estis potestate. 30

E K. Then cam bright People 42: And besides these, all the fyre  
swarmeth

with creatures.

Theyr letters are in theyr forheds: these stand in a circle:  
they take the letters

from theyr forheds, and set <sup>c</sup>/them/ in a Circle

<sup>14</sup>Ho Of these, I am Gouernor my self.

35

Behold I am of tyme present. I am of the last Ternarie.

Loke what may be wrowght, in all aëriall Actions, I can  
distribute and

bestow at my pleasure: my tyme and day is Friday

The day of the last before, is Saterdag

The day of the Fifth is Wensday

40

Beholde,

---

Marginal notes:

line 1: <Treasure hid in> earth, kept by wycked spirites.

line 3: <Bnaspol> }  
Bl <is>don }

line 14: The King

line 15: Mark who sayd so / before

line 17: Note a great / Secret of / spirits in payn / expecting /  
release.

line 23: Saterdag

line 25: somewhat / was not hard / of me, or for= / got — phaps  
Terror

line 26, over 'King his name': .Δ. Bnapsen

line 27: Δ saue one

line 27 RH: this I considered / Note 2 1583. Maij In dede after  
a sort / Brorges may be cownted the last, for the  
begynning secretly / was with Bralges

line 30: Bralges / sayd his govern= / ment was of / such sup  
fol / 4.b.



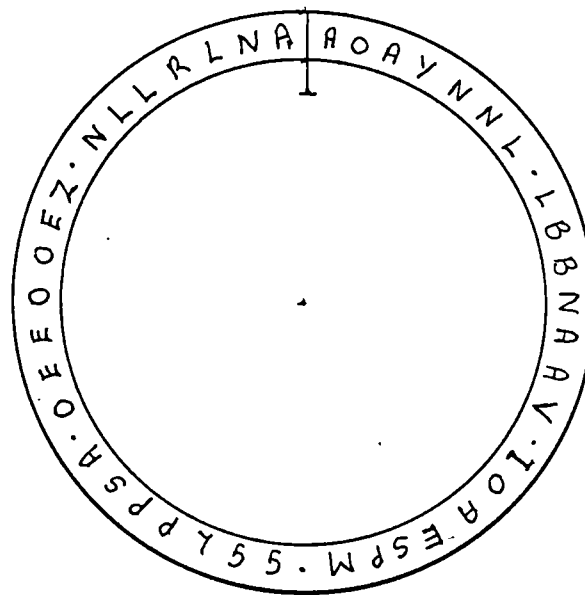
line 34: The Circle / of letters.

line 36: The last Ternarie

line 36 RH: That is expownded lib<sup>o</sup> / 5. Martij 5

line 38: Friday

[57b]



Ho

Behold

I haue towght the. His name be blessed who raigneth and liueth  
[for] /<for>7<e>ue<r>

△ Amen, Amen, Amen.

Ho.

I will answer the of all Dowtes herein (being demaunded of me)  
to /morrow/ [morrow] 5

For, so I call it, for thy sake: Not, for that, it is so to me.

△ so he went away.

△ Then cam VRIEL, and MICHAEL, and an other (I think RAPHAEL)>

and the chayre and table appered, as in the first boke hath  
byn shewed: And

also Ho had his peculier chayre, at his tymes of teaching me. 10

MICHAEL (sayd) Mercifull is our God, and glorious is his name

Which chuseth his creatures, according to his own Secret  
Judgement

and good pleasure.

This Arte is the first part of a Threefold Art, ioyning Man  
(with the Knowledge of <sup>1</sup>the WORLDE, the <sup>2</sup>GOVERNMENT  
of his Creatures, and the <sup>3</sup>SIGHT of his Maiestie): 15

Vnto him: (O, I say) vnto him; which is  
Strength, Medicine, and Mercie  
to those that feare him:

Amen. 20

△ Gloria, laus, honor, et perennis Jubilatio,  
sit Deo nro Omnipotenti,

Optimo, Maximoq.  
R

Amen.

[flourish] 25

△ Note, Remēber, and enquire what it meaneth, that no Mention  
is made of Bralges the Prince,—Nor of Blumaza his king.  
in this Treatise, being a certayn Repetition of the  
Heptagonum stellare, going next before.

---

Marginal notes:

line 10: Note a pe= / culier chayre

line 14: Prima / pars Artis / Triplicis. / he termeth / this  
afterward / of three pro= / portions in / Esse:  
Consider / theyr three / principall points / here.

line 18 RH: Annael

line 26: 1588. on twelfth / day at night / as I reconsidered /  
the Method of this / booke, this cam / to my mynde.

line joins 'the WORLDE' (line 15) to 'proportions' (58a, line 37).

[58a]

Wensday. Nouēb. 21: hora 7. a meridie

△ There appered the first table, covered with a cloth of silk changeable

cullour red and grene: with a little cloth vnder it: all hanging very

low. The first Chayre allso: wherin Michael vused to sit.

And <sup>†</sup>Ho did appere likewise, and his peculier chayre: and he standing by it. 5

But the Diaphanous Globe, and the people or world in it, did not now appere.

and, bycause no voyce or word cam from these spirituall creatures, yet:

I declared that I did attend theyr pleasure first, as a scholer comming in the

presence of his Master; and whan they had sayd those things which were

for vs first, (at this instant) to lerne, that then, I wold move some dowtes 10

of the premisses, as I was yesterday advised to do:

<sup>†</sup>Ho, he held vp his rod, (which had two portions or partes of it black and

one red: and sayde.

^  
O quanta est hoīs infirmitas et Corruptio, qui Angelis, idq<sub>h</sub> suis

bonis, fidem autem Deo, vix habet?

15

Oīa mundana, faeces: Mundi Corruptiones in se habent:

Deus nr̄, Deus nr̄, Deus [nr̄], (inquam) ille nr̄ Verus, cum

Veris suis angelis, ei<sub>q</sub> /idq<sub>h</sub>/ inseruiētib<sub>us</sub> Sēper verus est,

Pete quae vis? Dixi: et quod dixi, obumbralū

est veritate, iusticia et perfectione

20

Ecce, (Δ holding vp the rod)

Hic (Δ pointing to the ende of the rod)

Per hoc (Δ pointing to the middle of it)

Et a Mensurae fine, nos nostramq̄ mensurabis potestate.

Age (inquam) Quid vis?

25

Δ I, than, of the premisses vsed a little discourse: how they might para=

bolically, betoken after more profownd matter, and litterally other:

yet what sense so euer the premisses had, that theyr first rudiments

and Text was to be made somewhat playner to me, then yet they were: bycause I dowted as well of the vnderstanding of some of 30 that, I had written, as allso of mys writing: eyther throwgh E.K. his mys reporting to me [his] matter shewed to him, or by my mys hering or negligēt writing etc. To some part therof he sayd these words ensuing

Ho

In vmbra mortis non est aequalitas.

35

Obscurum enim nihil est quod per illū /E K/ recepisti. Age.

Ho

Thow hast a work of three proportions in esse; of 7 in forme: which is of it self diuided by a number septenarie, of the course, estate and determination of things aboue, things next, and things below: which, of it self is pure perfect and without 40 blemish. Notwithstanding I will answer the thus

The 7 Kings are orderly conteyned in the first of the Seuens diuided in generall numbers: whose names are expressed, published and perfectly formed within the first grownd and fowndacion of this threefold work.

The kings I meane with

45

theyr Characters, and the names of theyr .7. liuing and

semper adherent Ministers: Whose names thou mayst see

An Aue: Rocle Liba

not onely

Marginal notes:

line 2: Note. / The Colour / red & grene / of y<sup>e</sup> Table of /  
Covenant.

line 5: Two Chaires.

line 21: Note of this Rod.

line 37: A Three= / fold work.

line 45: Threfold / Work

line 48: The Kings with / their Characters.

line 48, central at foot of page: I vnderstand of Il, An, Aue &c /  
in the characters of the 7 kings.

[58b]

Δ. Filij filiarū — An, Aue &c

not onely there written, but openly, and most playnely, truely,  
and sincerely

spoken of before: as, by due examination of thy booke thou shalt  
manif<sup>e</sup>estly

perceyue. Notwithstanding, as euery king, in his Maiestie, <doth>

comprehend the dignitie of his [hol] whole seat and estate, So I of  
my self being 5

the First, haue the gouernment of my self perfectly, as a myserie

known [to] <sup>c</sup>/vnto/ my self: which is a thing vnlawfull to be published  
vnto man

and lawfull in respect of the charge committed vnto vs: and the slender  
....

Dignification of manns frayle estate, Which thou mayst see in the  
H<ep>

tagonon: where there wanteth a name: The rest of the S...

10

the vtter Circumference of the Globe, are the six Kings <or> ...  
 following: according as they are written in the Mysteries of  
 the ...

which do begynne<sup>A</sup> the Powres, with theyr Prince, and th<e> ...  
 Characters orderly taken, by and vppon the Heptagonon. ...

^  
 O God, how easy is this first vnderstanding.

15

Thow hast byn told perfectly, playnely and absolutely, not onely the  
 { Condition, dignitie, and estate of all things that God hath fra=  
 med: But allso withall, thow wart deliuered the most perfect forme  
 and Vse of them.

But this will I tell the, (to the intent thow shalt know: and forby  
 cause

20

I wold not, thow sholdest be ignorant in true Wisdome) that those  
Six Names in and vppon the Heptagonum are Collected, do growe  
 and are gathered from the names in generally affore sayd.

Take the Names, I will teache the to know them, which els, by ...

direction thow canst not fynde.

25

Loke thy First Table: I am called BALIGON

with men. Thow hast Noted my name (which is secret)

among the Angels, begynning with this letter M, consisting of  
 7 letters, the last being an A.

I am called MARMARA: but otherwise CARMARA: but

30

that letter M, shall not be expressed. etc.

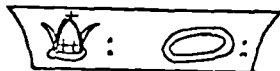
Thow seest, next BOBOGEL; He it is that is the Second King

Thow seest the name BORNOGO, to be the first vppon the Heptagonū:  
it is his Prince. And therfore I did Note him with a Coronet,  
 and not with a Crown: nay rather, but with a Cerclet abowt his  
 hed. etc

35

△ I concluded (of his instruction) the Kings and theyr Princes,  
theyr names to be thus lerned out of the Table Collected of  
49 names, it is to weete

|     |             |             |   |    |
|-----|-------------|-------------|---|----|
|     | 1 —△— 44    | △           | △ | 40 |
| △ { | 8 ————— 2   |             |   |    |
|     | 15 ————— 9  |             |   |    |
|     | 22 ————— 16 |             |   |    |
|     | 29 ————— 23 | modo retro= |   |    |
|     | 36 ————— 30 | grado quasi |   | 45 |
|     | 43 —△— 37   |             |   |    |



then Rex.                      Princeps

[△ He allowed of my Coniecture  
for these .6. but of his Prince

and farder he sayd, The  
Characters 50

△ I than sayd nothing: tyll at the fayr  
writing hereof, this, here added, cam  
into my mynde. Howwell I know not yet: Novēb. 23.]

#### Marginal notes:

- line 3: Examination / to be made / of these boke
- line 5: The First King
- line 6: A Myserie.
- line 8: △ / forte, Vnlawfull / and was myshard.  
.....
- line 11: The Globe.
- line 13: △ / forte their  
....
- line 13, over 'Prince': princis
- line 16: △ / Liber Creationis
- line 17: Note, what hath / bin tawght in / this boke.

- line 20:  $\Delta$  as may apper, / by the 49 names / Collected
- line 24, over 'els, by': w<sup>th</sup> out
- line 25:  $\Delta$  / I suspect / this to be / an impfect / phrase.
- line 26: /hand/
- line 27: Name / among / Angela
- line 30: MARMARA / CARMARA.
- line 31: M
- line 32: Bobogel }  
Bornogo }
- line 33, over 'first vppon':  $\Delta$   $\propto$  name expressed.
- line 35: Note Attire.
- line 40, between ' $\Delta$ ' and figures: Addendo 7 — / fit hic  
processus. / Ergo addendo 7, / numero 43, pro= /  
ueniet 50: numerus : / maior [41] quā 49, / per .1.  
qui respi= / cere pt illum [44]; primū Re- / gem  
Baligon.
- line 41, under central ' $\Delta$ ': Addendo 7, fit processus hic. g<sup>o</sup> /  
Si 7 addantur numero / 37: inde emerget 44. / pro  
proximo principe
- line 46, under above note: [  $\Delta$  / It is not Baginol, / but  
Bagenol / with e not i. / and therefore con / sider]
- line 46, RH of above note: 44<sup>o</sup> / .1.
- line 41, under RH ' $\Delta$ ':  $\Delta$  As far as I remēber, he / sayd, My  
Prince is in my / self: which is a mysterie
- line 44, under above note: [  $\Delta$  My Coniecture(herevppon, and /  
vppon this retrograde respect / to finde the princis  
among the / 49 names in Tabula Collecta) / is, that  
Baginol is the Prince / vnder BALIGON: by cause the /



Letters are all one: but the order / of they places  
diuerse: and so / is his prince conteyned in him self.]

line joins 'Δ' (line 1) to 'before' (line 3)

[59a]


Δ Note that he calleth that, continually a  
Globe:

vyppon such a globe Naluage shewed out all  
the Calls.

The Characters of Kings, are in the Globe, and of the Princis in the

#####

Heptagonon

Δ Note, frō the  on the left side, vntyll these words  
finished, he

5

was out of sight. and /<sup>c</sup>whan/ [what] he had ended these words,  
he cam in sight

agayn: and brought a thing in his hand like a stere .: ☆ : or  
Heptagonū

Ho Beholde. Euery one of these Princis hath his peculier Table.

Thow hast Noted the First Table which begynneth, as I will  
tell

10

the.

[1.] 2: In BOBOGEL, that O, (the second [the] letter) is the first of  
the Table

OF/E/SNGLE. and the second of Befafes, is the

second, and the thirddth of the third: and the fowrth of the  
fowrth and

the fifth of the fifth, and the sixth of the sixth, and E,  
in the

15

seuenth, [Bag] Bnagole is the seuenth and last of this first

seuen of this first Table: [so] accounted the first AVZNILN

The second seuen by like order is gathered of Babalel, and the  
rest of his Septenarie. And so furth to the ende downward

as thow didst before. etc.

20

2. 3: In the second Table; L (the first letter therof), is out of Bobogel

his last letter, the second letter, is the sixth of Befafes: the third

is the fifth of Basmelo etc and so you haue LEENARB.

for the rest kepe that order downward to the ende of the last name Bamnode. trauersi, quasi retrograde.

25

3. 4: In the Third, begyn at the lower letter of the latter worde of the last

of the second seven: and so vpward, toward the right hand:  $\Delta$  the

last word is of second seven is Bnagole: the last letter therof

is e: which is the first of this Third Table and the i, in Brisfli, is the second, and l in Branglo the thirdth, and than so

30

furth, vpward, overthwart, toward the [left rig] left hand till ye

come to Bobogel, his second letter being O. Then to n in Bonefon: e in Ber

male: o in Bragnop. etc.

4. 5: For the Fowrth, loke, Bobogel. Than loke to this fowrth Table

The first B of the table is the first B of Bobogel

35

The second B of this Table, is the B of Befafes,

The third letter is [a] the second letter of Basmelo.

The fowrth letter, [R] is the thirdth of Bernole

The fifth is the fowrth of Branglo.

The sixth is the fifth of Brisfli

40

The seuenth is the sixth of Bnagole

// ble.

And so in to the next sevens downward orderly for the rest of the Ta=

- .5. 6: The Fifth begynneth from Bnagole vpward: begynning at the last letter

being e: and then vpward crosswise: exactly tyll the B of Bobogel

And so of the next seuen, for the next: begynning at the n of

45

Bonefon, and so furth.

6. 7: In the sixth, (the Infernall Table) The first is B of Bobogel.

the second is A of the 15<sup>th</sup>: The third is N of the 22<sup>th</sup>: the fowrth, is the fowrth of the 29: the fifth of the 36: the sixth

of the 43: and the seuenth of the 49: being E in Bamnode 50  
two letters being taken in that last septenarie.

The second septenarie begynneth at the first of the 15<sup>th</sup>, the second at the

second of the 22<sup>th</sup>, (being Y), the third at the thirdth of the 29<sup>th</sup>. then the

4<sup>th</sup> of the 36<sup>th</sup>,: the 5<sup>th</sup>[e] of the 43<sup>th</sup>.

Marginal notes:

line 3: Characters

line 9: <...> peculier / <...> of Princis

line 12: <...> king / <..... fir>st, / [BOBO] / answering / to Blumaza, / as I perceyued / 1583 Maij .5. manè / by meditation: and / of Necessity must be: / yf that last be for Baligon.

line 21: Δ / The next L is the last / letter of Babalel / and then transversim / as before etc.

line 26, over 'lower': last

line 26, over 'latter': last

line 27, over 'right': left

7. 1: The Seuenth: the first A, is the A, of Baligon, and so downward all

the second letters of the 7 kings. Then all the third letters,  
then all y/e  
fowrth letters, Then all fifth letters, then all the sixth  
letters only, &  
finally the seventh, and last letters of the first names of  
the 7.  
tenaries. 5

△ Note, this Table is made all of Kingly substance. etc.

△ Now I trust I vnderstand (meterly well,) the making of the 7.  
Tables: I wold gladly here some instruction of the great  
Circular table (which you call the Globe): which hath the Ki...  
with theyr Characters, and so within, 7 tymes 7, seuen tymes... 10  
7 tymes 6, seuentymes furnished with Letters and numbers....  
sorts

Ho That doth appertayn to an other tyme.

E K The Cloth was lett down; and the stone did <y>eild  
voice but nothing visible but the forsayd blak cloth. 15

---

Ho One thing is yet wanting. a mete receptacle etc

there is yet wanting a stone etc

One there is, most excellent, hid in the secret of the depth  
etc

In the vttermost part of the Roman Possession 20

Ho Write. All lawd, Glorie and honor be vnto him, which rayneth  
for

euer. Amen. Be of good Cumfort

Lo, the mighty hand of God is vpon the

Thow shalt haue it. Thow shalt haue it, Thow shalt haue it

Dost thou see, loke and styr not frō thy place .∴E K pointed toward it

25

△ I see it not

<sup>u</sup>Ho It is sanctified, blessed, and ...<sup>Δ</sup>.....

In the vse of his Creatures.

Thow shalt preuayle with it, with Kings, and with all Creatures  
of the world: whose beauty (in vertue) shall be more worth 30  
 then <sup>c</sup>/the/ Kingdomes of the earth.

Loke, if thou seest: But styr not, for the Angel of his powre is present.

E K looked toward my west wyndow, and saw there first vppon the  
 matts by my bokes a thing, (to his thinking) as big as an egg:  
 most

35

bright, clere, and glorious: and an angel of the heyth of a  
 little chylde holding vp the same thing in his hand toward  
 me: and that angel had a fyrey sword in his hand etc.

<sup>u</sup>Ho Go toward it; and take it vp.

△ I went toward the place, which E K pointed to: and tyll I 40  
 cam within two fote of it, I saw nothing: and then I saw like a  
 shaddow, [of the bignes of] on the grownd or matts hard by  
 my bokes

vnder the west window. The shaddow was rowndysh and less  
 then the palm of my hand. I put my hand down vppon it, and  
 I felt a thing cold and hard: which (taking <sup>c</sup>/vp/ <v>p I)  
 perceyued to

45

be the stone before mentioned.

<sup>u</sup>Ho Kepe it sincerely.

Veritas in veritate: Deus in Deo, Vnus in vno est.

Let no mortall hand towche it, but thine owne.

Prayse God.

50

△ Illi qui venturus est Iudicare Saeculū p ignē

sit oīs honor, laus, et gloria, in sempiterna saecula. Amen.

---

Marginal notes:

line 9: The Vse of / The Circular / Table, (here / before,  
often, / called a globe) / at another tyme

line 15: A voyce

line 27: △ / I omitted / a word, and our memories / could not  
yeld / it, <then> perhaps / Dignified

line 36: An Angel hol= / ding vp the / stone.

line 49: Caue [*with hand*]

---

[60a]

Liber Mysteriorū Quintus

[flourish]

1583 Martij 23.

[flourish]

Liber 6.<sup>us</sup>


Liber .7.<sup>us</sup>

---

[60b]

[blank]

---

Jesus.  .

< An: ><sup>o</sup> 1583. Martij 23. Saterdag. a meridie.

Δ E K being cōme, with M<sup>r</sup> /<sup>c</sup>John/ Husey of Blokley. (on the 22 day of marche

and E K being desirous to vnderstand somewhat of our spirituall friendes

as concerning such matter as had falln out very strange to him and M/r/

5

Husey: abowt a certayne moniment of a boke and a skroll fownd in

Northwik hill by the direction and leading of [some] such a spirituall

Creature, as when they had gotten the same, and they endeouored by art to

haue some exposition of the skroll, written in strange characters, they wer

willed to repayre to me, and there they shold be answered: etc: which thing

10

now they did.

Being therfore now ready to receyue instructions of our frendes, there appered

[first] in the stone One, in a foles cote, going abowt a clowde, which

appered first in the stone. I charged him if he were the enemy of God

to depart. He [tore] /<sup>c</sup>tore/ his clothes all, and appeared all hery vnder. and

15

sayd Penetrasti Vim iniusticiae meae

Δ Glorifie God and depart. [Fe] he sayd Feci, Nam decedo.

He went away as it had byn a brush of fethers pulled in peces.

The Clowd wexed bigger, and went all to the right hand

At length the Table appeared, But the Chayre seamed not to be /<sup>c</sup>of/ the same

20

sort it was, but more Glorious.

Then appeared three, of which, two went away, and one tarried behynde.

he sayd \_\_\_\_\_ Aucte

Verum est, et incredibile he kneeled to the  
Chayre and spake, but his words could not be discerned 25

Via, veritas et [virtus] virtus, vnum sunt: et multiplex  
et admirabilis est eius magnitudo: Et venit ab ore tuo flatus,  
(et vitam habet) quo viuunt oia, nutu, et illuminatione tua.

Aue Verbum, Aue rerum formatrix et mensura eorum  
quae fuerunt, sunt, et erunt: Illuminasti oculos creaturarum 30  
monimentis et admonitionib<sup>us</sup> planis: Vita bonis, mors autem  
impijs, et a consideratione tua abiectis. Quanta et innumerabi-  
lia sunt, (Justitia) dona tua? O remiges varpax  
Kyrie eleyson.

△ All this he sayd Kneeling to the chayre; and then he rose; and 35  
I sayde O beata Trinitas, mitte lucem et veritate tuam, vt  
in<a> me ducant ad montem sanctum, et ad tabernacula tua.

<sup>†</sup> Me. Vbi, non increduli.

△ Nos non sumus increduli: sed spes nra viuit aeterna et  
Omnipotens est Veritas, fons vitae 40

<sup>†</sup> Me Adduxi vobis aquam ex eodem riuulo. Medicina vero est  
imperfectionibus et necessitatibus vris. Intelligite nunc  
et quis sum, et quibus ornatus. Bibite, et accipite Ossibus  
vris pinguidinem. Multae namq sunt mortaliu imperfectiones.  
habeo, et habebitis: Adduxi, et videbitis. Verbum est 45

Lumen

---

Marginal notes:

line 6: The Book.



line 7: The boke fownd in / Northwik / hill  
 line 15: Pilosus / Pilo[sus]  
 line 29: Justi= / Justitia  
 line 41: Aqua. <A>qua.

[61b]

Lumen illud quo oīs imperfectio [falletur] aboletur. Credentes  
 introibw<...>

in Sanctum eius. vbi potio, et Medicina sempiterna.

Cogitasti verè. . sum, etiam, et Credas. Nam veritate

et iustitia, vera et perfecta sunt verba et disciplina eius.

What wilt thou?

5

△ Recte sapere.

<sup>†</sup> Me: Thow hast it.

△ I perceyue it not: otherwise, then that I beleue, it may be the  
 decree

of the highest.

△ He shewed a Tree, and a great deale of water at the roote or botom  
 of it: and he sayd †  
Me Hath this Tree, now, any frute?

10

△ I see it not. But the skryer may say.

E K The water cometh vp the tree, and it swelleth, and it hath  
 frute, great, fayre, and red

<sup>†</sup> Me. Lo I eate of it my self, and it lighteth the harte of those  
 that

are chosen he semeth to eate. So is it in the.

15

△ Ecce seruus Domini, fiat Decretum eius in me (iuxta misericor=  
 diam eius), de me pronunciatum.

<sup>†</sup> Me Go and thou shalt receyue. Tary, and you shall receyue

slepe, and you shall [see] see, But watch, and your eyes shall  
 be fully

opened

20

One thing, which is the grownd and element of thy desyre, is  
all redy perfyted

yt seemeth that you beleue not. But I haue sayd, as he hath sayd  
 and his worde shall endure for euer.

For he shall, and will performe it, for he liueth for euer. 25

Oute of Seuen thou hast byn instructed most perfectly  
of the lesser part, the rest I haue brought you, in  
 this my vessell; A medicine sufficient to extinguish  
 and quenche oute the enemy to our felicitie:

Muse not, though I say ours: for we all liue in tasting of 30

this liquor. His hed is a marble stone: His hart is  
 the blud of a dragon. his leggs are the tops of the Northen  
 Mowntaynes. His eyes are bright, and his face of many  
 Cullours, eche substance amongst the turmoyle and trubble

of rothing. For as then, they were Nothing: Had a forme 35

applyable and necessary according to theyr quantitie and secret  
 qualitie. The heuens are lightened by his two eyes: wherof  
 the one sight is brighter then the other. Aboue and in him self  
 which is by him self, and in no other, is this great and  
 vertuous

fowntayne: In nature Intellectuall he hath watred the 40  
 plants

Marginal notes:

line 3:     Δ <Loquitur de> / mea cogita= / tione quod / <esset>

Raphaël

line 23:     Increduli

line 26:     Seuen

line 31:     A parable.

line 35: Nothing.

[62a]

plantes of her beauty, and stroked vp the garments of her felicitie.

In her darkest members entreth in the taste and sauour of this  
piercing

Medicine, reviving and recalling all things past present and to  
come,

vnto theyr lively and dignified perfection. My words ar sentences.

My sentences, wisdom; My wisdom the ende in my message 5

of all things: Mighty and glorious is the Vertue of it, whose  
springs do endure, and are clere for euer: whose name be blessed

△ Amen. I respect the time: God be with you.

/flourish/

Martij 24: Sonday: morning about 8. 10

△ The Table appeared, and the Chayre: and he who appeared yester=  
day: kneeling or rather lying prostrate on his face, as if he were  
a slepe: he lay a long while

A thing like a lambs hed did seeme to lik him: and then he rose

and wiped his face, as though [w] he had wept. 15

he sayd. Signa sunt haec vobis, humilitatis et paenitentiae; quae

facio omnia, v̄ra, [sunt] non mea sunt. Laudetur verbum

eius in Caelo, Laudetur etiam et in terris: Investigate potentiā  
in humilitate loquelaē eius, et videbitis gloria frontis eius.

Misericors namq et omnipotens est gloria virtutis eius. Vana 20  
sunt corruptionib<sup>us</sup> suis; Necessaria verò Necessitatibus vestris.

Nam fecit oīa ad laudem [eius] eius: et opera manuum suarum

(Ecce) collaudant lumen vultus eius. Ad invicem diligite,

Humilitate viuite. Medicina verò mea (quae eius est)

omnia resanabit.

25

The feldes wither without the drops of his Mercie

Mans Memorie is dull, vnleast it taste of the sprinkling of this vessell

□ E K. He hath a great thing vnder his gown. □

Nature and reason haue disputed profowndly and truely by the fauour  
hereof: it perceth therfore depely. But vnderstanding and reason  
haue

30

elevated and lifted vp the dignitie and worthynes of Mans Memorie,  
by taste hereof. The Immeasurable and vnspeakable begynnings  
(yea with the begynner and [Principall] Principle therof), are  
exactly (after a sort) and perfectly known of them. Yt hath  
tought from the earth vnto the heauens: from the heven, vnto his 35  
seat: from his seate, into his Diuinitie. From his Diuinitie,  
a Capable measuring of his vnmeasurable mercies. It is true,  
most true, and true shalbe for euer. That from the  
lowest grass to the highest tree, □ from □ the smallest Valley, to  
the greatest mowntayn; yea euen in the distinction, betwixt 40  
light and darknes: the measure whereof is the deapest: yea  
(I say) it hath tought a Judgment. When he axed

Wisdom

---

Marginal notes:

line 14: A lambs hed.

line 16: Note hereby to / consider theyr / actions, gestures /  
and other cir= / cumstances.

line 29: Nature ∴ / Reason ∴

---

[62b]

wisdom, and forsoke the world, he receyued it and it measured the

things of the world. Great are the inward eyes, and greater are the meanes, which deliuer things subiect or object vnto them.

Finallly it procedeth from him, that procedeth: Wherevnto the first was formed, after, and not like. Whose fote slipping hath 5  
dashed his hed in peces, and it becam dark: vntyll agayn, the Medicino

which I haue browght, revived his slowbring. Her<sup>\*</sup>eby, he, not onely knew all things, but the measure and true vse therof. Yf the body haue no inward fyre, it presently falleth. Euery Organ is voyde of quae

litie, vnleast a meane be adiected. So, is all that thow hast 10  
before, more wonderfull, then, as yet, profitable, vnleast thow be directed and led in vnto the true vse and order of the same.

Creat are my words; and great is thy thought: Greater shalbe the ende of [God] these Gods Mercies

New worlds, shall spring of these 15

New manners: strange men: The true light, and thorny path,  
openly seen. All things in one, and yet this is but a Vision.  
Wonderfull and great are the purposes of him, whose Medicine  
I carry. I haue sayde.

△ he lay down agayn, a good while. and at length he rose: after 20  
my long

prayer and confession made to god, and my discourse to him. etc.

E K. He plucketh out a boke: all the leaves are, as though they were

gold, and it semeth written with blud, not dry.

△ he sayd, Cownt, △ he turned ouer the leaves. but E K

could not well cownt them: wherevppon he sayd: I will raze out 25  
tny

dulnes, and at length, make the clere

E K. There are 48 leaves

<sup>11</sup> Me. Et finis est. One is one, neyther is, was or

shalbe known: And yet there are iust so many.

These haue so many names, of the so many Mysteries, that went 30  
before

This is the second and the Third: The Third and the last.

This is the measure of the whole.

^ O what is man, that is worthy to know these Secrets? Heavy are  
his Wickednesses, Mighty is his synne. 35

These shalt thou know: These shall you vse. The one is a

Master, the other is a Minister. The One, is a hand, the other  
is a

finger: Crutch not. Neyther let wickednes tempt you: loue to  
ather.

Be contented with your calling: For, all beasts see not a like:  
yet

are they all Creatures. Vessels, not of one bignes, yet are  
they all full. 40.

Both, most sufficient; but according to fayth, and vnderstanding  
of Consci=

ence. Yet must there be a third; whō, God doth not yet chuse

The tyme shalbe short: the matter great, the ende greater.

Ask now what thou wilt and he shall answer the

E K. There appered one like my self laying his two armes; one,  
on E K his 45

sholder: and the other on a man his sholder vnkown to vs,  
but somewhat

like to M<sup>r</sup> Adrian Gilbert. etc.

---

Marginal notes:

line 7: \*Note / \*Adam, before / his fall, knew / all things

line 10: NOTE

line 12: The true vse / and order / of the premisses

line 15: New worlds

line 16: The Thorny Path:

line 17: A Vision.

line 22: A boke

line 27: 48: leaves

line 29: 48 <sup>1</sup> / 49

line 30: Mysteries before.

line 32: Note of this / boke

line 36: J Dee, and / E K

line 42: A Third to / be chosen

line 47: A.G.

[63a]

△ ys it your will to procede in this matter, you now haue  
begonne withall:

or will you of these characters, and places of Threasor hid  
(here portray=

ed by picture), say any thing?

Me: As thow wilt. △ As the will of God is, so will I. the will  
of God you know, better then I. 5

Me The aeternall liquor be vppon you. Ones more, what wilt thow?

△ I. do prefer the heuenly liquor, before all things, and do  
desire to be

bedewed with the supercaelestiall dew thereof.

Me. Consider the former tree.

△ The tre with the water at the fote?

10

<sup>14</sup> Me Thow hast sayd. His growing powre, bringeth furth Act  
 Remember the Prince and Subiects, which haue powre (as is told  
 the) of Erthly Bowels (The thing there, whose /which you/  
 desire of me, is  
 no parte of my charge,) Call him: It is his office: for by his  
ministers it hath byn shewed. God doth impart his mercy, to those  
 he 15  
 loueth, in all necessitie: whether of the one, or of the other,  
 where  
 it is dew. I leave it: his Office is to speak it. Notwithstanding  
 liue in truth and humilitie: Vse God his Creatures, to his  
glorie, and  
 thy Necessitie, the profitt of thy own lymms, and cutting <sup>c</sup>/out/  
 of all  
 Canker and rotten flesh. Thow vnderstandest: For thy eyes 20  
shalbe opened. Amen.  
 E K. he spreddeth his hands abroad, and goeth away, and putteth  
 his boke  
 in his bosom as he goeth.  
 Δ Gloria p̄ri. etc. Amen.

[flourish]

25

Marginal notes:

line 11: { Potentia  
 Actus.

line 14: Δ Blisdon is the / prince vnder / Bnaspol the / king  
 vide sūp / lib. 4. / A<sup>o</sup> 1587. Circa / Maiū: Quidam  
 Ben, / (spiritualis Creatura) / dixit ip̄i E K, / se  
 custodiuisse [et] / [permisisse] illū / puluere et  
 librū / Dunstani. &c.



Martij 26. Tuesday hor. 10: ante Meridiē.

First, appered a clowd: and that vanished away: Three cam in, they made Cursy to the chayre: and two went away. Then the third which remayned, lay down of the grownd as before. There cam like a lambs hed, and licked him. he sayd then, as followeth: being stand vp: 30

Magna sunt, Alla, quae dixisti, making cursy to the chayre. There was a sword hard before. after a while he sayd.

† Me Thy Kingdome is established in aeternitie

Thy hands are invisible, and no man can distinguish thy mercies.

I attend your desire. 35

△ As concerning the Characters, and shew of the ten places, we are

desirous to know whyther we may require now Bnaspol, or other vnder him, to say vnto vs, that, which may content vs, for the Case

as it standeth with vs.

† Me. The buylder of the Temple was riche, before it was adorned. 40

With Wisdome, cam the Instruments necessarie for mans worldly vse.

He hideth no light from those he loveth: neyther shutteth vp his tents

from such as seke him. Yf one be great, <sup>^</sup>Ô how small is the other?

How small therfore is the mynde, and how much weakened that

desireth those trifles? But as the smallest thing is feetest to 45  
the smallest

---

Marginal notes:

line 30: △ / A lambs hed, / may be a token / of our humilitie / required etc.

line 37: Bnaspol.

[63b]

the smallest vse, so is the existinction of things of light accownt,  
necessary

for the lightnes and vanitie of this world. A part (Notwithstanding)

may beawtify the whole: and a small thing, may cure a great infirmitie.

I told the before, that my fete are not placed vppon such brittle  
and crakling

sand, [nay] neyther are my lipps occupyed with the vanitie of  
nothing. 5

I will not manifest, in any point, the thing which thou desyrest,  
neyther

is it any part of my charge.

I haue byn thy Scholemaster and director to the Sterne, to rule the  
reason therof, with those, which can reache the Judgment therof.

All those before spoken of, are subiect to thy call. 10

This vessell at all tymes they greatly accept: yet haue they times  
and seasons: when order breaketh in her self, the labor is in  
vayne.

Euery thing is for and to an ende.

Of frendeship at any time, thou mayst see them, and Know what

thou wilt. 15

But One thing differeth, the Ende, and the Begynning.

That onely, is the El, rod, or measure which all ready is deliuered

The stroke of which, bringeth all things, in theyr degree, to an  
ende:

as far as the seven (magnificencie of euery Seuen) stretcheth out  
it self. 20

Euery one (to be short) shall at all times and seasons, shew the

direction in any thing. But, SO, thow canst not vse them,  
in the determination, and full ende of euery practise.

It is one thing to affectionate; and an other thing to effect.

What thow seest, is true, and to a former /. funder commoditie:  
For, with

25

Furderance, euery thing in Nature is ayded

Δ ———

Reade ouer that, which now, lastly, I declared: Then see, if you  
be not

answered

Δ ———

30

Therefore mayst thow know, what that is, all though thow do not,  
yet, or

presently, put it in practise, by him, whose Charge it is, to  
deliuer it.

Δ Of your so greatly commended liquor I am desirous to haue  
farder Vnderstanding.

Me. What liquor is more liuely then the dew of Truth, proceeding  
fro a fowntayn

most swete and delectable? euen that veritie which thy mowth hath  
preached of.

35

What water recreateth more, or cooleth ignorance deeper than the  
knowledg of our

Caelestiall speche? your voyces are but fayned: shadows of the  
wordes and

voyces that substantially do comprehend euery substance in his kinde.  
The things which

you do loke on, bycause you see them not in dede, you allso do  
name them amysse:

you are confownded, for your offenses: and dispersed for your  
punishments: But

40

we are all one, and are fully vnderstanding. We open the eare, and  
the

passage thereof, from the sonne in the morning to the sonne at night.

Distance is nothing with vs, vnleast it be the distance, which separateth the

wicked from his mercy. Secrets there are none, but that buried are in the

shadow of mans Sowle.

45

We see all things: and Nothing is hid from vs: respecting our Creation.

The Waters shall stand, if they here theyr own speche.

The heuens shall move, and shew them selues, when they know theyr thunder.

Hell shall tremble, whan they know what is spoken to them.

The first 50

Marginal notes:

- line 1: Note. / All tymes  
                     \ Speciall tymes / connected by a line to the  
                                     beginning of line 11
- line 6: Note —
- line 10: NOTE.
- line 14: Of frendship, / at any tyme.
- line 21: Note
- line 32: NOTE / Whose charge / it is to deliuer / it.
- line 35: Veritas
- line 37: Lingua et / Vox Ange= / lica
- line 46: The Powre / of the primitiue / diuine [spech] / or  
                     Angelicall / speche.

[64a]

The first excepted, No man euer was, is, or shall be (excepted where I except)

that euer shall vnderstand, hath, or doth know the least part  
(ô it is incompre=

hensible) of this Vessel. He named all things, (which knew it):  
and they are

so in dede, and shallbe so for euer.

Thow shaltt speak with vs; and we will be spoken with, of the. 5

Three they are excepted, which taken from amongst you, as they  
were, do yet

speak with vs, which are provided in the three laws to destroy  
that Monstre

They are fed with caelestially fode, and they, talking, speak all  
vnderstanding.

This it is, I take God, (onely him that created me) to recorde.

It is determined: els wold I not: And may be vndetermined, yf you  
break his 10

Commaudemets.

A Stone it is that perceth down all things before it; and kepeth  
them vnder him, as ....

the heuens do a clowde. What art thou, (O God,) and how mighty ar  
the

drops of thy mercy, that preparedst [mai] man before to examin thy  
Mysteries?

The plagues of those that plagued them selues, shall fall vppon  
you, yf you transgress 15

one iote of your eye sight.

For, What you desire, is graunted: and if you loue him, you shall  
endure for euer.

I am not as a clowde, sheuered with the wynde: nor as a garment,  
that waxeth

olde, and torn in peces: But I am for euer (bycause my message  
is such) and

my truthe shall endure for euer. 20

Beholde, Beholde, yea let heven and earth behold: For with this,  
they

were created: and it is the voyce and speche of him, which  
proceded from

the first, and is the first; whose glorious name be exalted in his own horn

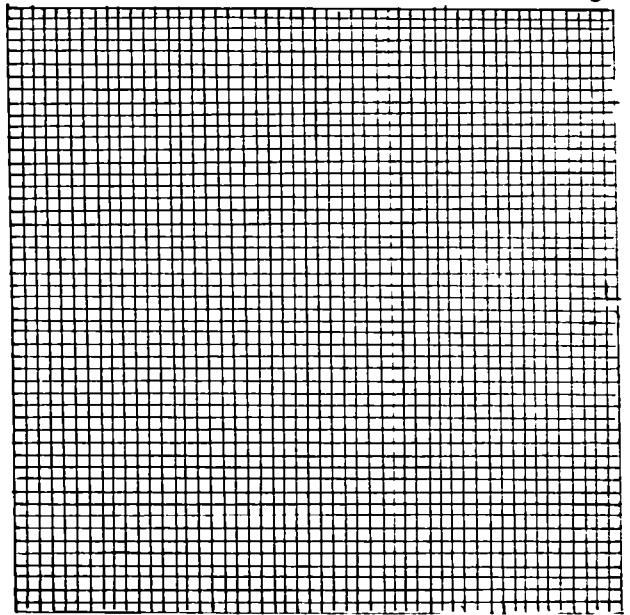
of honor. LO, this it is. [E K. he sheweth a boke, as he did before

all gold [ ] And it is truth; Whose truth shall endure for euer.

25

E.K. The leaues of the boke, are  
all lyned: full of square places,  
and those square places haue  
characters in them, some more then  
other: and they all written with  
cullour, like blud, not yet dry.

49 square spaces, euery way,  
were on euery leaf. which  
made in all .2401. square places  
He wiped his finger on the top of  
the Table, and there cam out aboue  
the Table certayn Characters  
enclosed in no lines: but standing  
by them selues, and points betwene  
them



30

35

40

He pointed orderly to them with his  
finger, and loked toward the skryer  
at euery pointing  
Me. Note what they are.

.~. 7. 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 12. 14. 16. 18. 20. 22. 24. 26. 28. 30. 32. 34. 36. 38. 40. 42. 44. 46. 48. 50. 52. 54. 56. 58. 60. 62. 64. 66. 68. 70. 72. 74. 76. 78. 80. 82. 84. 86. 88. 90. 92. 94. 96. 98. 100.

45

△ They are Noted.

E K. He toke from vnder the Table, a thing like a great globe,  
and set that in the chayre

and vppon that Globe, layd the boke. He pointeth to the  
characters: and cownteth

them with his finger, being 21: and begynning from the right  
hand, toward the left.

He putteth of the Crown of gold, from his hed: and layeth it, on  
the Table. His here appereth

50

yellow. He maketh curay: and from vnder the Table taketh a rod of  
gold in his hand, being

diuided into three distinctions. He putteth the ende of the rod on  
the first of

the

---

Marginal notes:

line 2: ADAM

line 5: Angelorū Collo= / quia

line 6: Tres ab hoibus in / caelos rapti in / Angelis  
conuersātes

line 8: Enoch  
Elias } forte.  
< Jo... >

line 10: NOTE

line 13: Yf

line 13, over 'perceth': forte / presseth

line 15: Note

line 21: The boke / The first / Language / of God Christ.

line 31: The cullor of the / Letters.

line 37: 21 Characters

line 47: Δ By his often taking / things from vnder / the table  
it shold / seme that there shold / be som shelf made /  
vnder our Table

---

[64b]

the Characters, and sayeth Pa

and there /<sup>c</sup>appered / in english, or latin letters, V<sup>2</sup>—Pa —b

Pa: he sayd Veh: and there ap=  
pered Veh in writing: then Ged:  
and after that he sayd Vnus Vnus.  
Vnus, Magnus, Magnus, Magnus,

es. Then he pointed to an  
other, and sayd Gal, and there  
appeared Gal: then or. [ ] the  
Voyce seemed Orh [ ]. Then vn  
[ ] the sownd semed vnd, [ ] Then  
Graph: [ ] The sownd Granpha, in  
the throte [ ]

Then Tal, [ ] in sownd stall or xtall. [ ]

Then gon: then na [ ] but in  
sownd Nach [ ] as it were in the nose. [ ]

Then ur, [ ] in sownd our or ourh [ ]

Then mals, [ ] in sownd machls [ ].

Then Ger, [ ] in sownd gierh [ ]. Then

drux, [ ] in sownd drovx [ ]. Then

Pal the p being sownded remissly.

Then med. he sayd Magna est  
gloria eius. Ceph, sownded like

Keph, But before that, was

Don: Then Van, Fam, Then

Gisg. Then he lay down before it: and there cam two lines and  
parted

the 21 letters into 3 partes, eche being of 7. he said. Numerus  
ô perfec=

tissimus, Vnus et Trinus. Gloria tibi, Amen.

Then he put on his crown, and pluckt a black veale before all in  
the Chayre

he sayd. Remember to lerne those names without boke, and to know  
them.

K ——— Veh ——— c  
U ——— ged ——— g  
X ——— gal ——— d 5  
Z ——— or ——— f  
Y ——— un ——— a  
J ——— graph ——— e  
I ——— Tal ——— m  
N ——— Gon ——— i 10  
M ——— na ——— hath  
L ——— vr ——— l  
O ——— mals ——— p  
V ——— ger ——— q  
J ——— drux ——— n 15  
T ——— Pal ——— x  
B ——— med ——— o  
C ——— don ——— r  
P ——— Ceph ——— z  
X ——— van ——— u 20  
Y ——— fam ——— s  
W ——— Gisg ——— t

25

30



|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| u | 7 | 2 | p | 6 | 7 | F | 3 | u | Ω | 4 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| t | s | u | z | r | o | x | n | q | p | l | h | i | m | e | a | f | d | g | c | b |

$$\frac{rv}{y}$$

[flourish]

35

Marginal notes:

line 29:



line 32 RH:  $\Delta$ . Thus I / deciphered / them after / a day or /  
two or / three

Martij 26. a meridie  $\perp$  Tuesday hor.  $5\frac{1}{2}$

First there was a great noyce of harmony, hard

There appeared two great Armies fighting, and much blud shed on both sides.

One Captaine in red harness, the Contrary Captayn, in white and grene.

There appered Flags with a croked tree, or like a ragged staff, or cudgell, in

40

them: and they were on the red Capitayns side. He and his soldiers had the worse

and were putto flight, and they ran away.

The Captayn with the white and grene was Master of the felde: and assembled and gathered

ered his men to gather after the Victorie.

Now this Capteyn goeth to a town and semeth with his hand to heave vp the towne

45

being a big towne.

There was a voyce hard, saying thus ——— So shall it be, with 21 more

$\Delta$  Wyth what one and twenty?

A Voyce — As yet, you can not know.

This will happen, before the sonne hath twice gon his course.

50


E K. Now the Capteyn appeared alone, on fote, in his harness. he  
holdeth vp his

hands to heven. He is now Vanished away. I meane the Capteyn  
in white and grene

greene

Now

Marginal notes:

line 36: [some indecipherable marks] 7 z / 

line 38: A Battle / foreshewed.

line 50: Before two / yeres finished / Ergo before / A<sup>o</sup> 1585 /  
Martij 26

[65a]

Now appeareth the red cloth before the chayre. There come in  
Three.

they all make cursy: and two of them went away.

△ Our desyre is to know what we are to think of the Man which  
cam out

of my Oratory and layd the fyry Ball at M<sup>r</sup> Adrian Gilbert his  
fete yesterday,

as he sat [by me] in my study with M<sup>r</sup> Kelly and me. Whether it  
were any

5

Illusion, or the act of any seducer?

★  
Me

No wicked powre shall enter into this place. Neyther shall  
Iniquitie

range where the fyre of his percing Judgment and election  
doth light;

which shall quicken his deadness, and revive his courage to the  
auancement

of the name of him, which liueth now

10

He chose with fire and lightened theyr harts, and they  
immediately vnderstode

and felt the Illumination of his glory. What wilt thou?

△

To the performance of the glorie and encreasing of his name,  
which shortly

maketh [and] an ende With for euer.

15

△ This phrase, for euer, is somewhat dark

<sup>†</sup> Me With this world, for euer.

△ This giveth some light.

E K. The stone is become very dark

<sup>†</sup> Me As the Buyliding is grownded and ended vppon Three, so must the  
myste=

ries hereof be practised With Three. The fowrth is the Boke, 20  
~~which~~  
Which, Lo, is here present.

△ Must Adrian Gilbert, be made priuie of these Mysteries?

<sup>†</sup> Me. Thow hast sayd

△ May I note to your name any peculier Character or syllable to  
distinguish your

speches from ours or others?

25

<sup>†</sup> Me. Medicina sum.

△ I may then vse this syllable Me, to Note Medicina or Medicus  
Dei.

<sup>†</sup> Me Behold, these things, shall God bring to pass by his hands  
whose mynde

he hath now newly set on fyre. The corners and streights of  
the earth

shall be measured to the depth: And strange shalbe the wonders  
that are

30

Creeping in to new worldes. Tyme shalbe altred, with the

difference of day and night. All things haue grown allmost to  
theyr fullness.

But beware of Pride. We teache duty, Humbleness, and submission

Shortly shall these things come to passe.

△ Than, this Adrian Gilbert shall cary the name of Jesus among  
the Infidells to

35

the great glory of god, and the recouery of those miserable people from the mowth of hell

into which, for many hundred yeres past, and yet cōtynually they do fall. etc.

<sup>†</sup> Me Who made thy mowth to prophesy? or who opened the eyes of thy vnderstanding?

Who annoynted thy Jaws, or fed the with vnknown meate. Euen he<sup>Δ</sup> it

is, that pricked these things forward, and shall vse you as his Instruments 40

to a mightie honor.

Δ May he require description of the Cuntryes, for his better instruction, etc.

<sup>†</sup> Me Let darknes go behinde the, and tempt him not, that iudgeth. These things belong not

to my charge. Thow knowest them, which are sufficient, whan short time 45

shall serue, for the whole instruction. Greater nede were to enquire How

or by what meanes thow mayst be made worthy: and so, consequently, haue knowledge

for the knowing, hauing and vsing of this caelestiall medicine.

Forget not.

I instructed the before hand, and told the, that both of you must iointly lerne those 50

holy letters (For so, I may boldely call them) in memory: with theyr names: to the

intent, that the finger may point to the hed, and the hed to the vnderstanding of his charge.

for Discoveries making of the seas and theyr bownds.

---

Marginal notes:

line 1: Three.

line 4: A. Gilbert.

- line 7: NOTE
- line 8: Election
- line 11: The Apostles on / Whitson Sondag.
- line 19: Three.
- line 20: Fowre.
- line 23: A. Gilbert / may be made / priuie, but he / is not  
to be / a Practiser.
- line 28: A. Gilbert / his Task
- line 31: Note a / prophesie.
- line 33: Pride
- line 35: Adrian Gilb.
- line 38: Δ / of god
- line 42: Description / geographical.
- line 44: Tenebrae post / dorsum.
- line 46: Instruction requisite
- line 47: Note
- line 50: Both ioyntly / E K and / J <:D:>
- lines join: 'name of Jesus' (line 35) to 'these things' (line 40);  
'are' (line 45) to 'making' (line 53).  
'he' (line 39) to 'pricked' (line 40) and to 'honor' (line 41)
- 

[65b]

Δ You perceyue that I haue diuerse affayres which at this  
present do withdraw me

from peculier diligence vsing to these Characters and theyr  
names lerning by hart:

therefore, I trust, I shall not offend, if I bestow all the  
convenient leyser that I shall

get) about the lerning hereof

Me Peace, Thow talkest, as though, thow vnderstodest not We  
know the, we

see the in thy hart: Nor one thing shall not let an other  
 For short is the time, that shall bring these things to profe:  
 wherein he  
 { that liueth, shall approve him self aliue. Beautifull are the  
 footesteps  
 } of his comming, and great is the reuenge of the wicked

O Liber, Liber, Liber, bonis vita, malis vero mors ipsa 10

Magna sunt mirabilia in te inclusa: et magnus est nomen  
 Sigilli tui

Lumen Medicinae meae, vobis

E K. he holdeth his hands abroad. He draweth the Curten.

△ Gloria Laus et honor Deo p̄ri et F. et ss. Amen

/flourish/

15

Marginal notes:

line 8: God will shew / him self aliue.

line 10: Liber

Martij 28

Thursday morning

Mawndy Thursday

A voyce. Pereant omnes qui insidiantur virtuti nōis mei: et qui

Lumen [as]absconderunt Justitia mea.

E K. Now the veale is pluckt away

Three appeare, as before time

20

All three sayd——— Multa nos, quia multa patitur ipe

E K. The two go away and the Third remayneth, who is like in all  
 points to

him, who yesterday to me alone, in your absence had declared  
 him self to be

an Illuder. △ NOTE; for the better vnderstanding of this  
 dayes Act

it may be remembred that E Kelly, while, I, (John Dee) was at London, yester=

25

day (being wensday) had vsed meanes to haue conference, with the good Crea=

ture, with whome we haue dealing iointly: and that there appeared one

very like vnto our good frende, Who toke apou him to be the same,

and now semed to be constrayned by E K to tell the truth: and therefore

his outward beautifull apparell semed to go of, and his body appered hery

30

and he confessed that he was an Illuder etc Wherevppon E k. was in a

great perplexitie of mynde, and was ready to haue gone his way. And

at my comming home told me a long processe of this Tragicall Act. But

I comforted him, and wold not yeld to his opinion, But did declare my

confidence in the goodnes of God: for that we craved at his hands, things

35

good and necessarie: and that therefore he wold not give his childern

a stone for bred, or a scorpion for nedefull food required etc.

And this morning the matter was propounded by me, and therevppon the former sayings wer vsed, and all the consequences of matter, which

hereafter is recorded.

40

△ The veritie I require of yesterdays doings with E K in my absence.

Camikas zure he sayd, holding his hands vp to heuen.

E K. he walketh vp and down and semeth angry: and beat his hands to gither

There commeth a little streame of fire whitish from aboue: and cam to his hed:

he kneleth down before the Chayre, and loketh vp and sayde 45  
 Me Oh how brittle are the works of thy hands [ ] he looked vp [ ]  
 whose Imperfec=

tions are more innumerable then the sands of the sea: or  
 clouds that were

lifted vp since the begynning of the world. Darknes dare  
 presume

to place him self in Lightnes: yea dishonor, (o God) to dwell in  
 place of glory: His lying lipps presume against Truth: whilest 50  
 thow

suffredst his old and withered face to be garnished with thy  
 beawty.

Heavines is his seat, yet are his lipps myrthfull: and little  
 there

that

---

Marginal notes:

line 17: Insidiatores

line 30: Pilosus.

---

[66a]

that separateth him from the dignitie of honor: But his  
 ponishment is

sufficient, his dishonor vnspeakable, and his damnation for euer:  
 which

how bitter it is, great and vnspeakable, Thow, <sup>^</sup>o thow (I say)  
 that liuest

(which hast estranged him so far from thy glory) makest onely  
 manifest

But yet how long shall the sonnes of men puff vp them selues with  
brag= 5

ging and boasting of that they see not? But (alas) All things are  
 confownded, and are contrary to thy commaundemets: some onely  
 which differ,



remayn with concordant myndes praysing the, and lifting vp thy name,  
as

much as strength performeth. But herein is thy glory and long  
sufferance

manifest, in that thou dost not onely with greif behold theyr  
synnes, but

10

like a iust iudge, fauorably dost ponder the greatnes of theyr  
enemies, which

infect theyr myndes, and blynde the light, which thou hast given

/vnto/ [to] theyr

vnderstanding, with inflammations bodyly, instigations worldly,  
and ten=

tations innumerable. Great therfore and most great, and none grea=

ter can be, which deridest the Aduersarie, and healest the weak: 15

whose smallnes of habilitie thou canst augment, wherein the  
mysteries of thy

great glorie and might, is manifest. Thy seat yeld prayses, with  
incessant and dutifull obedience. Thy name be magnified, thy mercy  
published to thy glory: Holy Holy, yea great and most holy, is thy

everlasting kindenes for euer.

20

E K. Now he standeth vp, and sayd

Me As I haue all ready told, from whome I cam, so haue I not  
hydden, what

I am, or what message I bring; why it is sent, it is allso  
written.

How long shall I perswade /to/<sup>c</sup> stedfastnes? But the greater  
your measures are

the greater shalbe the quantitie. These afflictions are  
necessary. For herin

25

is a measure [is a measure] to distinguish<sup>\*</sup> from falshode,  
light from darknes

and honor from dishonor. The more they are like vs, or shew  
them selues so,

(for, nothing can be more dislike) the more they are Judges of  
theyr own dam=

nation. Yea, if his strength had byn great, he wold haue  
devoured thy

sowle. [ ] loking to E K [ ] But whome God hath chosen, shall  
none over=

30

turne. Brag not: eyther Credyt my words by thyne owne reason.  
But

Consider that diuerse may be dishonored, yea though they be in  
honor: yet

shallt nor thow neyther be ouerturned with the one wynde nor  
the other:

though the afflictions that shall follow the, be great and hard.

In my words are no error: neyther haue you fownd my lipps  
vntrue.

35

Whan I kneeled, I spake for you. But I haue promised that No  
vnclean

thing shall prevayle within this place. Neyther am I a  
revenging spirit

nor of any such office. I quicken the deade, revive them that  
are falln

and cure or sow vp the wowndes, which they are permitted to  
work vppon

man, as tokens of God his Justice.

40

I call the same god, (whome I haue called before) to recorde,  
that these words

are true, my sayings iust, and his mercies more perfect. Whilest  
heven

endureth and earth lasteth, never shall be razed out the Memorie  
of these

Actions. Vse Humilitie: Reioyce whan the enemy is discomforted  
in his traynes, and inventions: A ponishment so great, Et  
caetera.

45

Whan I yoked your<sup>\*</sup> feathers to gither, I ioyned them not for  
a while.

your flying is to be considered in quantitie, qualitie and  
Relation.

Thank God: Be mercifull: forget your synnes: and  
prepare

your selues, For, great and wonderfull is the immediate powre

of him that illuminateth from aboue.

50

It shall light apou you: For those that are present with him, liued

with him, eat and drank with him, [ ] and [ ] were instructed by him, Were

but

Marginal notes:

line 22: Raphaëlis / officium

line 26: \* forte, truth [with caret under 'truth']

line 34: Afflictions to / E K

line 37: This place

line 38: Raphaëlis / officium

line 43: Note the durance of / of these Memorials

line 46: \* Note of the / Vision which / was shewed / A<sup>o</sup> 1582.

[66b]

but hearers onely: At Length God was glorified, in one instant a<ll> things brought vnto theyr remembrance: yea some of them taken to behold the heavens, and the earthly glory. I haue sayd

△

Me Behold. Veniat vindictum dei, et percutiat linguam mentientem 5

E K. he goeth his waye and taketh all with him, Table, Chayre, and Curten

and all. There cam in a great many with flaming swords, and bring in the

wicked spirit, who yesterday delt so diuillishly with E K.

One of them holding him by the arme, sayd, Speak now for your self, you

could speak yesterday: They all drew theyr swords: they sknorked

fire. And then seamed a water to com in, but it went away again

A voyce ——— Dicat, nam nrm non est

E K. Now is the Skroll with the Characters brought in, which was  
fownd by

spirituall direction this [last] month, the 12 day, abowt 10 $\frac{1}{2}$   
after none.

by M<sup>r</sup> Kelly and Master Husy

15

He semeth now [to] as like our good frende, as may be.

Our frende cam with a sponge and annoynted the wicked spirit  
his lipps

A voyce ——— Els could I not speak.

△ Seing now thow canst speak, answer me

The Wicked, sayd ——— Ask quickly.

20

△ What is thy name? ——— The wicked answered Gargat.

△ What is the sentence of that Skroll? ——— Gar. I know not.

△ In the name of Jesus, I charge the to tell me the truth as  
concerning

That roll here shewed: ——— Gar. I haue cownterfeted this roll,  
and

brought it: for it is not the true roll.

25

△ After [many] many words betwene him and me, and the more,  
bycause he denyed

that he knew of any Glorie belonging to God, I vrged him so,  
at length w<sup>th</sup>

short and euident argumēt, that he answered, he must confess  
the powre

and glorie of god: and sayd, that he was damned for euer. and  
did

wish damnation to me: And I requested God to vse his Justice  
on him

30

for the glory of his name: then he entreated me somwhile, and  
somwhile

derided me, saying, Art thow so lusty? etc

△ All the Cumpany fell on him, and hewed him in peces: and digged  
a hole

in the earth, with theyr swords, and he fell in, and [there]  
after that

was a myghty roaring hard

35

A voyce—————Sic soleo iniustis.

△ The Cumpany went away. There cam a fire and seamed to burn all  
the howse.

A voyce—————Purifica Domine sanctum tuum, et dele iniquitatem  
inimicorum nostrorum.

△ Then returned our frende <sup>†</sup>Me, and all seemed light and bright  
agayn:

40

likewise all the furniture, of Table, Chayre, Globe in the  
Chayre covered

with a red covering etc.

<sup>†</sup>Me. Visio vera, verè denotatur. Denotetur etiā ad gloria Dei.

△ Master Kelly, is your dowl of the spirit, now taken away?

E K. ye truely, I beseeche God to forgive me.

45

<sup>†</sup>Me. Dixisti, et factum.

△ As concerning Adrian Gilbert, there might be some dowte in  
common externall

Judgmēt, of his aptnes to the performance of the Voyage w<sup>th</sup> the  
appertenances,

But the Secret of God his prouidence, I will not meddle with all:  
for he can

make infants speak, and the dum to shew furth his glory etc. 50

<sup>†</sup>Me. Yf God be mighty, acknowledge his powre. Who made the sonne

of nothing?

Marginal notes:

line 14: The finding of / the skroll, of / the Threasors.

line 24: Cownterfeted / Roll.

line 25: ~~vid.~~ vid. infra / pag 152. 153 &c.

line 43: Write

line 44: hand

line 47: A.G.

of nothing? or man, so brittle a substance? Nature thrusteth vp  
her sholders

amongst trees and herbs, like a gentle fyre: In beasts and all  
the creatures

of the fielede, waters, and earth, in a palpable imagination:  
Amongst the

sonns of men, she walketh by her own qualitie, mixing the  
quantities, with her before

iudged proportion. Amongst all these is some distinction, yet in  
all theyr kindes

are perfectly and substantially norrished. Yf Nature haue such  
powre,

What powre hath our God, and how great is his might[e] in those [he]  
in whome

He kindleth a sowle, vnderstanding. The strength of body and  
inward

man, with the strength of him that also leadeth him, are augmented  
and di-

minished at his pleasure. Yf earth, in mixture become fyre, how  
much

more shall he encrease, whom God hath strengthened: Yf he wold  
haue con-

quered with thowsands, he wold not haue sent back the dogged  
harted people.

Yf riches or renowne were his felicitie, he wold haue kindled the  
twelue Lamps

of his aeternall light, on a higher mowntayne: But he chose them  
in the

Valleys, and from the watering places. I think this be sufficient  
to

confirme your Vnderstanding.

△ I trust, God be not offended with this matter propounded. etc

Me He is pleased: And it is enough. Eternitie is mighty and  
glorious to the

righteous.

△ Whan shall I make him priue of these things? 20

<sup>u</sup>Me Whan thow wilt. For euery thing is acceptable with those that are accepted.

See thow cownsayle him, and be his Father.

△ As concerning John Dauis, we are to ax somewhat etc.

<sup>u</sup>Me John Dauis, is not of my Kalendar. Lern of them, of whome it is necessary

Be not negligent, in lerning the things before prescribed. 25

God be amongst you.

E K. He hath drawn the curten of red.

△ soli Deo sit oīs honor et gloria. Amen.

/flourish/

Marginal notes:

line 7: /hand/

line 8: △ / Note Body / sowle / spirit

line 13: The 12 Apostles

line 20: A.G.

line 23: Jo. Dauis

line 25: Lern the / Alfabet.

Mawndy Thursday, after None. hor. 3½ 30

△ The Veale being drawn away after a quarter of an howre (almost) after the

first motion made by me. Three cam in, and made obedience to the chayre

Two went away, and the third remayned there, as before.

△ As concerning the Kalendar to be reformed, I am grieved that her Ma<sup>r</sup>/tie<sup>r</sup> will not

reforme it in the best termes of Veritie 35

And as for the priuiledge for M<sup>r</sup> Adrian Gilbert his Voyage, I think not well

of it, that Royalties shold not be graunted

Therefore both these points, respecting her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, I wold gladly haue cownsayle, such

as in the Judgment of the highest might be most for my behofe, to follow.

Me

In one government there are sundry principall partes: Euery part in

40

subdiuision conteyneth many and sundry offices. Many Offices require many

disposers: yet hath euery disposition continually some partition in his qualitie.

All things, one thing: And one thing, something: some thing many things, and many things, most innumerable

The heuens in proportion are gouerned vniversally of a few; particularly of

45

many: eche place possesseth his diuision: and euery thing diuided, his pro=

pertie.

Princis ar governors which move and stir them vp to work, as it is provided,

and to behold in speculation How euery particular Action shall haue due, perfect,

and

50

---

Marginal notes:

line 34: The reformatio<sup>o</sup> / of the Kalendar.

---

[67b]

and appropriated Locall being, motion and Condition

Subiects, (yea, the Highest,) are stirred vp, by theyr propre Angels:

The inferior sort do follow the disposition of theyr leaders

Vertue and Vice dwell euery where

Light and darknes, are allwayes intermedled

5

Consider, How I speak it.



The myndes of all that move, euen vnto the least qualitie in Nature, haue

of them selues propre vertues: and therfore propre Instigators.

I call to memory thy words, the manner of thy speche, and the secret purpose

or meaning, wherevnto it is vttered. I see thy Infirmities, and know

10

what thou desyrest.

But mark me, Whom God commonly choseth, shalbe whom the

Princis of the Erth do disdayn.

Consider, how the prophet that slew that Monstrous Gyant, had his election.

15

God respecteth not princis, particularly, so much as the state of his whole

people. For in Princis mowthes, is there poyson, as well as proverbs.

And in one hart, more Synne, then a whole world can conteyn.

yt is not myne office to meddle with theyr vanities, neyther is it a part of

my pageant to towch anything that tasteth not of Medicine

20

But what? doth thy mynde reply? Dost thou think, that my cownsaile

herin, to a grieved mynde, is, (though it can be) Medicinall?

Peraduenture thou thinkest I am not, in thy marrow: yej I haue byn

long in the highest part of thy body, and therfore ame somthing perswaded

of thy meaning

25

△ In dede, I thought that your good Cownsaile, was or might be a remedie

and a medicine to my afflicted mynde, for this vnseamely doing, in the

[the] two former points expressed.

Me

Behold, whervnto thy earthly man wold seduce the. Dost thou think,

that if it pleas god, it shall not please the Prince? if it  
be ne=

30

cessarie, all ready prepared?

secretum duo

For all things are Limited, with a full mensuration, and  
vnsearchable

forsight: yea, I say, all ready, vnto the ende.

Be not discomforted. Quayle not at the blast of a small tempest: 35

For those that speak the fayre, haue dissembling harts, and  
priuillie do

they shote at the, with arrows of reproche.

Whan they shall haue nede of the: I meane, of the help of God,

through the, (some shut vp, some entangled, some gad=

ding like masterles Dogges,) Than shall they gladly seke the 40

and desire to finde the. They shall smell oute thy fote steps,

and thow shalt not see them. The key of theyr Cares

shalt thow be Master of: and they them selues shall not vnlok

theyr own grievousness. yea they shall say, Oh let the earth  
devowr vs.

But I am to long. I answer the, all though it be not my  
office,

45

to declare that thow desirest: yet for that thow desyrest my  
Medicine,

I say, Thow shalt preuayle agaynst them, yea euen agaynst the  
Mightiest.

As thow wilt, so shall it be in God his blessings.

Beware of Vayne glory. Vse few wordes

Thy weapons, are small, but thy Conquest shalbe great. 50

Lo. Doth this satisfy the? Haue a firme faith:

It is

---

Marginal notes:

line 2: Angeli / proprij

line 8: Peculier and / propre Instiga= / tors  
 line 12: God hia Elect.  
 line 20: Medicine  
 line 24: Δ / Raphael long / tyme visiting / my hed  
 line 30: A secret  
 line 36: Lingua dolosa.  
 line 38: England,  
 line 40: Miserie to= / come.  
 line 45: Note. eache in his / office.  
 line 47: Praevalescentia  
 line 50: Conquest.  
 line 51: A firm faith.

A line joins 'all ready' (line 31) to 'all ready' (line 34).

[68a]

It is the greatest lesson. Be it vnto the as thow hast deliuered  
 One thing, I answer the, for all Officis. Thow hast in  
 Subiection all Offices: Use them when it pleas the,  
And as thy Instruction hath byn.

I haue sayde.

5

Δ As things be planted here, for preparation of Table, sigillum  
 Dei etc which things are not portable with eas: so,  
 bycause I think, that some seruices to be done in gods  
 purposes  
 by me, will require other places than this howse, so shall  
 diuerse my practises haue / (as I think)<sup>c</sup> / a more compendious  
 manner, and redy  
 to be executed in any place etc.

10

†  
 Me Truly thow hast sayd, and so shall it fall vnto the.

As I am here in this place, and yet in dede not, So, here:  
so shall it fall oute, and follow in the Mysteries of your  
Associated Operation.

15

The other shall be, but, as necessary help to the first Practises,

to plant the Tree: which being confirmed and strongly rooted shall bring furth frute, most abundantly.

The Erth and the tree, can not be separated

This is the ende, and true it is.

20

Let him be record, whom I beare record of here,

And so, with the. Amen.

I must help the. Lerne loyntly the Elements or grownds of this  
heuenly doctrine; the ende and Consummation of all thy desired thirst:

in the which God shall performe the, thy Philosophicall Harmonie

25

<sup>\*A</sup>  
in prayer. Thow knowest what I mean.

The Aeternall physitian minister his heuenly grace and  
continuall

blessings vppon you, to the Glorie of his name, execution  
of your proceedings, and holy and insatiable desires.

△ Amen: Oipotenti Deo, nro,

30

Creatori Redeptori et

sanctificatori, ois honor

laus et gratiaru actio.

Amen

/flourish/

35

-----  
Marginal notes:

line 2: All Officis

line 14: △: and E K, / and / A. Gilbert. /with line to 'other'  
(line 16)]

line 17:     The erth     } 1. E K  
              The Tree     } 2. Δ  
              The planter } 3. A G

line 19:     The Planter / may be separa / ted: from / Tree and  
              Erth

line 23:     Note Lerne / The Alfabet.

line 26:     Δ\* Philosophicall Harmonie / in prayer, is ment / by  
              the prayer which / I dayly vse, & often. / Deus in.  
              a.m. In. / D.a.a.m.f. G.p. / e. F.e.s. etc.

Jesus.

On good friday;     After None

Δ     There was a savor of fire felt by E K.

There semed one with a sword, suddenly to thrust out of the  
 stone at E K his hed.

Whereat he started; and sayd he felt a thing (immediately)  
 creeping within his hed, 40

and in that pang becam all in a [swete] sweat. And he remayned  
 much misliking

the moving and creeping of the thing in his hed. At a quarter  
 of an howre ende

it cam to one place: and so ceased somewhat: & then the Curten  
 was drawn

away: and there appeared the Table, and the chayre covered.

Then cam three, two went away and one remayned: as before was  
 vsed. 45

E K held the paper of the letters in his hand: and Me<sup>141</sup> bad him  
 put it out of his hand.

Me<sup>141</sup>     The taste of this mercifull potion, yea the savour onely  
              of the vessell worketh

most extremely agaynst the maymed drowsing of ignorance, yf  
 the hand be heavy,

how weighty and ponderous shall the whole world be? What Will  
 ye

△ this he sayd 50

[68b]

△ This he sayd vppon our silence after his former words. I answered, we desyred

to lerne the Mysteries of the boke.

The Boke now appeared (the cover of the chayre being taken away) the boke lying

lying vppon a rownd thing: which E K, was not able to discern what it is.

The first leaf /side/ of the /first leaffe of the<sup>c</sup> boke appeared full of the former letters, [consi] euery side 5

hauing 49 tymes 49 square places, with letters: some more then other.

<sup>st</sup>M Euery side conteyneth 2400 and one [letter] od letter.

E K. All the letters semed to be of bluddy cullor, and wet: The lines

betwene the squares, semed to be like a shaddow.

In the first square were 7 letters. 10

<sup>st</sup>Me Say after me: But pray first ere you begynne. △ We prayed

E.K. All became blak as pych in the boke

Then it becam light agayne.

Now he pointeth vp, with his rod of gold diuided into 3 equal partes, which

rod he toke from vnder the Table. 15

<sup>st</sup>Me. Keph van ☐ he lifted his face to heven ☐

1. { Don graph fam veh na.

E K. Now he kneleth down, and holdeth vp his hands

The letters of the first Square, ar 7.

Now he pointeth to the second

2. Med gal ☐ E K. he turneth him self about.

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

20

3. vn gal vn Mals na.

<sup>1±/</sup>  
Me Twise seven, Thre and All one: and his  
mercy endureth for euer.

4. Tal vn vrh.

25

5. Fam graph Fam.

6. Ged graph drux med.

7. vn van.

8. Tal vn don vr vn drux. sounded as  $\partial p^v \xi$

9. Med.

30

10. Tal van fam mals vn.

11. vn ged gon med gal.

12. Mals vn drux

13. Ged vn.

14. Fam graph fam.

35

15. ged vn tal mals graph gal vn keph

16. Veh vn mals veh drux graph na cap<sup>A</sup>neh

17. ged med.

18. med gal.

19. Fam graph tal graph ur vn pa van ged graph drux

40

20. Gal med tal drux vn.

21. mals na gon vn tal

22. ged vn

23. van vn drux veh don vn drux.

24. Van don graph mals don graph fam

45

E K. Now he seemeth to wepe, and knock his brest.

he pointeth with the rod, vp agayn, and sayd

25. vn gal graph mals gal

26 vn keph graph

27 Gal don van keph

50

28 Gisg vn don gal graph tal vn na.

---

Marginal notes:

line 6:           49  
                   49  
                    $\overline{441}$   
                   196  
                    $\overline{2401}$

line 44:       100

---

[69a]

29. van vn

30. veh graph fam gisg fam

31. ged don vn mals vn gal.   he stayed here a good while.

32. fam graph gal

33. van drux pa vn don

5

34 gal med tal gon med vrh

35 vn gal graph mals med vn gal

39.38.37.36. veh na graph van vn veh na. / Tal vn na / Med fam fam  
na graph / gal vn mals na /

40. med drux gon keph gal vn don. This is a word

41 mals vn drux ged graph mals na gon.

10

E K: Now he walked vp and down before the chayre: and cam  
 agayn and pointed.

The letters now following seme to be written with Clay.

42. Med gal vn tal na

43. ged graph tal graph gal fam vn vr: eight letters

44. vn

15

45. gal gon drux med keph vn

46. na med pal mals med don. Now he walketh agayn, and loketh vpward.

Then he pointed agayn.





or vpper row, [of the side] begynning at the right hand,  
and so going .

orderly to the left. And secondly Note that this lesson he  
red, pointing with his rod orderly vppon the same forsaide  
first row.

[flourish]

---

Marginal notes:

line 14: 100

line 27: Veresk and / Zuresk are / all one. / Δ perchance /  
Zuresch, / with ch, for / K, and so / the word shalbe /  
of [8] /Z/ letters.

line 35: \*Δ it is not to be / spoken or inter= / preted, but  
whan / the time appointed, / is come

---

[69b]

Martij 31. Easter day after none abowt 4.

E K. hard first a sownd of Musicall harmonie

Δ The Veale was pluckt away

Three cam in, two went away, as before accustomed.

E K. Now he lyeth down. he riseth and pulleth the veale frō the  
chayre. 5

That veale was of cullor as a raynbow.

The boke appeared playne and evidently on the globe in the  
chayre.

E K felt the thing ronne in his hed as the other day it did.

Me taketh out the rod from vnder the Table: he sayd

Aeternitas in Caelo

10

Δ vppon my staying from speche, he sayd, What wilt thou?

Δ The proceding instruction necessary for vnderstanding of the  
boke.

<sup>†</sup>Me Mensuratur.  $\Delta$  he putteth vp his rod to the boke

<sup>†</sup>Me Sint oculi illorū clari, vt intelligant  $\square$ he held vp his hands and semed

to pray.

15

He pointed now to the second row of the 49 rows of the first page

of the boke; and sayd

Secundus a primo

- 1           Gon na graph na van fam veh na. Now he walketh vp and down.
- 2           Ged don med drux na vn gal med keph. he walketh agayn           20
- 3 [1.]      Vn don gal graph drux  $\square$ he walked agayn.
- 4 [2.]      med
- 5 [3.]      drux vn  $\square$ he walked
- 6 [4.]      ged graph tal mals  $\square$ he walketh $\square$  vn vr med.  $\square$ 7 letters.
- 7 [5.]      med gon veh vn fam tal vn drux                                           25
- 8 [6.]      van vn drux gal don graph fam
- 9 [7.]      med don gal vn
- 10 [8.]     van graph van graph gon vn na
- 11 [9.]     drux med fam
- 12 [10.]    mals vr gon ged drux vn mals na graph                                   30
- 13 [11:]    Keph vn tal mals med drux med drux
- 14 [12.]    vn drux graph mals na
- 15 [13.]    med mals na graph [veh] gal :  $\square$ here, veh or gal is indifferēt.
- 16 [14.]    vn
- 17 [15.]    Tal graph gal med [Keph]  $\square$ or rather $\square$  pal  $\square$ so it shalbe  
better vnderstode                                                                                           35
- 18 [16]    Tal vn don van drux graph
- 19 [17]    ged graph drux vn
- 20 [18]    mals don graph fam  $\square$ Now he walketh
- 21 [19]    drux med

- 22 [20] gal vn fam tal vn gisg 40
- 23 [21] van med don gisg fam
- 24 [22] tal vn drux ged graph gisg [so it is
- 25 [23] { vn
- [24] { gal graph van drux graph
- 26 [25] gal vn tal mals na 45
- 27 [26] drux vn pal gisg
- 28 [27] med fam
- 29 [28] van vn drux gal graph tal na drux vn pal vn gisg [12 letters  
med don

---

Marginal notes:

line 36:RH:     △ Note this diuersitie / of sownd and / writing: as  
X for Z [with line to 'so' (line 35)]

---

[70a]

- 30 [29] med don med mals na vn fam
- 31 [30] van med don
- 32 [31] tal gon drux med gal vn vr
- 33 [32] vn tal van gal vn fam
- 34 [33] ged graph don 5
- 35 [34] mals vn
- 36 [35] med
- 37 [36] gal vn pal keph van tal
- 38 [37] pa vn drux veh graph fam
- 39 [38] med don gal vn drux. [Now he maketh low obeysance to the  
chayreward. 10
- 40 [39] Mals vn Incomprehensibilis es in aeternitate tua.
- 41 [40] Mals don graph fam

- 42 van tal pa vr med fam gal vn  
 43 van med don pal  
 44 drux vn gal med drux 15  
 45 mals vn gisg don med mals na graph fam.  
 46 van drux gal graph fam.  
 47 vn gal med drux.  
 48 ged vn drux graph pa drux fam.  
 49 gon na graph na van gal keph 20
- Me Shall I rede it? Δ we pray you

[2] [Iheh..ts] Gronhadowz  
 Ihehusch Gro[m]/n/adox arden, o na gempalo oicasman  
 .....

veueiah s  
 vandres orda beueglah noz plignase zamponon aneph  
 [there is a stop]

Ophad a medox marune gena pras no dasmat. Vorts manget

vandemhnaxat  
 a deune dampnaxat os vandeminaxat. Orophas vor 25

minodal amudas ger pa o daxzum banzes ordan ma  
 pres vmblosda vorx nadon patrophes vndes adon ganabus  
 .....

Ihehudz Δ Note A deune must be pronounced as one  
 worde: like as Res publica, in  
 latin.  
 els here wold seme to be .50. words.  
 but, 30

A deune, cam out of one square.

Δ Gehudz consisteth of 6 letters: but Gon na graph van gal keph  
 con=

sisteth of 7. I wold gladly be resolved of that dowl if it  
 pleas you.

E K. he boweth down, and put the rod away, and than Kneled down.

Δ He rose and axed me what wilt thou? 35

Δ The former question to be soluted. Me Thow hast written  
 [falh] fals:

for, it must be Ihehudz; and so it is of 7 letters.

- △ Yf euery side cōteyne 49 rows, and euery row will require so much tyme to be

receyued as this hath done it may seme that very long time will be requisite to this

doctrine receyuing: But if it be gods good liking, we wold fayne haue some abridgemēt

40

[of] or compendious manner, wherby we might the soner be in the work of Gods servyse

- E K. The Chayre and the Table are snatched away, and seme to fly toward heven

And nothing appeared in the stone at all. But [the] was all transparent

clere.

- △ What this snatching away of Chayre and Table doth meane we know not: But

45

if the lord be offended with his yonglings, and Novices in this Mysteries, for propownding

or requiring a compendious Method etc Then we are very sorry, and ax forgivenes

for the rashnes at our lipps: and desyre his maiestie not to deale so rigorously

with

Marginal notes:

line 19 RH: △ forte van / Ax this dowte

line 42: △ / Note / and take / hede from / hence forward

[70b]

with vs: as thowgh we had sufficient wisdom or warning, to beware of such motions or requests making

to his ministers. Let it not be so sayd of the holy one of Israel:  
but that his mercies abownd w/th/ vs to his

E K. Now commeth all down agayn as, before glorie. Amen

Me. What are the Sonnes of men, that they put time in her own bosom? or

measure a Judgment that is vnsearchable

5

△

Me

I help thy imperfections. What, man thinketh wisdom, is error in our

sight. But because my Nature is to cure, and set vp those that fall,

Thus much vnderstand

As I haue sayde: The 49 partes of this boke 49 voyces, 10  
Wherevnto the so many powres, with theyr inferiors and  
subiects, haue byn, are, and shalbe obedient

Euery Element in this myserie is a world of vnderstanding

Euery one knoweth here what is his due obedience: and

this shall differ the in speche from a mortal Creature 15

Consider with thy self, How thou striuest against thyne own

light, and shaddowest the windows of thyne own vnderstanding

I haue sayde: Be it vnto the, as God will.

I am not a powre or whirlewynde that giueth occasion of offence.

Longe sumus a peruersitate destructionis 20

This much I haue sayd, for thy reformation and vnderstanding

△

Me

Lo, Vntill the secrets of this boke be written, I come no more.

neither of me shall you haue any apparition. Yet, in powre,

my office shall be here 25

Say, what you here, for euery word shall be named vnto

you: it is somewhat a shorter way, and more according

to your desyre

Euery Element hath 49 manner of vnderstandings

Therin is comprehended so many languages 30

They are all spoken at ones, and seuerally, by them selues,  
by dis=

inction may be spoken.

Vntill thou come to the Citie, thou canst not behold the  
beawty

thereof.

Nihil hic est, quod non est perfectum.

35

I go. I haue sayde, (and it is true,).

No vnclean thing shall enter:

Much less, then, here: For, it is the sight of whose Maiestie

We tremble and quake at

He shall teache, of him self; for we are /not/ [vn]worthy: 40

What then, of your selues? But such is his great and singular  
fauor

Marginal notes:

line 10: Of the boke

line 11: 49 Powres with / theyr Inferiors / vide sup. 48 after /  
a sort: and .l. / vide Martij 24.

line 15: Angelicall / Language

line 24: Raphaël is / to be absent / for a certayn / time: but /  
his powre shall / be here

line 29: Of the boke

line 30: Languages

line 40: Δ / Note, that we / shalbe Theodi= / dacti, of god /  
him self and, / no Angel herein

[71a]

fauor, that, he is [of him] of him self, and with those, whome he  
choseth.

For, the ende of all things, is at hand,

and Powre must distinguish, or els nothing can prevayle

What you here, yea what thou feelest, by thy finger, Recorde,

and seale sure. This is all, and in this is conteyned all, 5



that comprehendeth all The almighty powre  
and profunditie of his glory.

What els?

As thow seest, and till he see, whose sight, is the light of this  
his own

powre, His might is great. The dew of his stedfastnes 10  
and glorious perfection hold vp and rectify the weaknes of your  
fragilitie: Make you strong to the ende of his workmanship  
to whome I commit you

E K. He plucketh the veale ouer all

A voyce afterward ————— Ne Ne Ne na Iabes 15

△ Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus Dns Deus Zebaoth: Pleni sunt  
caeli et terra gloria Maiestatis eius. Cui soli ois  
honor, laus et gloria:

Amen

[flourish]

20

Marginal notes:

line 1, supra: Potentia.

line 2: The ende / of all things / is at hand

line 9: The sight / of god.

1583. Aprilis 2. Tuesday Jesus. † . before none

△ A voyce like a Thunder was first hard

The chayre and Table appered // therof

There appered fyre in the chayre, and burnt away the veal or  
covering [therf]

The cullor of the flame of the fire was [of] as of Aqua Vitae  
[bunt] burnt.

25

A voyce ————— Sum.

E K. There goeth a clowd or smoke from the chayre; and covereth  
the Table

That smoke filled all the place

A voyce ——— Impleta sunt oīa gloria et honore tuo

E K. All is become clere, saue the Table which remayned couered  
with the

30

clowde still

A great thunder began agayn, and the chayre remayned all in fire.

Now the boke appeareth euidently, lying vpon the Globe in the  
chayre

and the letters appered wet styll, as yf they were blud

There appered fire to be thrown oute of the stone, vpon E K.

35

The sownd of many voyces ———

Let all things prayse him and extoll  
his name

semed to pronownc this ———

for euer

E K. The fire is still in the chayre, but so transp̄ret, that the  
boke and

40

letters therof may be well seen.

E K felt his hed as if it were one fire

A voyce ——— Sic soleo errores hominum purificare.

A voyce ——— Say what you see

E K. I see letters, as I saw before

45


A voyce ——— Moue not from your places; for, this place is holy.

A Voyce ——— Read. ——— E K, I cannot

△ you shold

---

Marginal notes:

line 33: 

line 35: Note, fire

line 46: Moue not from / your places

[71b]

△ you shold haue lerned the characters perfectly and theyr names, that you

mowght now haue redyly named them to me as you shold see them.

Then there flashed fire vppon E K agayne.

A Voyce ————— Say what thow thinkest. △ he sayd so to E K.

E K. My hed is all on fire

5

A Voyce ————— What thow thinkest, euery word that speak.

E K. I can read all, now, most perfectly and in the Third row thus I see to be red.

<sup>z</sup>  
Palc/s/e duxma ge na dem oh elog da ved ge

ma fedes o ned a tha [h]lepah nes din.

10

Ihehudetha dan vangem onphe dabin oh [n] nax

palse ge dah maz gem fatesged oh mal dan

gemph naha Lax vu lutudah ages nagel osch.

macom adeph a dosch ma handa.

E K. Now it thundreth agayn

15

A voyce — Ego sum qui in te Mihi ergo qui Sum

△ Non nobis domine non nobis, sed nomini tuo damus gloriam.

△ Then E K red the fowrth row, as followeth

Pah o mata nax lasco vana ar von zimah

la de de pah o gram nes ca pan amphan van :

20

zebog ahah dauez bl ga. Van gedo oha ne

daph aged onédon pan le ges ma gas axa

nah alpod ne alida phar or ad gemésad

argla nado oges.

△ Blessed be the name of the Highest, who giveth light and vnderstanding.

25

E K. It thundreth agayn. All is covered.

A Voyce \_\_\_\_\_ Orate.

△ We prayed and returning to the work agayn, the fire covered all still

and E K hard [voyces] voyces, singing (as a far of) very melodiously.

Then all became euident agayn vnto E K his perfect Judgment. 30

△ E K then red thus

mises /pronownced/  
Mabeth ar mices achaph pax mara geduth alides

mansh  
orcānor manch arseth. olontax ar geban vox portex  
ah pamo agēmaton burīse ganport. vdriōs paseh

Machel 35

Marginal notes:

line 3: Fire agayn

line 9: △ I dowl which of / these 3 must serve {  
z  
s  
c

line 10: The Third / row of the / first page.

line 18: The fowrth/row.

line 32: The fifth / row.

[72a]

Machel len arvin zembuges + Vox mara.

gons Ihehusch dah pārsodan maāh alsplan

\*adīper                  arkad  
donglses adīpr agīnot. archad dons a

dax van famlet a dex arge pa gens

5

Van danzan oripat es vami gest ageff

pasdas  
ormatēnodah zālpala doniton pasdaes gānpogan

Vndanpel adin achaph maradon oxamax  
 anolphe dan ieh voxad mar vox ihedutharh  
 agga pal med lefe. IAN lefa dox parnix

10

dros  
 O droes marsibleh aho dan adeph uloh iads

ascleh da verox ans dalph che damph lam achos<sup>akos</sup>

E K. There is a great Thundring agayn

△ It is the hand of the highest, who will get him honor by his own works.

E K. The Voyce and sownd of pleasantnes and reioycing was hard: and all was

15

dark.

A small voyce ————— Locus est hic sanctus.

An other voyce ————— Sacer est a te Domine

E K. All is now opened agayne.

△. Then E K, red thus

20

/ iah  
 Amidan gah lesco van gedon amchih ax or  
 lesgomph  
 madol cramsa ne da vadgs lesgamph ar:  
 mara panosch aschedh or samhamphors asco  
 pascadabaah asto a vdrios archads ors arni.  
 pamphica lan gebed druxarh fres adma. nah  
 pamphes eh vanglor brisfog, mahad. no poho a  
 palgeh donla def arehas NA. Degel.

25

---

vnam  
 Vnaem palugh agan drosad ger max. fa lefe pandas  
 mars langed vndes mar. pachad odidos martibah

30

---

Marginal notes:

line 3: \*it is significatue

line 6:      The sixth / row.  
 line 17:     Locus sanctus  
 line 21:     The Seventh / row.  
 line 23:     Ascō, with the prick / ouer the ō, is to be /  
              pronounced as / Asto.  
 line 29:     The eight / row.

[72b]

vdramah noges gar + lenges argrasphe drulthe  
 las aseraphos + gamled cam led caph Snicol  
 lumrad v ma. pa granse paphres a drimox a  
 demphe NA. genile o danpha. Na ges a  
 ne gaph a .

5

E K: The sownd of Melodie, begynneth agayne

△. The fire cam from E K his eyes, and went into the stone againe  
 And then; he could not perceyue, or read one worde  
 The Fyre flashed very thick and all was couered with a veale.

△ Prayse we the lord, and extoll his name:

10

For, his hand hath wrought wondrous  
 Works, for his owne glorie.

[Whose name which]

Amen

[flourish]

15

Marginal note:

line 8:      Note: this / Mysterie of / god his powre / drawn to  
              him / self agayne.

Aprilis .3. Wensday, Forenone †

△ First the Curten was drawn away: and then all appeared on fire.  
The whole place

all ouer. E k hard voyces, but could not discern any thing  
but the humminging

of them

△ There cam fire agayn (out of the stone) vppon E K, all his  
body ouer

20

E K. The fire so diminisheth it self that the boke may be  
perceyued.

A Voyce ————— Magnus Magnus Magnus

An other voyce ————— Locus sacer et acceptabilis Deo

E K felt the fire to gather vp into his hed

Shortly after he could read the boke, as he could do  
yesterday.

25

5774 m) 5

Vlla doh aco par semna / gan var se gar on dun.

sebo dax se pal genso vax necra par sesqui nat .

axo nat sesqui ax olna dam var gen vox nap vax .

Vro varca cas nol vndat vom Sangef famsed oh .

30

sih adra gad gesco vansax ora gal parsa .

---

Varo , nab vbrah NA pa uotol ged ade

pa

---

Marginal notes:

line 23: Locus Sacer

line 26: △ / of the first character / Of Vlla, I dowl

line 27: The ninthe / Row

line 33: The Tenth.

---

sem  
 pa cem na dax + van sebra' dah oghe aschin  
 o nap gem phe axo or + nec a ve da pengon  
 a moroh ah o'ha aspah + niz ab vdráh iohed  
 a carnat dan faxmal gamph + gamph nacro  
 vax asclad caf prac crúscanse +

5

△

gam + ohe gemph ubrah' ax + orpna  
 nex or napo, gemlo + a cheph can sedlo'  
 pam geman ange hanzu (ALLA +) C'appo se  
 damo gam vas oro dax va' [ges /] ges palo  
 pal me pola +

10

E K. All these, (now red,) fall out and all the rows, before,  
 likewise.

A Voyce ————— Prayse God.

△ We prayed. and after, was this shewed.

Gals ange no témpa ro sama dan genze' axe +  
 falod amruh ácurtoh saxx par mano gan vax  
 no + gramfa gem sadglá loh vrox sappoh  
 iad ah oha vnra.

15

△

△ Now appeared an other row.

20

Se gora axol ma pa a oh la sabulan + Caph  
 ardox anpho nad v'rnah ud ago lan vns  
 Vxa grad orno dax palmes árisso dan vnra +  
 Vansample galse not xablis óphide ALLA loh +  
 gaslah osson luze adað max vanget or dano ans +  
 leo'z dasch le'oha dan se glás'pa neh +

25

△



## Marginal notes:

- line 3:        gohed, pronownced / as Iohed signifieth / One  
               euerlasting / and all things de= / pending vppon  
               One. / and gohed Ascha / is as much to say / as One  
               god.
- line 5 RH:    canse, signifieth / mightie: and Crus= / canse, more /  
               mightie.
- line 7 RH supra:    the a produced [refers to orpna]
- line 7 LH:    The eleuenth / Row.
- line 8:        All these which / haue lines vnder / them are eche /  
               but one word / of diuerse sylla= / bles: being 9 /  
               words of them.
- line 8, over 'ceph...sedlo':    the last h remissly sownded [refers  
               to ceph]
- line 11:        Pola and Pala / signifie two: / Pola signifieth / two  
               together, and / Pala signifieth / Two separated:
- line 15:        Δ This was a / parcell of a / row, which onely /  
               appered by him / self.
- line 17:        Δ / [At no, ende / 49, and so / here ar .10. over]
- line 17, over 'sadgla':    a must be sownded long
- line 21:        This se is / the nine and fortyeth / word longing /  
               to them before [with line to 'se' (line 21)]
- line 22:        The twelfth / row

[73b]

All becam dark, and it thundred

A Voyce ————— Prayse God.

Δ We prayed

Δ Now appered three or four rows to gither

The boke seemed to fly, as if it wold fly a peces (the fyre remayning)

5

and to make a great sturring in the place where it lay.

Amprí' apx ard ardo argá' argés' argáh ax .

osch nedo les icás + han andam von ga lax man .

nosch + dón<sup>sey</sup>go a yntar cey lude asch úrise alpe'

gem var dancet . [na]nap alped vrsbe temps a

10

vod nos gema o ulon máncepax oxné' pricos

a gót . zalpa ne doxam órne .

A

[14]

Admag apa asco tar + gans oärz am seph

selqui quisben alman . gons sa ieh

15

mársibleh gron áscabb gamat . ney aden vdan

[phl]phand sempés nar narran al + cáno géme .

dansé' álde nótes parcélah arb ner ga lum

pancu priscas ábra musse an nox . napod

a on dan sem ges asche

20

E K A sownd of many voyces, sayd ————— Orate

[15]

Mica suráscha para te gámmes ádríos NA danos .

Vra lad pacad ur gesme crus a prásep ed .

a palse nax varno zum . zancú asdom baged

25

Vrmigar orch phaphes ustrá nox affod masco:

gax cámlés vnsanba a oh la gras par quas.

cónsaqual lat gemdax tantat ba vod .

talpah ian .

A

30

## Marginal notes:

line 7: The 13line 7: a longline 9: ~ this with / a prick beto= / keneth y.

line 14: pronownce / Asto

line 16: yline 19: E K vnderstode / the Langage: and wold / haue spoken  
somwhat but / he was willed to stay.

line 24, over 'crus': pronownced as we do Cruse a cup

[74a]

16

Gesco' a taffom ges nat gam + pamphe' ordaquaf

cesto <sup>kid</sup>chidmap mischná iaisg + iaialphzudph adancet<sup>s</sup> vnban caf ransembloh + dafma vpaschem <sup>gras</sup>graos chra<sup>s</sup>msa asco dah + vimna

gen alde os papéam och láuan vнад. 5

Oh drosad údrios nagel panzo ab sescú +

Vorge afcál valaffda mórsab gaf ham de

Peleh asca.

17

△ This went away, when it was read

10

It waxed dark.

A voyce ————— Orate △ we prayed

E K. It beginneth to clere.

A Voyce to E K. ————— Say

Artosa geme oh galsagen axa loph gebed adóp:

15

zarcas vr vanta pas amphe n<sup>4</sup>ode alpan + n<sup>4</sup>ocas.  
 se ga ormacased lax naph talpt + pamphicas sandam  
 Voscmeh iodh asclad ar + phan gas malse a  
 quaz nam vngem vansel gembugel a gembusez  
aro tehl alta murt valtab baniffa faxed  
 ar [chyso]chlysod

20

18

A tam nat + glun asdeh ahlud gadre fam Shing  
 la dan + guinse life arilsar zabulan cheuach se +  
 amph lesche andam var ges ar phex are +  
NA tax pachel lapidox ar da vax malcos + vna  
 gra tassox varmara ud ga les vns ap se +  
 ne da ox lat ges ar +

25

---

Marginal notes:

- line 1, over 'Gesco': o long
- line 2: Sempiternall One / and induisible / God.
- line 3: a very long
- line 4: a reverent word / the a very long / and is, be it/  
 made with powre.
- line 7, over 'gaf': a long
- line 7: chal, iently, and / the a long
- line 14. RH: The <div>ine powre creating / the <An>gel of the  
 sonne [with line to 'galsagen' (line 15)]
- line 16: 4 manner of cō= / structions in / that one word.
- line 20: Aro is one / word diuided, / as respublica, / and here  
 this / Word is diuided / into two squares / and so  
 there / are 49.
- line 24, over 'guinse': e long

line 24, over 'cheuach': a long

line 24: life lephe Lurfando / is a strong charge / to the  
wicked to tell / the truth

line 24, RH of above note:  $\Delta$  / This he sayd / to my/demand / of  
this phrase/ wherof I / had mention / many yeres / since.

line 25, over 'ar': pronownce ar

line 26: NA. The name of the / Trinitie, One / Separable / for  
a while

[74b]

[19]

Now it waxeth dark.  $\Delta$  We must pray: (sayd I) and so w<e did.>  
But E K prayed perfectly in this Angels language etc.

Asmo dahan pan casme co caph al oh .

san ged a bansaa vn adon a seb Ian .

aglaho danfa zuna cap orcha dah os .

famsah ON naab ab nagah geha fastod .

hansey om huan lagra gem gas mal .

parcog dax nedo va geda leb arua ne cap sem carvan .

5

[20]

Onsem gelholdim geb abnih ian .

10

oxpha bas cappo cars ordriph grip gars .

of vindres nah ges pahado vllonooch can vaz a .

fam gisril ag nohol sep gerba dot vanca NA .

sem ah pa nex ar pah lad vamo' iar seque .

Vad ro garb . ah sem dan van ged ah paleu

15

Now the fire shot oute of E K his eyes, into the stone,  
agayne

And by and by he [sho] vnderstode nothing of all, neyther  
could reade

any thing: nor remember what he had sayde. All became dark.  
Then was the curten drawne, and so we ended. 20

△ Gloria Pri et filio et spiritui sancto

nunc et semper

Amen

[flourish]

-----  
Marginal notes:

line 4, over 'bansaa': a long onely one a sownded

line 6: a sownded as au

line 8, over 'sem': in eius loco.

line 8: the g not ex= / pressly sownded. [refers to 'parcog]

line 14: it is but one / Word [refers to ar pah]

line 15, over 'paleu': sownded, palef



25

Aprilis .3. Wensday After none hor 5 $\frac{1}{4}$

△ A prety while the veale remayned ouer all: then it was taken away

First fire was thrown vppon E K out of the stone

Many voyces concordantly sayd—Bonum est ō Deus, quia Bonitas ipa  
es.

An other voyce ————— Et magnum, quia tu magnitudo ipius  
Magnitudinis. 30

A voyce ————— Ádgmach ádgmach ádgmach

A great voyce ————— Sum, et sacer est hic locus.

A voyce ————— Ádgmach ádgmach ádgmach húcacha.

△ Then E K read the

row on this manner Padohó <sup>ghebs</sup> magebs galpz arps apá nal Si. 35

[21]

[20]

gámvagad al pódma gans NA . vr cas

nátmaz

Marginal notes:

line 31, over 'Adgmach': N much glory

line 32: Sacer locus

line 35, over 'arps': rede as arch

---

[75a]

nátmaz ándiglon ármvu + zántclumbar ar  
 naxócharmah + Sapoh lan gamnox vxála vors +  
 Sábse cap vax mar vinco + Labandáho nas gampbox  
 se  
 arce + dah gorhahálpstd gascámpho lan ge +  
 Béfes argédco nax arzulgh orh + semhaham  
 vncal laf garp oxox + loangah +

5

---

△ Now appered Raphael or one like him, and sayde

Salus vobis in illo qui vobiscum +

I am a medicine that must prevayle against your infirmities:  
 and am

10

come to teache, and byd take hede

If you vse dubble repetition, in the things that follow, you  
 shall both

write and work and all at ones: which mans nature can not  
 performe.

The trubbles were so great that might ensue thereof, that your  
 strength

were nothing to preuayle against them.

15

When it is written, reade it no more with voyce, till it be in  
 practise

All wants shalbe opened vnto you

Where I fownd you, (with him, and there,) I leave you.

Cumfortable Instruction, is a necessarie Medicine

Farewell.

20

E K. The boke and the Chayre, and the rest were all out of sight  
while Raphael

spake, and he lay down prostrate

E K. saw a great multitude in the farder side of the stone: They  
all cam in to the

stone, and axed

What now?

25

[What now How now?]

How now?

Vors mabberan & how now: what hast thou to do with  
vs?

△ as I began thus to say (The God of powre, of wisdom,) they all  
interrupted

my entended prayer to god for help etc and sayd We go We go. 30

△ And so they went away.

Then the boke and the rest cam in agayne.

A Voyce — One Note more, I haue to tell thee

Ax him not, What he sayeth, but write as thou hearest:  
for

it is true

35

△ Then, o lord, make my hearing sharp and strong, to perceyue  
sufficiently

as the case requireth.

Rap. — Be it vnto the.

△ Then E K red as followeth

22

Ors lah gemphe nahaoh ama natoph des garhul vanseph 40  
iuma lat gedos lubah aha last gesto Vars macom des  
curad Vals mors gaph gemsed pa campha zednu ábfada  
máses lófgono Luruandah lesog iamle padel arphe  
nades gulsad maf gescon lampharsad surem paphe arbasa



arzusen agade ghehol max vrdra paf gals macrom finistab 45  
gelsaphan asten Vrnah

Marginal notes:

- line 1: <....> piller of Light / <stoo>de before the /  
<Bo>oke
- line 3: [Vin in vinco must / be pronownced long / as if it  
were a / dubble i.]
- line 4, over 'gascampho': or gascampho:
- line 4, over above note: why didst thou so? as god said to  
Lucifer. The word / hath 64 significa= / tions
- line 5: [Orh ~ Deus sine fine / Gorh ~ Deus a Deo]
- line 5, over 'argedco': ~ cum humilitate aduocamus te / cum  
adoratione Trinitatis.
- line 5, over 'orh': This is the name of the spirit contrary to  
Befafes. [with a line to 'arzulgh' (line 5)]
- line 5, RH beside 'semhaham': This word hath / 72 significations
- line 5: Befes, the vocatiue / case of Befafes: [Befes is as  
much to / say as come Be / fafes and see vs / [rule] /  
Befafes o, is to / call vppon him as / on god / [rule]  
/ Befafes oh, is as muche / to say, come Be= / fafes  
and be our / Witness.] / [rule] / Befafes his  
Etymologie / is as much to say / as, Lumen a, / Lumine.  
/ Spiritus orh / secundus est in / grada imperfectiois /  
tenebrarū. / Δ how can orh / signifie Deus sine / fine,  
if it be / the name of a / wicked spirit?
- line 6, over 'loangah': of two syllables. [this wor]
- line 8, over 'Raphael'. Me

line 43: Larvandah

line 45:  $\Delta$  Note these 55 / wordes stand in / 49 places: of  
which / 55, some two stand / in a [pla] square place/  
some three, as I / haue noted.

[75b]

A Voyce ————— Whatsoeuer thow settest down shalbe true

$\Delta$  I thank god most hartilie: The case allso requireth it so to be.

23

Asch val íamles árcasa árcasan arcúsma íabso gliden

paha parcadúra<sup>ieb</sup> gebne óscarah gádne<sup>af</sup> au arua las

genost cásmé palsi uran vad gadeth axam pambo

5

cásmala sámnefa gárdomas árxad pámses gémulch

gápes lof lacheí<sup>b</sup> ástma vates garnsnas orue gad

garmah sárquel rúsan gages drusala phímacar aldech

oscom lat garset panoston.

10

24

gude laz miz lábac vsca losd pa Cópád dem sebas

gad vancro umas ges umas umas ges gabre umas umáscala

umphazes umphagam<sup>ghes</sup> maaga mosel iahal loges vapron

fémse dapax<sup>ghen</sup> orgen lāscod ia lāscoda vága am lascafes

iarques présó tamisel vnsnapha ia dron goscam lápe voxá 15

chimlah aueaux losge auioxan lārgemah.

25

zureth axad lomah íed gura vancrásma íed sesch

lapod vonse avó avé lamsage zimah zemah zúmacah

Vormex artman voz vozcha tolcas zápe zarvex

20

zorquem allahah <sup>ghi</sup> / <sup>gafna</sup>  
giburod Ampatraton zimegauna

zonze <sup>ask</sup> zamca aschma vlpa tapa van vorxvam  
drusad Caph castarago grumna cancapbes absacancapbes  
zumbala teuort granx zumcot lu graf saxma Cape.

25

26

Col age lam gem fam tepham vra ap du ca sampat  
Voxham Lunzapha azquem Bobagelzod gaphemse lunse  
agni cam setquo teth gaphad oxamarah gimnephad  
<sup>ie</sup>  
voxcanah vrn dage paphcod zambuges zambe ach oha  
zambuges gasca lunpel zadphe zomephoh zun zadchal  
ureseh varun pachadah gusels vx amna pa gramia oh vz

30

△ I think

Marginal notes:

line 3: There are no / points neyther / in the last / before .  
They / be parcells of / Invitations very / pleasant  
to good / Angels. / Before was, as / it were a pre= /  
face of the Crea= / tion and distinction / of Angels  
etc.

line 27: Bobagelzod

[76a]

△ I think it will be dark by and by, and our Cumpany will  
expect our comming down

to supper. Therefore, if, without offense we might now leave of,  
it might seme good so to do

A voyce ————— gemeganza x your will be done

△ As I was discoursing with E K after we had done, and he seamed yet skylfull

and hable to say much of the vnderstanding of the premises, and began to

5

declare somewhat, How they did all apperteyne to Good Angels; Suddenly

there cam the fyre from his eyes into the stone agayne. And than he could

say no more: nor remember any thing of that [w]he had seen or

Vnderstode less than half a quarter of an howre before.

△ Deo n̄ro Viuo Vero et Oīpotēti

10

sit oīs laus et gr̄a actio

nunc et semper Amen

[flourish]

-----  
Marginal notes:

line 12: [a few scribbled marks of the following nature:

1<sup>o</sup> 69<sup>b</sup> 16 ]

-----  
Aprilis 4. Thursday



mane hor 5½

△ I made a prayer

15

△ A voyce ————— Quia ip̄e Deus Deus Deus n̄r cuius misericordia infinita.

△ The fire immediately did shote out of the stone into E K, as before

His <sup>c</sup>/tung/ therevppon did quake in his mowth

E K The Veale hangeth yet before.

△ Then, all being vncovered, thus he red

20

[27]

Atra cas carmax pabamsed gero adol macom vaxt

ie  
gestes laduch carse amages dascal panselogen dursca  
zureoch

pamcasah vsca huādrongūnda malue ior + gascama af

orthox VAN CORHG aspe zebra vaacáhh gandeua'  
 arinmaphel vax oh saoh abra iehudeh gamphe vndaxa 25  
 casmat lafet vncas laphet vanascor torx glust hahaha  
 enséde gumah galseds.

28

Pacádpha palzé zuma carphah uzad capaden vlsage<sup>ie</sup>  
 EXCOL PHAG MARTEH iasmadel voscon sem abnéda 30  
tohcoth iamphala páhath órcheth iesmog pasque Labáhh  
 agas lada vng lasco ied ampha leda pageh gemze axax  
 ózed caphzed campha voxal luthed gedan famech<sup>ie ek</sup>  
 artsnad gathad zuresch pascha lo guma hálphe<sup>iu</sup>  
 dax vancron patel zurad. 35

## Marginal notes:

line 17: Note

line 31: This name cōpre= / hendeth the num= / ber of all the /  
 fayries. who / are diuels / next to the/state and  
 cō= / dition of man / etc.

[76b]

29

Canda lahad Bóbagen afna vorzed phadel  
 NOBTDAMBTH gáscala axad vanges vodoth mured<sup>ies</sup>  
 ak  
 achna adcol damath zesvamcul pacadaah zimles zoraston  
 geh galze mazad pathel cusma iaphes huráscah órphade  
 loscad mages mat lumfameg<sup>ies</sup> detchel orze camalah<sup>kel</sup> 5

vndan <sup>pag</sup> padgze <sup>/</sup> pathmataph zumad lepháda oháax  
<sup>kan</sup>  
 [vs] vlschan zembloh agne phangah iudad capex  
 Luzad vehench arse

30

onda gams luzgaph vxan <sup>ien</sup> genzed <sup>/</sup> padex 10  
<sup>filgh</sup>  
 CONGAMPHLGH ascath gadpham zurdah zamge  
 gloghcha sapax tastel <sup>/</sup> vnsada phatheth <sup>/</sup> zúncapha  
 oxamáchad semteph ascle zuncas magzed dult  
 pamfra <sup>/</sup> húsage axad exóradad casmet <sup>/</sup> ámphigel  
<sup>iesk</sup>  
 adcath luza pathem <sup>/</sup> nécotheth gesch labba doh 15  
 dóxa vascheth hoxan lamésde lampha iodoch gonzah  
<sup>ies</sup> <sup>iel</sup>  
 hanges glutha <sup>/</sup> óxmogel <sup>/</sup> démapha vzed ascraph.

31

Kad <sup>ie</sup>  
 zudath chádgame <sup>/</sup> ómsage hor gadsa gézes  
<sup>na</sup>  
 ORPHAMZAMNAHE gedod asphed voxa <sup>/</sup> gémgah 20  
 lath gáphes zembloth chasca olphe dax marpha  
<sup>sol</sup> <sup>ies</sup>  
 lothe sool separ marges bosqui laxa cosneth  
 gonse dadg voxma <sup>/</sup> vmage vnx gascheth lood  
<sup>lo</sup>  
 adma loo ga zem chá na phe ám na la ia  
 pacheth nox da a mah 25

32

Gedox al [sem ga na da bah o] SEM GA NA DAH BAH  
 ongagágeda phachel loódath haxna gu na pá ge pha

al se geda oh oüda géhoph pachad enol adax loges

Marginal notes:

line 6:    N iustitia a minime / diuino sine labe

line 11:   N fide that reviveth / ma<ns> brest mans / The  
          holy ghoste:

[77a]

fangah laxqui hasche vadol vómsana gax ma dep<sub>h</sub> na zad  
gel panca vam sesquin oxal genoph voüdal umadabah.

33

Asge lun zumia paxchadma enohol duran

ORCHLÓDMAPHAG mages oschan lod bunda cap

5

luzan lorpha leuandah orxzed famzad genósodath

phaselma gesda chom gas naph geth nag goth ládmano

Vmvar gezen vax gulzad margas luxt lapeh

iudath zomze van goth dah vorx guna ia ada

Vox hamana

10

34

Arze galsam vnza vcha pasel noxda

Nobróschom [GVNADEPHOGAS] gunadéphogas dúnséph

man cax mal cas mah ied hah mel car ha zemphe vncah

lethoph both ned ga phi cas mel ioth hath cha sad

15

ma ne ded ma gon zuna gothel pascheph nodax

vam phath mata

A voyce ——— Orate ——— Δ we prayed ∴

35

keth

Aphath zunca voxmor can zadcheth napha.

20

[Verd] VORDOMPHANCHES gauesgosadel gurah leth  
 agsnah orza max pace ieth cas lad fam pahogama  
zon chas pha ma zum bles cha phax var gat ma gas ter  
ne ho gat ma gan vn ga phax ma la gegath  
 laxqu goga lab naches

25

---

△

Therevppon the Vele was drawn, and the fire cam from E K his eyes  
 again into the stone

△ Deo opt. Max. ois honor

30

laus et gloria Amen

[flourish]

---

Marginal notes:

line 6: 21, words hither

line 7, over 'goth': o long

line 13: in great letters [refers to Nobroschom']

line 17: △ here are but / 48 words: I dowl / that there  
 lacketh one.

line 23: Here seme to be to many by 3 or 4.

---

†

[77b]

Aprilis .5. Friday a meridie hora 5¼

△ The Vele was taken away, without any speche vused by me or E K  
 The boke and all the former furniture appeared very bright.

△ I made a prayer to god, begynning Expectas expectaui Dominū etc

E K I here the sownd of men playing very melodiously on  
 Instruments and singing

5



A Voyce ——— Serue God and take hede of Nettels. Δ This was spoken

to E K in respect of a great anger he was in yesternight, by reason that one

had done him iniurie by speche at my table [Charles Sled.]

E K There appere a great many, a far of; as though they appered beyond the

top <sup>C</sup>/of/ a howse: and so semed far of behinde the stone: and they seme

10

to haue no heds.

A Voyce ——— A peculier people, and shalbe restored

Δ After this Voyce, the sayd hedles people disapared.

Then all appered fyre, and a clowd covered all: and in the top [of the] of

the fyre in the chayre, appered three faces, and seemed to shute and close

15

in one. The faces seemed, eche to turn rownd, and so ioyne in one afterward

A Voyce — Prayse him in his glorie and wurship him, in his truth.

Δ The fire entred into E K

A voyce ——— Orate

Δ We prayed

Δ Then thus appeared

20

gedóthar argo fa adóphanah gamsech olneh várasah  
iusmach

A voyce ——— Interpret not, till your vnderstanding be furnished.

Vschna pháol doa vah oho lazed la<sub>u</sub>zu<sub>u</sub>red ámma  
donax valesto acaph lámphages ronox genma iudreth  
loth adámma gonsaph godálga phareph iadsma zema

25

loa <sup>zunah</sup>agnáphagon <sup>zunah</sup>zunaha al me <sup>zunah</sup>ionáphacas zeda ox arni.

37

agzelia  
Adgzelga olms vanaph osma vages otholl dox an ga had ia

latqui dónaphe zu gar + phamah nordeph gasmat 30  
 gasque gasla gas NA gasmaphés gasmagél  
 gasnúnabe vamsech ábsechel gúlapha axnécho  
 demsa pámbochaph iehúsa gadaámah nosad  
 iurés chy almse orsa vax marde zun éffa  
 mochoéffa zuréheffa asga Lubeth bethlémcha máxiche 35  
 iehúscoth iaphan órnada vamne od ghim<sub>noh</sub>

---

Marginal notes:

- line 6: Take hede of / Nettels.  
 line 12: Perhaps the / Jues ahall / be restored  
 line 22, over 'iusmach': N begotten  
 line 23: Interpret / not yet  
 line 29, over 'dox an ga had': one word  
 line 30, over 'fama': N I will giue
- 

[78a]

38

Arphe lamse gaph<sup>ned</sup>nedg argaph zonze zumcoth  
Omdopadáphaab nule<sup>leg</sup>ch gaartha ancáphama soldémcah  
 casdra vges lapha ludasphándo galúbano<sub>h</sub> apáchana  
 iedeph zembloh zamgýsel chéuacha laquet lozódma  
 ierinth onaph uzad máspela gyman orphámmagah 5  
 iumesbalégo archánphame + zamcheth zoach<sub>zoah</sub>

39

---

Ámchana zeuoth luthámba ganeph iambda ox oho iephad

made noxa vóscaph bámgephes noschol apeth iale  
 lod ga Na zuma datques vorzad numech 10  
 apheth nudach caseth iotha lax arseth  
armi pli ca tar bām a co zamgeph gaseth vrnod  
 arispa iex han setha + oh lagnaph dothoth brazed  
 vamchach odoámañh zembles gunza naspolge gáthme  
 orsoth zurath vāmeth anseh + 15

40

Zalpe iédmachā ámphas nethoth alphax. durah  
 gethos aschéph nethoth iubad Laxmah ionsa max  
 dan do násdoga matastos lateth vnchas amse  
 Iacaph zemblo<sup>gaf</sup>agauh ad pha má gel lud cha dan sa 20  
amphicatol arnópaa adapagémoh nodásma  
machestépholon

41

Lumbor iemásch onzed gamphidárah go más cha pa  
 zeba zun amph naho zucath uomplínanoháhal machal 25  
 lozma dauangeth búches lauax orxod makes  
 donchaph luzath marpheth oz lanva don gáuah oschol  
 lúmasa phedeph omsa nax domágere angenophácha  
phachadóna.

30

## Marginal notes:

line 1, over 'Arphe': X I desire the O god

line 2: This was put in / and out a good / while before E K /  
 could haue a / perfect vew to / rede it



-----  
Marginal note:

line 4: [Lu] / N frō one  
-----

Aprilis 6. Saterday affore none hora 10 $\frac{1}{4}$

△ The fire shot into E K, as before was vused: whereat he startled

All was vncovered, as the manner was. But E K had such a whirling

and beating inwardly in his hed, that he could not vse any Judgment to

discerne what appeared, for half a quarter of an howre almost. 20

A Voyce \_\_\_\_\_ SVM

and agayn \_\_\_\_\_ a voyce \_\_\_\_\_ Gahoachma. [N] Sum quod sum, E K expownded <it.>

[43]

Asmar gehótha galseph achándas vnáscor sátquama  
látquataf hun gánses luximágelo ásquapa locat lochath  
anses dosam vathne galsador ansech gódamah 25  
vonsepaléscoh ádmacah lu zámpha oh adma  
zemblodárma varmíga zuna thotob amphichanósa  
gemichanadabah Vademado Vaselapagedo

[44]

Amascabalonocha anódah aduradámah gonadephageno 30  
vnachapésmacho geminadochapamíca vuamsapálage  
vocóorthmoth achepasmácapa emcanidobah gedóah

[79a]

[45]

nostah  
Nostoah geuamna da oscha lus palpal medna  
gorumbalógeph acapnapádapha Volsema gonogédocha

ambusábaloh gemúsacha vamihópha zumnegadaphágepha  
 †  
iurehoh

5

46

Zémnoda amni fa chebseth vsánglada bosadóma  
 zúmacoh aphinabácha buzádbazu amachapadomicha  
 zumanepasso' NA vuamanábadoth  
 zumblegámpha zumblecaphamacha

10

E K. All is couered with darknes. Terrible flashes of fire  
 appered

and they semed to wreath and wrap, one abowt an other. In the  
 fire ouer the chayre appered, the three heds which appeared  
 before.

A Voyce ————— Laua zuráah

△ After our prayers was very hevenly noyce hard.

15

47

Zudneph arni ioh pan zedco laniga nahad  
 lébale nochas arni cans lósmo iana olna dax  
 zémblocha zedman púsatha váma mah oxex párzu  
 drána anza pasel lúmah cóxech ádamax gónboh  
 alze dah lúsache asneph gedma noxdrúma  
 Vamcáphnapham ástichel rátrugem abnath lonsas  
 masqueth tauínar tadna gehodód gaphrámsana  
 asclor drusaxpa

20

48

Amgédpha lazad ampha ladmaáchel galdamichaél  
 Vnza dédma Luz záceph pílatob ganó  
 vama zúnasch zemblagen ónman zuth catas  
 max ordru iadse lamad caphícha aschal  
 luz + ampna zodmínada excáphanog salgémphe

25

## Marginal notes:

over line 1, centrally placed: ⁊ it was in the begynning. [with  
line to 'nostah' (line 1)]

line 4, to right of 'iurehoh': This last word was hid a prety  
while with a rym like a thin bladder / affore it: and  
when it was perfectly seen there appered a bluddy /  
cross over it. It is a Word signifying what Christ did  
in hel.

line 9: Δ here seme to / lack 5 words

line 14, to right of 'zuraah': ⁊ Vse humilitie in prayers to God, /  
that is fervently pray. it signifieth / Pray into god

line 20: Δ / pronownce as che / in chery

line 21: Δ / ratrugeem is one / of the 7 words on / the side of  
the Table / first prescribed

line 25: ⁊ I will begynne / anew

line 27: The 49<sup>th</sup> row followeth / after 2 leaves. / Arney vah  
nol etc

[79b]

Om vrza lat quartphe lasque deth ūrad

oxmana ganges

Δ Now the boke was couered with a blew silk sindall and vpon that  
blew covering appered letters of gold, conteyning these words

Amzes naghezes Hardeh

5

E K. it signifieth—The vniversall name of him that created  
vniversally

be praysed and extolled for euer.

Δ Amen

A Clowde covered the boke.

A Voyce ————— Mighty is thy Name (ô lorde) for euer.

10

E K. it lightneth

A Voyce \_\_\_\_\_ The place is Holy: stur not [ ] sayd the three  
heds

△ Now appered to E K, some imperfection passed in the eleuenth  
row. And that

we wer towght how to amend it. and so we did.

△ Then the firy light went from E K into the stone agayn. and  
his

15

inspired perceyuerance and vnderstanding was gone: as  
often before

it vsed to be.

△ Gloriam laudemq<sup>ue</sup> nrī Creatoris, oēs Creaturae  
indesinenter resonent: Amen

Halleluiah Halleluiah Halleluiah

20

Amen

[flourish]

-----  
Marginal notes:

line 3: Blew

line 4: Note this / covering to / be made / for the boke

line 5 RH: ----- Note this to be pronownced / rowndly to gither.

line 16: Inspiration  
-----

Aprilis 6. Saterdag after none

△ The Table, Chayre, boke and fyre appeared

And while I went into my oratorie to pray, fire cam thrise  
out of the stone

25

vppon E K, as he was at prayer, at my table in my study.

E K hard a

voyce out of the

fyre, saying

} Why do the Children of men prolong the time  
of theyr



perfect felicitie: or why are they dedicated  
to vanitie?

30

Many things ar yet to come: Notwithstanding,  
the

Time must be shortned,

I AM THAT I AM

A voyce ——— Veni<sup>a</sup>et Vox eius, vt dicat filijs hoim quae ventura sunt.

E K There is a man, in white, come in, like Vriel, who cam first  
into the stone

35

△ Benedictus qui venit in noie Domine ———Vr: Amen

Vr ——— I teache: E K sayd that he turned toward me

Vr. What wilt thou I shall answer the, as concerning this work?

E K He hath a ball of fire in his left hand and in his right  
hand

a Triangle of fyre

40

△ What is most nedefull for vs to lerne herin, that is my chief  
desire.

Vriel ——— Fowre monthes, are yet to come: The fifth is the

beginning of great miserie, to the heauens, to the earth

and to all liuing Creatures. Therefore must thou

nedes attend vppon the will of God: Things must

45

then

Marginal notes:

line 39: 

line 43: A prophesie / Very dredfull / now at hand

[80a]

then be put in practise. A thing that knitteth vp all

must of force conteyn many celestiaall Vertues

Therefore, in these doings, must things be furnished spedyly,  
and with reuerence.

This, is the light, wherewith thou shalt be Kindled

5

This is it, that shall renew the: yea agayn and agayn,  
and sevenly seuen tymes, agayn

Then shall thy eyes be clered from the dymnes

Thow shalt perceyue these things which haue [b] not byn seen,

No, not amongst the Sonnes of men.

10

This other haue I browght, whereof I will, now, bestow the  
seventith part

of the first part of seuenty seuen. The residue shall be  
fullfilled, in, and

with the; In, I say, and to gither, with the.

Behold (sayth the lord) I will breath vppon men, and they shall  
haue the

spirit of Vnderstanding

15

In 40 dayes must the boke of the Secrets, and key of this world be

Written: euen as it is manifest to the one of you in sight, and  
to the other

in faith. Therefore haue I browght it to the wyndow of thy  
senses,

and dores of thy Imagination: to the ende he may see and  
performe

the tyme of God his Abridgmet. That shalt, thou, write down in

20

his propre and sanctified distinctions.

This other, (pointing to E K) shall haue it allwayes before him,  
and shall

daylie performe the office to him committed. Which if he do not,

the Lord shall raze his name from the number of his blessed,  
and those

that are annoynted with his blud

25

For, behold, what man, can speak, or talk with the spirit of God?

No flesh is hable to stand, whan the voyce of his Thunder shall  
present the parte of the next Leaf vnto sight

~~HHHHH~~  
 You haue wauering myndes, and are drawn away with

the World: But brittle is the state therof: 30

small therefore are the Vanities of his Illusion

Be of sownd faith. Beleue. Great is the reward of those that  
 are faithfull

God Will not be dishonored, neyther will suffer them to receyue  
 dishonor,

that honor him in holiness. 35

Behold, Behold, Mark <sup>^</sup>o and Behold: Eache line hath stretched  
 him self, euen to his ende: and the Middst is glorious to  
 the good, and dishonor to the wicked. Heuen and erth must  
 decay: so, shall not the words of this Testimonie.

△ Ecce seruus et misellus homuncio Dei nri, fiat mihi iuxta  
 beneplacitum voluntatis 40

suae. etc

△ Vriel toke a little of the fire in his left hand and flung it  
 at E K: and

it went in at his mowth

Vr. My message is done.

△ May I Note Vr, (meaning Vriel,) for your name [that no] who  
 now deale 45

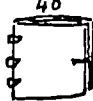
with vs. — Vr — I am so

line 3: Spedily &  
 <&> reuerently ]

line 5: △. Vriel held / vp now the / Triangle of / fire [with  
 hand]

line 9, over 'these': those

line 11:  $\Delta$  / Vriel now / Holding vp / the Ball of / fire in his /  
left hand, / sayd as / here written  $\sqrt{\text{with hand and}}$   
joined by an integral to MN<sup>5</sup><sub>7</sub>

line 16: Liber / 

line 17, written vertically:  $\Delta$  if frō the first day of / writing  
we accownt / than frō good friday the / reckoning doth  
begynne. / and so ende <this>

line 20: The Abridg= / met of time

line 20: speaking to  $\Delta$

line 23: The danger / thretned, if / E K do not / his dutie

line 27: Note a / terrible / thing

line 37: The / ende of / all.

line 42: Note, by / the place / here before / what measure / in  
proportion / of powr and / vnderstanding / this was,  
in / respect of / the white ball / of fyre.

line joins 'seventith part' (line 11) to 'Vriel toke' (line 42).

[80b]

$\Delta$  I pray you to give vs advise what  $\sqrt{\text{we}}^c$  are to doe in our  
affayres.

Vr. It is sayde

$\Delta$  he sayd to E K, Tell him, I haue told him, and seemed to smile.

$\Delta$  Of Mistres Haward (Jentlewoman of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> priuie chamber)  
I wold fayn

know, wherfore we were  $\sqrt{\text{not}}^c$  warned of her comming? [to make vs]  
she hath caused 5

vs, now, for an howre or two, to intermit our exercise? Is it  
the Will of

god, that for her great charitie vsed toward many, (as in  
procuring the Quenes

Ma<sup>ties</sup> Almes to many [d] neddy persons) the lord entendeth to  
be mercifull

to her? I meane at the pynche of these great miseries ensuing,  
now

(by you) told of. And that by her, I may do good seruice  
concerning

10

the Quenes Maiesties Cumfort?

Vr—— Who is he, that opened thy mowth, or hath told the of  
things to com<e?>

What thou hast sayd, is sayde. Mark the ende.

It is a sufficient answer.

Vr—— Loke vp. ——△ he sayd so to E K. who loking vp, saw the  
boke

15

the chayre and the Globe a part, abroad, out of the stone, and  
then, none

remayning in the stone to be seene. and it cam nearer & nearer  
to

him, and it burned, as before.

Vr. So, set down, what thou seest.

What thou seest, deliuer vnto him.

20

As it is his will, so be it vnto the:

Do thy duty, wherevnto thou art moved,

and it shalbe sufficient.

[Vr] Farewell, for a time

△ We put vp the stone: and the former boke and other furniture 25

appeared vppon the table hard by E K. and he was to write  
out as

he saw: Which he began to do, both in character and words: but

it was to cumbersome to him: and therefore he wrote onely the  
words

in latin lettres

△ After he had written 28 lines there in that [boke th] paper  
boke, the

30

first word being Arney, and the last, being nah, suddenly all  
was

taken away out of his sight: and so likewise his vnderstanding of that

he had written was quite gone. For, contynually as he wrote, he Vnderstode the language and sense thereof, as if it had byn english.

△ After he had finished that second <sup>[4]</sup>page of the first leafe, I then

35

Did copy it out as followeth

אלה נחל נחל נחל

K 49

<sup>i</sup>  
Arney vah nol gadeth adney ox vals nath gemseh ah  
orza val gemah, oh gedva on zembah nohhad vomfah  
olden ampha nols admacha nonsah vamfas ornad,  
alphol andax orzadah vos ansoh hanzah voh

40

adm < a >

---

Marginal notes:

line 7: Mistres Francis / Haward elected / to taste of god /  
his great mercy / for her charitable / hart. etc

line 19, RH: △ The boke and writing was made / very playne  
to him.

line 35: [forte Row]

line 38: △ / forte, / Asney.

---

[81a]

In the tables expressed.

drux

na

ger

pa

van

drux 1

na 2

ger 3

pa 4

[na]

van 5

5

|      |                |    |    |                                                    |             |                                                       |    |
|------|----------------|----|----|----------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----|
| or   |                |    |    | or                                                 | 6           |                                                       |    |
| pal  |                |    |    | pal                                                | 7           |                                                       |    |
| med  |                |    |    | med                                                | 8           |                                                       |    |
| gal  | letters names, |    |    | [caph]                                             |             | 10                                                    |    |
| ceph | used in sense  |    |    | gal                                                | 9           |                                                       |    |
| vr   |                |    |    | cheph                                              | 10          |                                                       |    |
| fam  |                |    |    | vr                                                 | 11          |                                                       |    |
| ged  |                |    |    | [phm]                                              |             |                                                       |    |
| vn   |                |    |    | fam                                                | 12          | 15                                                    |    |
| mals |                |    |    | ged                                                | 13          |                                                       |    |
|      |                |    |    | vn                                                 | 14          |                                                       |    |
|      |                |    |    | [mal                                               | 15.]        |                                                       |    |
|      |                |    |    | [nah]                                              |             |                                                       |    |
|      | veh            |    |    |                                                    |             |                                                       |    |
|      | graph          | 16 | 15 | mals                                               | 15          | 20                                                    |    |
|      | gisg[s]        | 17 | 16 |                                                    |             |                                                       |    |
| +    | mals           | 18 | 17 |                                                    |             |                                                       |    |
|      | don            | 19 | 18 |                                                    |             |                                                       |    |
|      | gon            | 20 | 19 |                                                    |             |                                                       |    |
|      | tal            | 21 | 20 | L                                                  | $\triangle$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \\ a \end{array} \right.$ | 25 |
|      |                |    |    | b                                                  |             |                                                       |    |
|      | a              |    |    | $\left[ \begin{array}{c} ? \\ \end{array} \right]$ |             |                                                       |    |
|      | <u>Vad</u>     | 7  |    | $\left[ \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \end{array} \right]$ | <u>Vad</u>  | 9                                                     |    |
|      | f              |    |    | $\left[ \begin{array}{c} ? \\ \end{array} \right]$ |             |                                                       | 30 |

[81b]

I finde diuerse dowts which I cannot order, to my contentment.

1. How many <sup>c</sup> /of my ruled/ leaves, shall I take for the writing of the first leafe

2. How shall I make the distinctions of the last [8] 9 lines of the first leafe answerable to all the [former] words: how to move them [into] this & [place all] of [th] these letters, & 5  
this 9 rows having but 49 letters.
- .3. how shall I do for the true orthographie: Seing g and C and P etc haue so diuerse sownds: & not allways one as g sometymes as gh & sometymes as J: and C sometymes like K sometymes like S. p sometymes like ph, & 10  
sometymes p ——— & sometyne f.
- 4 The number of the words in the first leafe, ——— euery row, is not all one: nor 49 allwayes
- 5 of the [wide] Table, [where] is to be set downe all the tables following, all the Table [over], it will not agree 15  
to fill [vp] vp [also the] all places, & to set down the [rows] pfectly.

---

Marginal note:

[written at top of page]: solgars

---

[82a]

adma ioha' notma goth vamsed adges onseple ondemax  
orzan vnfa onmah vndabra gonsah gols nahad NA.

1 [2]

Oxar varmol pan sampas os al pans orney andsu  
alsaph oucha cosdam onzagoles natmatatp max, olnah 5  
von ganse pacath olnoh vor nasquah loth adnay



nonsah oxansah vals nodax vonqueth lan sandquat  
 ox ardanh [ozabel] onzâbel ormach douquin astmax  
 [al] arpagels ontipodah omvah nosch als mantquts, [ar]  
armad notgals + Vantantquah +

10

- 2 ☒ Ondroh als vrh + panchah orn sandvah loh andah nol  
 pan, sedmah zugeh als abmicadampâget ordomph,  
 axah gethol vav axel anthath gorsan vax parsah  
 vort lanq andamsah getheol, vrchan navâdah  
 oxembles armax lothar, vos antath, orsé vax  
 alnoth, other mals olnah gethom vârdamach, alls +,  
 Orgeth

15

- 3 ☒ Or pasquah omzâdah vorts, angénodah varsâua  
 onch aldúmph, ángét ónsaua galta oth aneth ax pa  
 gesné ouâd ax orneh aldumbâges voscómph alze ax,  
 orzad andah gost astoh nadah vortes, astmah notesma  
 goth nathad omza, geth altéth ox, degáth onda voxa  
 gemnaché adna dansa als alst

25

- 4 ☒ arsah + Orthath ols gast ardoh max vármah doth novámq  
 lath, adnab gothan, ardrínoh astómagel arpáget asteth  
 arde obzá, ols (NA) gemnapálabamida orsat nahah

Marginal notes:

line 4: <I> dowl / <w>hich is n / <a>nd which is / u.

line 10: a dowe whether / ar mad be / two words or / one.

line 17: Δ / Ω

Odmázen ándulphel, ox ambrássah oxah géth nor vamfah  
genoh daqueth als astna, oh tatóh, alsah goth necor andeoh  
neo alda nah

5 6 Vanlah oha demagens on sunfah, paphah olemneh, ózadcha 5  
lax ornah vor adme ox vastmah gu labazna, gamnách<o>  
asthmah ochádo landrídah vons sah, lúgho iahat nabscham  
nohads vandispa rossámód androch alphoh, zúmbloh ásnah  
gonfageph aldeh lo dah vax orh asmo, gad au dansequa  
deo, dath vax nograh vor segbat Mon. 10

6 7 Arni olbah galpa lohánaha gáupumagénsah osso var se darsah  
goho ábumiclámácapáloth ieho nad veslah vors ardno  
inmony asquam rath als vásmah géndá loggahah astmu 15

7 8 Arnah notah lax vart luhoh désmaph, ol capraminacah  
oxandanvah gemneloriplitonpha accamplahnostapha  
ormaxadahahar orzemblizadmah panchefelogedoh  
áschah ólmah ledóh vaxma 20

8 9 Gans na cap lan seda ax nor vorza vo laspral onsa gem  
gemah noph gázo na von santfa nostradg ansel vnasa pah  
vort velsa or alda viax nor adroh semneh ols vandésqual  
olzah nolpax pahah lothor ax ru vansar glímnaph gath  
ardot ardri axa noh gaga leth arde maxa. 25

9 10 Corsal mabah noplich alps arsed vord vanfax oriox  
nabat gemnepoh laphet Ióda nat vombal nams ar

geth alloah néphirt. lauda noxa voxtaf ardno  
 ándroch labmageh ossu állmaglo ardot nalbar vanse 30  
 dar to vorts parsan vr vnrah vor gadeth leth orze  
 nax vomreh agelpha, legar or nembla ar va Su

---

Marginal notes:

line 3: here seme to / be 50 names and / so, one to many  
 line 14: here are but 38  
 line 32: 48

---

[83a]

<10> ☒ Zanchumáchaseph olzaminoah Valseburaah nodaliganax  
orsánnago darságnapha nobsiblith armipyth  
arsepólonitanton  
Iembúlsamar lebóge axpar ornáza oldaxardacoah

11 ☒ Semno ah al chi do á cha da Selpaginodah adahubámicanoh 5  
dam pha gli ás cha nor oxompaminapho lemp, na, gón sa pha  
ne co ál pha [aspa] as pa gé mo cal na tú ra ge

12 ☒ Sen gál se quar rus fa glan súx taft ormaca  
ox i no dál ge brah nop tar ná gel vom na ches pál ma cax, 10  
arsep as don sadg asc lan fán che dah nor vi car máx coh  
zum bla zánpha ad geh do ca ba ah

13 ☒ Ar gém na ca pál fax, or[r] nido hab cas pigan alpuh  
gágah loth ral sá bra dan go sá pax vólsan qués tan 15

ondapha opicab or zy lá pa achrapa máles

[adm m] ad má car pah oxalps on dá pa, gém na de vor guse

- 14 15 lat gans sa par sat lastéah lor ádah nóxax ardéphis  
 nónsen andoh gýmzi vor sab líboh ad ni sa pa loth gaho lar 20  
 va noxa oho lan sempah noxa Vriah sephah lúsaz  
 odgálsax nottaph ax v́rnoc árpos arta zem zubah  
 lothor gas lubang vom zá da phi cár no

- 15 16 Alsótaphe [no] ondah vor ban sanphar pa loth agno iam 25  
 nésroh am algórs vrrábah geuseh alde ox nah vors  
 púrblax ámphicab nóstrohh admág<sup>d</sup> or napsú asmo lon  
 gamphi arbel nof ámphí on Saubloth aschi nur laffax  
 las doxa pra gem a Sestrox amphi nax var sembbh<sup>beth</sup>

Marginal notes:

line 3: <h>ere are / <.....4.>

line 7: .50. words

[83b]

- 16 17 Angésel oxapácad onz adq ochádah ólzah vor náh  
 orpogógraphel al sa gem ua ca pí coh vl da pa pór sah  
 naxor vonsa [n] rons vrbanf lab dún zaph algadef<sup>fe</sup>  
 loh gem vortáoh amph áhoha za vaxorza leph oxor  
 neoh ah va dunaca pi ca lodox ard nah. 5

- 17 18 Iahod vox ar pi cah lot tar pi ges nol zim na plah

ge ó gra plih ne go' ah va lu gan zed am phi' la doh  
zan veh al nex oh al pha ze goth gedóth axor van zeba'  
al ca pa

Luma ges ard de oh ah

10

18 19

Onchas lagod van Sebageh oxangam pah gos dah manzeh ocondah  
 vardol Sebagh ol madan NA obal Sepaget, otoxen narvah  
 lubatan ansem nofet au naba notoh ax arсах mans Vstgam  
 pahod pah mal sednah gestons amphes al manso gapalebâton 15  
 arra nax vamfes amah dot agen nalphat ar zamne oh Sages

19 20

nax lerua nath Zembloh axpadabamah Sanzapas  
 gunzanquah ona var demneh gah lod vmnah doxa val tarquat  
 mans ol gem nageph au zanbat vx [na] anzach al pamboha 20  
 naxtath ol nada vam nonsal aua nal gedot vorx alge lah  
 despa[g] gu prominabâmîgah olpaz ord gamnat lem paz  
 cath normadah on demq

20 21

Laffah ie ogg dalseph abrimanadg oldomph ledothnar 25  
 ymnachar onze vam sepno voxauaret ol zantqur amph  
 nas Sages om nartat vor miscam bemcax lappad gesso  
 drux capgol ass letnar vom  
 sausah or gamprida ornat vol asmd onza duh get hansa  
 gorh hubra galsaropah nequax dap gemno ab pnidah 30  
 noxd lumbam

21 22

al gethroz ax arvan oh zempal guh arvax no demnat ar  
 rambals nop nonsal geh axor pam vartop ab vbrah cardax  
 lon songes au dumax ar nephar lu gemne om Asda 35

Vorts

## Marginal notes:

line 10: here seme to / be 50.

line 19: of the n and / u of this word / I dowl. [refers to  
'gunzanquah']

line 28: At vom was / a† to note / the ende of a / line: But  
both / these mak but / 49 names.

[84a]

vorts vmrod val manqh noh Sam, naga vrbrast Lurvandax  
vpplod dam zurtax loa an avarn nar gemplicabnadah oxa

<22> 23 nooa Babna ampha dum nonsap vrs daluah marsasqual orma  
nabath Sabaothal netma vol sempra isch laue ondeh noh 5  
semblax or mansa macapal vngenel vorsepax vrsabada noxanquah  
vndalph asmoh vxa na Gaspar vmpaxal Lapproh Iadd nomval  
vp setquam nol astma vors: vrдем gnasplat bef affafefafed  
noxtah  
Volls laydam ovs nac

23 24 cedah or manveh geh axax nolsp damva dor demgoh apoxan  
subliganaxnarod orchal vamnad vez gemlehox ar drulalpa  
ax vr samfah oladmax vr sappoh Luah vr pabmax luro  
lam faxno dem vombres adusx or sembal on vamne  
oh lemne val se quap vn nap nastosm dah voz mazaz 15  
lumato games on neda.

24 25 <sup>i</sup>  
voh gemse ax pah losquan nof afma dol vamna vn samses  
oh set, quamsa ol danfa dot santa on anma ol subracah  
Babalad vansag olso pas gonred vorn chechust axaroh 20

rugho am nadom val sequot ne texpa vors vrs al pam  
vans na tomvamal ansipamals notems anq<sub>k</sub>, arxe al

25 26 pangef offd ne pamfah aliboh a nostâfâges almesed vrmast  
geus vrmax au semblox satq quayntah luzez arne noh 25  
pamna sams bantes orn volsax vors vnisapa monsel dah  
nox ah pah vomreb doth dansequox anzazed onz anfal  
nom vamreh volts vrnacápácapah noshan yalt gelfay  
nor sentqbt onbanzar luntaf val sentepax

26 27 ornisa nor Pampals anz alpah nox noxa gendah von  
gamne dah vors ad na lepnazu acheldaph var honza  
gune alsaph nal vomsan vns alpd a domph ar zemnip  
ans vrnach vancef ban yanzem oh aha vons nabrah  
vh asmo drat vormez al pasquar no gems nah zem 35  
lasquith apsantah.

Marginal notes:

line 16: 51 words

[84b]

27 28 Vol zans alphi ne gansad ol pam ro dah vor vngef a deoh  
nad vnsemel apodmacah vnsap val vndar ban cefna dux  
hansel yax nolpah volts quayntah gam vemneg oh asq  
al panst ans vntah hunsansa Apnad ratq a sanst nel  
odogamanázar + olzah guh oh nah varsa vpangah neoh aho 5

28 29 Notgah ox vr auonsad vl dath nox lat ges orn val

sedcoh leth arney vas ars galep odámpha nol axar vox  
 apracas nolph admi adpálsah noh vrh gednach vax  
 varsablox vrdam pagel admax lor vantage oxandah  
 lamfó not vorsah axpáa, ols nugaphar ádras vxár  
 nostríl'gan ampacoh vortes lesqual exoh.

10

29 30

Ses vah nómare gal sables orzah, get les part, ox ar se  
 de cólmachu ardéh lox gempha lar vamra goh naxa  
 vors admah gebah, semfúgel adma' geod alzeh orzam  
 / ket  
 vánchez, oxam prah geh orzad Val nexo, vam seleph  
 oxa, noha par gúmsah askeph nox adroh lestof ad moxa  
 nonsúrrach

15

30 31

Vomchal as pu gán san var, sem quáh lah set  
 gedoh argli oranza vor zina sedcátah zuréhoh admich,  
 ors arсах varsab, oliba vortes lúnsanfah, adnah vor  
 semquáx, vorsan lap varsah gebdah voxlar geoh, gemfel  
 ad gvns. aldah gor vanlah, gehudan vor sableth, gedvel  
 ax ors, manch var sembloh.

20

25

31 32

Ar dam fa gé do hah Luxh arcan Mans lubrah vor  
 semblas adna gor partat, nor vílso ádchu apri sed amphle  
 nox arua getol. Vor sambla geth, arse pax vor sah gelh aho  
 gethmah or gemfa nah prax chilad ascham na prah oxáh  
 var setqua lexoh vor sámbleh zubah.

30

32 33

Lax or setquáh vah lox rémah Nol sadma vort, famfa  
 le gem nah or sepah vartef a geh Oha lon gaza Onsa ges

35



adrux: vombalzah ah vaxtal. noh sedo lam, vom

tántas

Marginal note:

line 26: 48

[85a]

tántas oxárzah Mechól va zebn geth adna vax, ormacha  
lorni adrah, Gens arnah vor, Arsad odícoh 'alida nepho.

<33> 34 Hastan bah ges loh ru mal; vrabo den varsah, Mah vox  
idah ru gebna demphe, ors amvi ar, Genbá, óxad va ges 5  
leth vriop: nal pas vi me ró to ádnavah ged anse lah  
verbrod vn gelpa, lux árd do ah: vast vor Gemafánoh

<34> 35 Amles ondanfaha noxt vradah gel núbrod Arb á cha  
lo pe go há pa ra zem che pár ma la Na burá doh gem la pa la  
orzin fax nol ad micápar vó si pi cá la ton andrah vox  
ardno, get na ca ploh gázun

<35> 36 Ór ge mah luza cá poh nox tráh víoxah nebo hu ge o mí lah  
cox chá dah or na hú da vol sa pah: No bro ch, ál pa 15  
chidomph náb la grux la vx ar gá fam gel ne do gá lah  
vo sa pah

36 37 Gu la gé dop áx ix óx a max lun sá gem pah orsa devlmah  
Gé pa cha vor sí ma coh alduth gempfa: Nox gal max 20  
ar hú gaf gli nó rob va gen lá car du zum ox ám pli zam

zu latmah ge gé ma ohahah.

&lt;37&gt;

38

Ga lá pa drux váx ma geb lá geb or ché plon gan zéd ah  
Vox ár vox gelet ar gahad, gan pá gan doruminaplah 25  
vor zinach cu pa chef ardrah óx ox pol sa gal máx nah  
guth ardéth on zupra cró cro gah var sa má nal

&lt;38&gt;

39

Ar sa bá cho as noh al geh oh, ax ár pa gal olza deh  
or za zú max exoh eh, or [cha] cah pal donzaha' onza 30  
zethas: nor sá p se pah onzap a palmah aldoh voh  
náblebah gemná pam os malsa or naoh zar bu lagém pah  
neó ha brah

&lt;39&gt;

40

Tal gep ar sep nah doh, vors alsa doh necoh am ar geth . 35  
na ges alpran odox malsápnah, gohor ahoh gadmah

[85b]

ol dáneph aludar dónzagab ólsagah nebthuh or  
sapnar balgonph nep gemloh, ax amna duth  
achár laspá, voha, náxvolh gas vergol ah pratnom  
i  
gea' nostuamph

40

41

Ván sa pal sah gón so gon ge la bu rá doh tato lang,  
ge mé fe ran ón da pans ge lá brah: or pa gé mal  
on san fan gen ólc ma chà lan Von sé gor a prí cas  
nor vá gel om brá cau cohadal.

10

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | d | r | o | s | a | c | l | o | á | f | a | c | d | o | g | é | p | n | a | h | l | a | p | c | a | h | m | o | c | d | á | c | o | d | e | f | a | m | ó | n | t | u | a | l | c | d | o | m | , |
| í | r | a | s | n | a | g | e | p | h | a | m | p | h | i | d | o | n | g | á | n | s | e | l | v | a | x | ó | r | e | h | a | m | a | h | v | ó | r | s | a | f | a | n | s | a | u | c | a | s | , |
| d | a | m | í | f | a | g | a | n | a | b | u | l | a | x | o | r | s | a | g | e | h | n | a | í | v | a | h | o | c | a | r | l | u | n | s | a | n | g | e | l | c | a | r | p | a | c | o | a | , |
| l | u | n | s | e | m | n | e | p | h | o | d | á | r | n | a | c | h | o | h | z | e | m | b | l | o | h | o | b | l | í | c | a | n | d | o | n | g | a | l | s | o | r | x | v | l | á | g | a | , |
| f | ó | m | n | a | p | h | a | p | á | n | s | a | g | e | h | l | o | n | s | ú | g | a | l | a | n | g | r | a | s | t | v | b | l | á | n | s | o | a | r | n | o | x | v | o | n | s | á | o | , |
| t | a | l | t | é | m | a | p | h | e | c | h | ó | r | m | a | c | h | a | d | á | g | e | n | o | x | v | r | s | t | á | m | v | a | h | n | a | d | v | a | r | e | h | o | n | s | a | r | g | , |
| z | u | c | á | n | z | u | n | a | p | l | i | o | r | a | h | n | o | r | g | e | h | a | h | a | n | a | h | a | v | s | p | l | a | h | g | r | a | d | ú | n | v | a | h | n | a | v | í | o | , |
| a | r | s | a | h | v | ó | n | r | o | g | e | n | d | a | h | v | a | l | a | h | o | r | z | a | p | c | v | l | c | a | r | s | e | d | a | p | o | r | s | a | l | q | á | s | t | a | v | a | , |
| g | a | n | f | ú | m | a | r | a | b | ó | m | o | n | a | h | g | á | s | t | a | g | e | s | ó | r | d | o | l | p | h | n | a | q | a | s | o | r | g | e | m | v | a | h | n | o | x | a | d | , |

△ And this is the later ende of the second page of the first leafe of this excellent boke.

20

Booke. The other leaves are written, apart, in  $\sqrt[n]{an}$  other boke[s] as may appere

But with these 9 rowes and the former 41, doth arise the some of 50: which is one

more then 49: Therefore I am not onely of this but of diuerse other imperfections yet

remayning in this page, to ax the solution and reformation.

△ Whan I had told this my dowte to E K. he answered me that the first row of these

25

last .50. before set down, was the last of the first page of this first leafe: and

true it is that in the first page were first sett down 48 rows, of which eight and

& fortith row begynneth with this word Amgedpha etc And therfore the next

next row following, (begynning with Arney vah nol gadeth etc) is the nyne and

& fortyth row of the first page and so the last row of that page: And therby,

30

=by allso the second page of the first leaf hath these 49 rowes here noted: And

And so is one dowte taken away: The other is of the [imperfect] numbers of words

<sup>c</sup>  
/words/ in some of the 49 rows of this second page:

Aprilis 10. hor .9. Δ As we wer talking of the Macedonian (the greciā), who yesterday cam w/th<sup>r</sup> M/r<sup>r</sup>

Sanford his letters, there appeared in the corner of my study  
 a blak shaddow: and I did

35

did charge that shaddow to declare who he was: There cam a voyce  
 and sayd that it

it was the Macedonian: and abowt his hat was written in great  
 letters

this word Kατάκλη@ which E K wrote out: and it signifieth  
 maculosus, or condemnatus etc and the Voyce sayd, that word  
 was sufficiēt

adding Est, Δ God be thanked and  
 prayesd.

40

---

Marginal notes:

line 2: the copy had / ouy<sup>na</sup> / I <could> not <conjecture>

line 39: [firmus]——

---

[86a]

To me <deli>uered by M<sup>r</sup>

Edward Kelly

1583. Martij 22

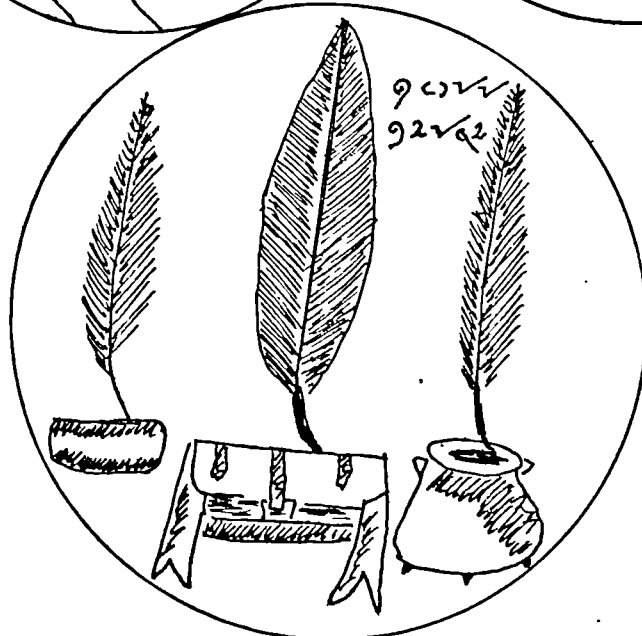
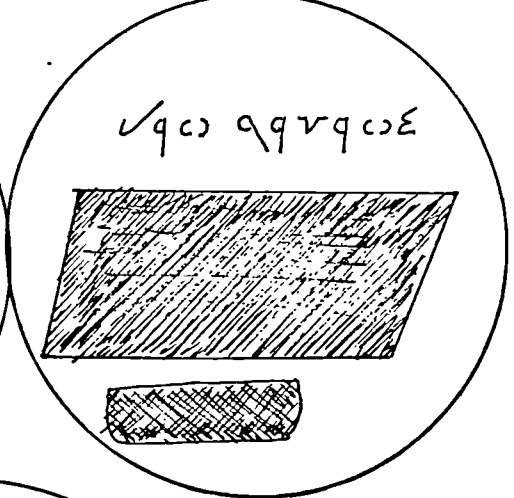
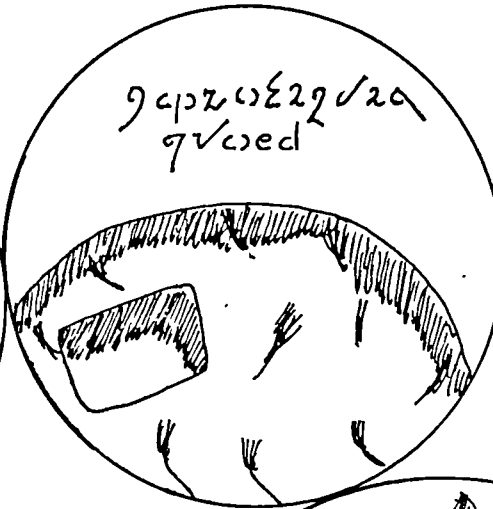
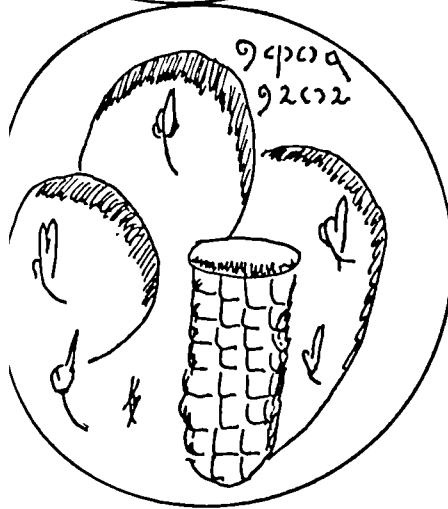
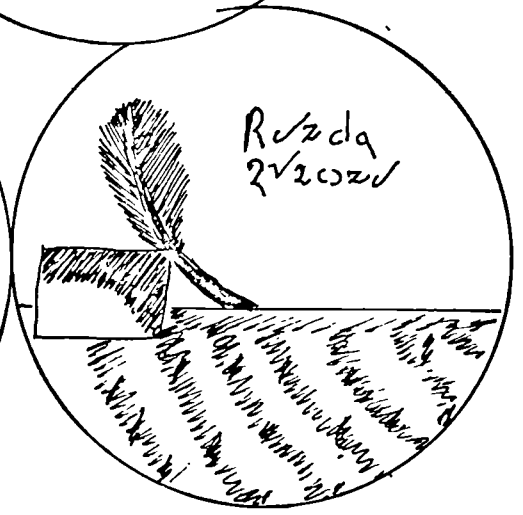
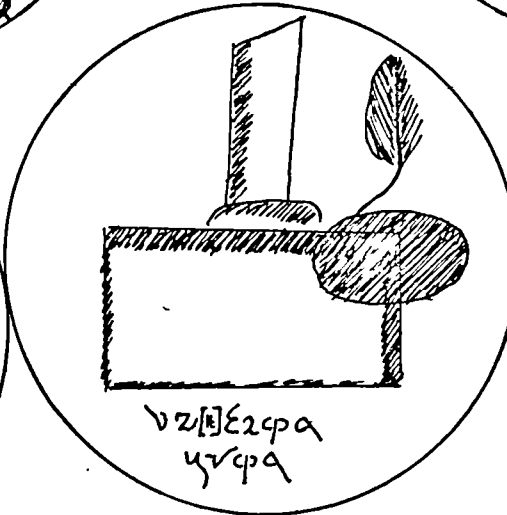
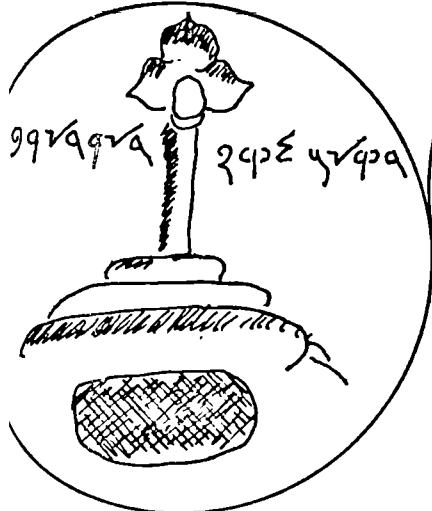
friday

M<sup>r</sup> Husy cam w<sup>th</sup>

5

him from blockley

---



[87a]

Էզժւիզ Վրպրնի ղննի շէ Էսզգռնի զժպրոժ =  
 Էնիւնի զազժպո Զը ջրժժպո Զըժէա շէ  
 ժժպրնի [Զը] ղննի Զը ղննի Զըժէա ղննի  
 ղննի ղննի Զըժէա ղննի Զըժէա ղննի  
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 Զըժէա ղննի Զըժէա ղննի Զըժէա ղննի

[flourish]

[87b]

[blank]

[88a]

Aprilis. 11. Thursday

- Δ After my comming home from the court, abowt 4 of the clok after  
 none, and after my being in my study a while, it cam into my  
 hed to assay to deciphre the cifre which before is spoken of,  
 and was  
 brought me by E K, as he was willed to do. 5  
 And at the first I was half out of hope: but yet making many

assayes, and gessing /at<sup>c</sup>/ it (at the length) to be latine,  
I fownd this

to be the true Alfabet. God giving me the perceyverance.

|   |   |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|
| A | b | c | d | e | f | g  | h | i | k | l | m | n | o  | p | q | r |
| q | d | y | d | 2 | B | 2  | v | e | h | ✓ | 9 | o | cp | v | y | ✓ |
| s | t | v | x | y | z | w. |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |
| q | z | z | h |   |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |

And, the first longer writing, was thus,

Tabula locorum rerum et Thesaurorum absconditorū Menahani,

mei Gordanili, militis et Danaorū Principis, expulsi,  
multorumq<sub>r</sub>

15

aliorum clarissimorū (Britanie meridionali parte) virorū, contra  
eiusdem inhabitatores militantium: quam, hīc, familiarissimorum  
consensu, aliquando ad nostratium rediuntium commoditatem et  
auxilium abscondere et sepelire decreui: Qua quidem intellecta,  
facile possunt ad lucem abscondita efferre.

20

And the Notes of the ten places, here by, [notified] affixed are  
thus to be

red orderly

1. Gilds cros  
hic o .....  
mer id io  
onali . ot on

2 blankis Suters  
croces

25

3 Marsars got cros

4 Huteos  
cros

5 Fleds grenul

6 Mons mene

7 Mowntegles  
arnid

8 Lan sapant

30

9 Corts  
nelds

10 Mnrr  
Merse

## Marginal notes:

- line 5: They were / fownd at / Huets Cross / as the  
 spirituall / creature affirmed / when he led them /  
 to the finding / of this Monimet / & <a> boke of /  
Magik & / Alchimie. / Perhaps that is / <the> Cros  
 called / Huteos Cros / being the / fowrth of / them  
 below
- line 15: Note / J Dee the / last being of / the Danes / here,  
 was / abowt the / year 1040
- line 23: d / of this K / I dowl yet
- line 32:  $\Delta$  forte Marr

[88b]

Aprilis 15 Monday

- $\Delta$  As E K was writing the eighteenth leafe which was of the  
spirites  
of the earth, (in the after none abowt  $4\frac{1}{2}$  of the klok) he red  
 a  
 parcell therof, playnely /<sup>c</sup>& alowde/ to him self, and herevppon  
 suddenly
- at his side appeared three or fowre spirituall creatures like  
 laboring 5
- men, hauing spades in theyr hands & theyr heares hanging  
 about theyr
- eares, and hastely asked E K what [they] /he/ wold haue &  
wherfore he called them. He answered that he called them  
 not. & they replied, & sayed that he called them: Then I
- \ began to say, they lyed: for his intent was not /to/ call 10  
 them, but
- onely to read and repeat that which he had written: and that  
euery man who readeth a prayer to perceyue the sense thereof,  
prayeth not. No more, did he call them and I bad them be



packing out of the place. and therevppon remoued from my desk

(where I was ruling of paper for his writing) to the grene chayra which

15

was by my chymney: and presently he cryed out and sayd they

had nipped him and broken his left arme by the wrest: and he shewed

the bare arme and there appered both on the vppersyde and lower side

imprinted depe in, two circles as brode as grotes thus



very red: And I seeing that, sowght for a stik and in the

20

meane while, they assalted him, and he rose, and cryed to me

(saying) they come flying on me, they come; and he put the stole, which he

sat on, betwene him and them. but still they cam gaping or gyrning

at him. Then I axed him where they were: and he poynted to the place

and then I toke the stik and cam to the place, and in the name of

25

Jesus commaunded those Baggagis to avoyde /and smitt a cross atroke at them/ and presently they avoyded.

All thanks be to the onely /one/ Almighty, and everlasting God

Whose name be praysed now & euer. Amen

Aprilis 18. Thursday morning. hor. 8. circiter

△ As E K cam to write out the Tables according as he was wont: and to haue

30

the letters appearing in the ayre hard by him, he saw nothing but a blak clowde

seuen cornered. and after I had put the stone agayn into the frame, and

therevppon did make long and oft request, for answer hauing, There appered

nothing, neyther was any thing seen in the stone. Then I fell to prayer

agayn, and at length, there appeared written vpon, or [out of]  
yssuing out

35

of the clowde, this sentence

He promised, be not carful:

E K. The letters semed to stand at fingers endes, (being 21): and  
so euery

finger had a letter on it: and the fingers semed to be placed  
at the

Corners of the Heptagonall clowde: and assone as the sentence  
was red

40

the fingers which seemed to issue out of the Heptagonū did  
shrink in agayn and disapere

Δ All laude honor and thanksgiving, be to the highest, our most  
louing mercifull

and almighty God, now and euer amen.

The stone out of the frame

#### Marginal notes:

line 29: Note. Now / 30 Tables, / being writte / since good /  
friday: and / dayes onely / 21 passed / since good /  
friday.

line 37: Δ as who shold / say αὐτός / εἶπε , ἵπε / dixit dē /  
Deus.

line 37, RH: Δ Note, here are iust 21. letters

line joins 'stone' (line 32) to 'stone' (line 44)

[89a]

Thursday. Aprilis 18. after dynner.

We being desirous to know the cause of this stay making, in the  
Tables shewing

as before was accustomed; and now (24 leaves being written, a dark  
clowde

to hang in the place of a glorious boke, did greatly disquiet our  
myndes, and

brought vs in feare of some offence lately committed, by any one,  
or both of vs, 5

whereby the Indignation of the lord might be kindled against vs.

Herevppon we prayed severally: and at length, (no alteration, or  
better

Cumfort hapening to vs, [w] I prayed in the hearing of E K, [at my]

(by my desk, on my knees) in great agony of mynde; and Behold there

appeared one standing vppon, or rather somewhat behynde the  
Heptagonall clowde 10

who sayd I am sent, to vnderstand the cause of your greif, and  
to answer your dowtes.

△ I, then, declared my mynde breifly, according to the effect of  
my prayer.

wherevnto he answered at large, reproving my appointing of god  
a tyme

or to abridge the tyme spoken of. and among his manifold  
grave speeches 15

he had these words

Prepare all things, For tyme is at hand

His Justice is great, and his arme stronge

How darest thou dwt or dreame, saying: Lo, God, this may be  
done

in shorter time etc. But such is flesh. 20

Be rocks in faith

△ It is not the manner of vs, good Angels, to be  
trubbled so oft.

At the time appointed, thou shalt practise: While sorrow shall  
be

measured, thou shalt bynde vp thy fardell.

Great is the light of Gods sinceritie. 25

Appoint God no tyme. Fullfill that which is ~~commanded~~

God maketh clere whan it pleaseth him. Be you constant and avoyde

Temptations: For True it is, that is sayde: And  
lastly I say,

It shall be performed

What is it now thow woldest desyre to be made playner? 30

△ still he proceded vppon my answers: and at length he sayd

Neyther is the time of mans Justification known vntyll  
he hath

byn tryed.

You are chosen by God his mercy to an ende and purpose: Which ende  
shall be made manifest by the first begynning in knowledg in  
these 35

Mysteries.

God shall make clere whan it pleaseth him: & open all the secrets  
of wisdom

whan he vnlocketh. Therefore seke not to know the mysteries  
of this boke, tyll the very howre that he shall call the. For  
then

shall his powre be so full amongst you, that the flesh shall  
not be perceyued, 40

in respect of his great glory

But was there euer any, that tasted of gods mercies so asuredly,  
that

wanted due reuerence? Can you bow to Nature, and will not  
honor the workman? Is it not sayd, that this place is  
holy?

What are the works of holines? I do aduertise you: for, God  
will be 45

honored. Neyther will he be wrasted, in any thing he speaketh,

Think not, that you could speak or talk with me, vnleast I did  
greatly abase

my self, in taking vppon me so vnlikely a thing in forme, as to  
my self. etc

But he doth [it] /<sup>c</sup>this/ not for your causes, not for your deserts,  
but for the Glorie of his

own name. 50

One

---

Marginal notes:

line 16: Prepare / all things

line 22: Good Angels

line 23: /hand/

line 32: Tyme of Justi= / fication known / Whan / The ende /  
of our elec= / tion

line 39: Tyll the very / howre

line 42: want of due / reuerence Vsing / <in> our actions /  
<is> reproved.

line 47: Angels abase / them selues, to / pleasure man by /  
theyr instructions / when they tak / vppon them, or /  
vse any sensi / ble evidence of / them selves / <or>  
voyces. etc

[89b]

One is not to be lightened, but all. And which all? The two  
fethered fow<1>

to gither with the Captayn

Ask What thou wilt: for, vntyll the 40 dayes be ended, shalt thou  
haue

no one more shew of vs.

△ Whether shall we give Cownsayle, or consent to the Captayne to  
go down into the

5

Cuntry, as, presently he entendeth

Vr——— As he listeth

△ E K. sayd that this was Vriel who  
now

had appered and answered all this.

Vr.—I will ask the one question. Haue we any voyce or no?

△ I do think you haue no organs or instruments apt for voyce:  
but are mere spirituell

10

and nothing corporall: but that you haue the powre and  
property fro god to insi=

nuate your message or meaning to eare or eye, in such sort as  
mans Ima=

gination shall be, that both they here and see you sensibly.

Vr.——we haue no voyce, but a full noyce that filleth euery place: which

whan you ones taste of, Distance shall make no separation. 15

Let there one come that may better answer: not in respect of thy self

but one, more nerer to thy estate.——Do thy Duty.

△ He sayd this, to one who cam in, and he departed him self.

△ This new come Creature sayd, Wold you haue any thing with me, Il?

△ Who art thou: Art thou one that loveth and honoreth our Creator?

20

Il——will you see my hart —— E K. he openeth his body and sheweth his hart

and theron appered written EL.

△ he semed to be a very mery Creature, and skyped here and there, his apparell was

like as <sup>c</sup>/of/ a vyce in a play: and so was his gesture and his skoffing, as the

outward shew therof was to be vulgarly demed. but I did carefully ponder the

25

der the pith of the worda which he spake: and so forbare to write very much which he

spake at the begynning, by reason E K did so much mistake him, and in <a>

in a manner toke him to be an Illuder.

△ As you are appointed to answer vs by the Messager of God, so answer vs, (who desyre the

pure and playne verity,) as may be correspondent to his credit that assigned you, and

30

to the honor of God who created vs.

Il——My answer is Threefold——I answer by gesture by my apparayle and

will answer the by my wordes.

△ Do you know where the Arabik boke is that I had: which was written in tables and

numbers?

35

Il——It is in Scotland——A minister hath it: it is nothing worth. The boke

conteyneth fals and illuding Witchcrafts. All lawde honor  
and prayse be to

the One and euerlasting God: for euer and euer.

△ The Lord Threasorer, hath he, any bokes belonging to Soyga?  
Il——he hath

none: but certain Introductions to all artes.

40

△ But it was reported to me by this skryer that he had: certayn  
peculier bokes pertayning

to Soyga. otherwise named ysoga, and Agyos, literis  
transpositis.

Il——Soyga signifieth not Agyos. Soyga alca miketh.

△ What signifieth those wordes? The true measure of the Will of  
God in iudgment

which is by wisdom.

45

△ What language is that, I pray you? Il——a language tought  
in Paradise

△ To whome? Il——by infusion, to Adam. △ To whome did Adam  
vse it? Il——vnto Chevah △ Did his posteritie vse  
the same?

Il——yea, vntyll the Ayrie Towre was destroyed. △ Be there any  
any letters of that Language yet extant among vs mortall men? 50

Il <....> that there be △ Where are they? Il——<sup>ô</sup>, syr, I  
shall

make

---

Marginal notes:

- line 1: Three are / to be lighte= / ned.  
line 3: 40 dayes.  
line 5: A.G.  
line 14: Vox ange= / lorū  
line 16: Vriel putteth / one in his / place.  
line 19: △ / Il or El  
line 22: El.  
line 23: IL

line 32: Note / Threfold / answer

line 34: Liber Ara= / bicus

line 38: E K: he / Kneleth down.

line 41: Note

line 46: The lan= / guage towght / in Paradise

[there is an illegible note at the bottom left hand corner of the folio]

[90a]

make you in loue with your Masterships boke.

△ Did Adam write any thing in that Language. Il.—That is no questio<n.>

△ Belike than, they were deliuered from one to an other by tradition. or els

[△] Enoch his boke, or prophesie, doth, or may seme, to be written in the same

language: bycause mention is made of it in the new Testament in Jude

5

his epistle where he hath, Prophetauit autem de his Septimus ab Adam, Enoch,

dicens, Ecce venit Dominus in sanctis millibus suis facere iudicium contra oēs, et

arguere oēs impios, de omnibus opibus impietatis eorū, quibus impiē egerunt; et de

omnibus duris quae locuti sunt contra Deum peccatores impij. etc

Il.—I must distinguish with you. Before the flud, the spirit of God was not vtterly

10

obscured in man. Theyr memories were greater, theyr vnderstanding more clere, and

theyr traditions, most, vnsearchable. Nothing remayned of [Enoch] Enoch

but (and if it pleas your mastership) mowght haue byn carryed in a cart.

I can not bring you the brass, but I can shew you the bokes.

Slepe\* 28 dayes, and you shall fynde them, vnder your pillow whan you

15



do rise.

△ As concerning Esdras booke, which are missing, what say you?

Il——— The prophets of the Jewes haue them. △ But we can hardly trust

any thing in the Jewes hands, concerning the pure Veritie: They are a stiffnecked

people and dispersed all the world ouer.

20

Il——— I will shew you a trik. △ he lifted vp his fote, and shewed the

sole of his shoo: and there appeared the picture of a man, who seemed to haue a

a skorf or fowle skynne on his face: which one toke of: and then there appered

on his forhed these two figures <sup>88</sup>

I will shew you more then that, to. and will speak to a man shortly, that shall bring

25

Water to wash euery mans face.

△ What mean you, by euery man? shall all men, be made cleane?

Il——— There is a difference in washing of faces.

EK. This creature seemeth to be a Woman by his face: his apparell semeth to be like

a Vice in a play.

30

E K. Are you not a Kinsman to syngolla?

Il I syr, and so are you a kinsman to synfulla.

△ A man may finde corn in chaf.

Il——— So may you (perchaunce) finde me an honest man in my ragged clothes.

△ This other day, whan I was in dowl of the Grecian (the Macedonian) whether he had

35

any good and profownd lerning or no, he was represented spiritually, and about

his hat in great letters was written this greke word Κατ'αίσχ' I pray

you what doth it signifie? I axed the grecian and he sayd

Βεβαίω

Il. Loke in your boke.  $\Delta$  I toke the common lexicon: and he sayd,  
No

Not that: Then I axed if I shold take  $\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omicron\rho\nu\mu\varsigma$  his lexicon:  
and he

40

answered. Nor that. and I axed which then: and he sayd your  
boke covered

with a white parchmēt. and I axed, that of Misteries of  
Latine greke

and hebrue? and he sayd, yea: and there you shall finde that  
Maculo=

sus hath onely that one word  $\chi\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\kappa\eta$  longing to it. I looked  
&

so I fownd it which satisfyed me very well.

45

$\Delta$  I pray you what say you of Gariladrah; do you know him? who  
long

sins did deale with me?

Il——Yf he were lesser then I,  $\sqrt{I}$ <sup>c</sup> durst speak [of]  $\sqrt{to}$ <sup>c</sup> him:  
But bycause he is greater

then  $\sqrt{I}$ <sup>c</sup>, I am not to speak to him. All vnder, and nothing  
above me, I deale.

Loke on your Tables, and there you shall finde an other name of  
his.

50

$\Delta$  I remēber no such thing: Il——Consider who hath set me  
here

Yf the Truth thow hast allready, be of a greater then my self,  
then is

it sufficiēt.  $\Delta$  what day was that name given me?

Il——Immediately, sir, after your<sup>\*</sup> Worships last cōming

$\Delta$  That was Raphaēl: And I remēber that Gariladrah sayd that he  
must leave me and

55

his better (Raphael) shold be my instructor, and that then  
the same Raphael was in

my hed then. etc.

---

Marginal notes:

line 4: Enoch

line 11: Note / excellent / Memories, / for Traditions /  
 contynuing and / preseruing.  
 line 15: Δ forte 18. / Note 28 dayes / more do make, / iust the  
 40 / dayes, before / notified.  
 line 17: Esdras / bokes  
 line 18: The Jues  
 line 24: Δ this might / seme to signi= / fie the calling / hore  
 of the / Jews, A<sup>o</sup> 1588. / to come  
 line 29: Note, El / semed to / be woman.  
 line 46: Gariladrah  
 line 51: That was / Vriel / pag. precedeta.  
 line 54: \* he pointed / to E K.

[90b]

Δ Sing a song to his prayse, who created vs.

Il I will sing a short song.

Your doings are of GOD: your calling great:

Go down and seke the Threasor, and you shall obteyn it.

Take no care: for, this Boke shall be done in 40 dayes 5

Begyn to practise in August. Serue god before.

You shall know all thing, ictu oculi.

And so, prayse, glory, and eternall singing

with incessant humilitie be vnto the Creator [t] that

hath framed, made and created all things, for 10

euer and euer, Now say you (yf you will)

Amen Δ Amen Amen Amen

After the ende of 40 dayes, go down for the Threasor

Whan those 40 dayes are done, than this boke shall be finished. The  
 rest of

the time Vntyll August, is for rest, labor, and prayer. 15

△ What labor? Il——In digging vp of those Threasors.

△ Must we nedes dig for them? Il——otherwise, yf thow wilt.

△ How, I pray you? For to dig without lycence of the Prince,  
is dangerous by reason of

the lawes: and to ax licence is half an odious sute.

Il——yf thow haue a parcell or part out of euery place of the  
erth, in any 20

small quantitie, thow mayst work by the Creatures, whose powre  
it is

to work in such causes: which will bring it (neuer trust me)  
before you

can tell twenty.

△ he meaneth. Neuer trust him, if it be not so, as he hath  
sayd.

Il——No, neuer trust me, if it be not so. 25

△ you mean those ten places, marked in the Table, which last day,  
I deciphred.

Il——I mary, now you hit it. yea sir, and your chest allso,  
it wold

do no hurt. Give me one: and I will make 40: and give you  
twenty an<d>

take twenty to my self: and when you haue it, I pray you let  
me hau<e>

some little portion for my wife <sup>c</sup>/and/ children. 30

△ As concerning that Chest, I pray you how cam the Macedonian,  
or M/r/ Sanford

to know of it, so particularly as he did?

Il——Husey told of it, openly, at the bord at braynford in the  
hearing of diuers

The Grecian will seke him oute.

The Greke in grecia perhaps can finde out Threasor, but not in  
Anglia. 35

The Greke hath a Threasor in his hed, that will enriche him  
to be a fole

I was yesterday at London, I met with a blak dyer. He had a cupple of

rings, that wold giue better instructions

Your Chymney here will speak agaynst you anon: yet I am no bricklayer

I must be gone.

40

△ God, for his infinite mercyes be allwayes

praysed, glorified, and extolled of all

his Creatures: Amen.

He advised E K to communicate to me the boke, and the powder, and so al<1>

the rest of the roll, which was there fownd: saying, true friendes <vse>

45

not to hide any thing eche from other.

△ An old proverb it is Amicorum oia coia

Vnde, Deo soli ois exhibeatur

laus honor et gloria

Amen.

50

[flourish]

Note: There followeth Quinti Li<bri>

Mysteriorum Appendix

#### Marginal notes:

line 4: Thesaurus }  
absconditus }

line 5: 40. dayes. —

line 6: August —

line 7: Knowledge to be / infused Ieta / Oculi:

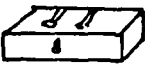
line 13: Thesaurus / abs.

line 14: 40

line 15: Note: / till Au= / gust

line 20: w<sup>th</sup>out dig= / ging.

line 26: { Ten places

line 27: { The chest / 

line 39: Δ True it is, / I had hidden / there in a / capcase  
the / recordes of / any doings w<sup>th</sup> / Saule & other /  
etc.

line 44: The boke / The powder / the rest of / the roll.

[91a]

# Quinti libri Mysteriorum

## Appendix

Aprilis 20 — Saturday

Δ This Saturday had byn great and eger pangs betwene E K and me:  
while

he wold vtterly discredit the whole process of our actions:  
as, to be done by evill

5

and illuding spirites: seking his destruction. saying that he  
hath often heretofore

byn told things true, but of illuding diuells: and Now, how  
can this be other, than

a mockery, to haue a cornerd dark clowd to be shewed him in  
steade of the playn

writing which hitherto he had written out of? and that whan they  
shold do good in dede

that then they shrank from vs. and that he was not thus to leese  
his time: But that

10

he is to study, to lerne some knowledge, whereby he may liue:  
and that he was a c<umber>

to my howse, and that he dwelled here as in a prison: that it  
[was] wer better for him

to be nere Cotsall playne where he might walk abroad, without  
danger

[and or] to be cumbred /<sup>c</sup>or vexed/ with such sklaunderous fellows  
as yesterday he was, with one

little Ned dwelling at the black raven in Westminster: who rayeld  
at him for bearing 15

witnes of a bargayn made [by] betwene the same Ned (or Edward)  
~~and one Lush~~

A Surgoen, who was now fallen in poverty, a very honest man etc.  
With a

great deale of more matter, melancholik, and cross overthwartly  
to the

good and patient vsing of our selues to the accomplishing of this  
action.

I replyed, and sayd, that we might finde our selfe answered  
[yest] on 20

thursday, as, That God wold clere when it pleased him: and  
that

we were not to appoint God a time to performe his mysteries  
and mercies

in; [shot] shorter then he hath spoken of: And that vndowtedly,  
the

occasion of this blak clowd, was some imperfection of cures, to  
be amended

and that then, all, wold be to our furder cumfort. And as  
concerning his dowing 25

the goodnes of the creatures, (dealing with vs) he was to blame,  
to say [the] or dowl

the tree to be yll that bringeth furth good frute. for of these  
creatures, from

the begynning of theyr dealing with vs vnto the last howre, we  
never hard other than

the prayse of god, instructions and exhortations to humilitie,  
patience, constancy,

fayth etc. The things they promise be such as god can performe,  
and 30

is for his servyce and glory to performe: and such as haue byn  
imparted to man

before: and therefore neyther impossible for man to enioye agayn,  
nor

vnmete for vs to hope for. and though his trubbled mynde did  
dowl, yet

my quiet mynde, which god hath made [straight] ioyfull throwgh his  
mercyes,

and which accuseth me not in this action of any ambition,  
hypocrisie,

35

~~or disorderly longing~~, but ~~only~~ is bent and settled in awaiting  
the Lord

his helping hand to make me wise for his servyce, (according as  
long tyme my

daylie prayer to him hath byn.) and seing I haue and do ax wisdome  
at the

lord his hands, and put my trust in him, he will not suffer me to  
be so

confownded: nether will he offer a stone to his seely children,  
when in tyme

40

of nede they ax bred at his hands: besides that Voluntate  
timentium

se faciet deus: and (by his graces) I feare him so, and am so  
carefull,

to do that shold pleas him, that I make no accownt of all this  
world

possessing, vnleast I might enioy his fauor, his mercies and graces

And whereas he complayned of want, I sayd, my want is greater than 41

his: for I was in det all of 300 pownds, had a greater charge

than he, and yet for all my 40 yeres course of study, many

hunderd pownds spending, many hunderd myles travayling, many an

incredible byte and forcing of my witt in study vsing to lerne  
or to bowlt

out some good lifing, [ye] etc. yet for all this I wold be very  
well pleased

50

to be deferred yet longer, (a yere or more) and to go vp and  
down England

clothed in a blanket, to beg my bred, so that I might, at the ende  
be assure< d>

to atteyn to godly wisdome, whereby to <sup>c</sup>/do/ God some service for  
his glory. And

to be playne, that I was resolued, eyther willingly to leave this  
world presently

that, so, I might in spirit enioye the bottomles fowntayne of all  
wisdome, or

55



## Marginal notes:

line 28: hand

line 38: Sapientia

line 46: 1s / 300 det.

[91b]

els to pass furth my dayes on earth w<sup>th</sup> gods favor and assurance  
of enioying

here his mercifull mighty blessings, to vnderstand his mysteries,  
mete for the

performing of [of] true actions, such as might sett furth his  
glory, so, as it mig<ht>

be evident and confessed, that such things wer done Dextera  
Domini.

And many other dyscourses and answers made vnto his obiections  
and dowtes: 5

After ward I began to speak of the trubbles and misery foreshewed  
to be nere at hand, and

by that tyme I had entred a little into the Consideration and talk  
of the matter, he appered

that sayd he was called El or Il, and sayed

---

Now to the matter.

Δ what matter? 10

Il.—I must haue a Wallet to carry your witt and myne own in.

Δ Benedictus qui venit in noīe Dni

Il.—Then I perceyue that I shall haue a blessing

Blessed is the physitian that hath care of his patient,  
before the pangs of death

doth viset him. 15

Δ ——— What think you of that cloudy Heptagonū?

Il.—Dost thou consider, I go about it?

I told the, euery thing I did, was an Instruction. As I  
can not

stand stedfastly vppon this, (it self one and one perfect:)

so can not my mowth declare, much lesse speak, that you  
may

20

comprehend it, what this is wherevppon I ge.

E K. He went on the Heptagonon, as one might go on the top of  
a turning

whele: (as <sup>A</sup> some horses vse to turn wheles as may appere in  
Georgius

Agricola de re metallica)

Il. — I know, what all your talk hath byn: But such myndes, such  
Infection,

25

such Infection, such corruption: and must nedes haue a potion  
appliable for the

cure. But how will you do? I haue forgotten all my drvggs  
behinde me.

But since I know that some of you are well stored with  
sufficient oyntments,

I do entend to viset you onely with theyr help. you see,  
all my boxes

ar empty? — E K he sheweth, a great bundell of empty  
poticharie boxes,

30

and they seme[d] to my hearing to rattle

△ How commeth it, that you pretend to come frō a favorable  
diuine powre to pleasure vs

us and your boxes ar empty.

Il. — you sayd euen now in your talk: Jovis oīa plena: yf my  
empty

boxes be Vertuous, how much more shall any thing be, which I  
bring not empty?

35

△ Then I pray you, to say somewhat of the vertue of your empty  
boxes, bycause

we may haue the better confidence of your fullnes

Il. — Will you haue my bill? △ shall we go to the Apothecaries,  
with your Bill?

Il. — I will shew it: serve it, where you list.

40

Iudra galgol astel.

△ you know we, vnderstand it not: how can it be serued?

Il.—— you must nedes haue an expositor

What boke of physik is that, that lyeth by you?

□△ There lay by me on my desk, Marcus Heremita de Lege spirituali in greke and latine

45

but the latin translation lay open before, on the left side of which, the sentence began

Non raro per negligentia, quae circa alicuius rei operatione comittitur, etiā Cognitio obscuratur

And on the right side, began Corpus sine mente nihil p̄t perficere etc □

Il.—— Mary here is good physik in dede

you fownd my name the other day. go to my name. □△ so I turned

50

to the second boke and browght sigillū AEmeth. and there chose the

word Ilemese. he than axed me, which letter of this name I liked best

and I sayd, L: bycause it conteyned the name representing God. El. etc

then he sayd somewhat further of the letters, which I wrote not.

Il—— Go to great M, the second: for this is it shall serue his turne

55

yf

Marginal notes:

line 6: A meridia —

line 11: El

[92a]

yf this can not serue him, he shall haue a medicine, that a horse can not

abyde. Vse this, and I warrant you, your blindenes will be gone.

△ It is here, greatly, to be Noted: that I turned in this booke of Marcus, 2?

leaves further: tyll I cam to the Quaternie of M, the second and there I

fownd this sentence notified (by my lines drawn, and a Note in the margent,

5

Cor contritum) Sine corde contritio impossibile est omnino liberari

a malitia et vitijs. Conterit autem cor tripartita temperantia somni dico

et cibi et corporalis licentiae. Caeterum horum excessus et abundantia

voluptatem generat. Voluptas autem pravae cogitationes ingerit

repugnat vero praescationi et convenienti Cogitationi

10

△ This being considered by vs, we ceased and this instant and thanked God

of his mercies, that it wold pleas him to make vs vnderstand some iust cause

whie cloudes now appeared in stede of brightnes etc.

Soli Deo ois honor laus et gloria Amen.

[flourish]

15

-----

Marginal notes:

line 1: <A> remedy for / <the> blyndenes / <of> E K at /  
<t>his instant

line 3: △ / and so many / dayes yet / wanted of / the 40, yf  
we / accownt frō / the 6 day of / Aprill: but / if  
frō the tyme / of the begynning / to write them, /  
then there wan= / teth not so / much by 9 / or 10  
dayes

=====

Aprilis 23. Tuesday. mane. hor 8.

△ After our prayer iointly, and my long prayer, at my desk  
requesting God to deale

with vs, so, as might be most for his glory, in his mercies: not according to our deserts, and

frowardnes: etc. At length appeared in the stone a white clowde, seven<sub>u</sub> cornered.

And behinde the Clowd a Thunder seemed to yssue 20

A Voyce ——— Whan I gathered you, you were chosen of the myddest of Iniquitie:

Whome I haue clothed with garments made and fashioned with my owne

hand ——— I, AM, Therfore Beleue:

Δ I prayed, and thanked the highest, that so mercifully regarded our miserie

A Voyce ——— I, AM. 25

E K. Now standeth Vriel vppon the clowde, and semeth to loke downward

and kneled, saying

A Eternitie, Maiestie, Dominion and all powre, in heuen the earth and in the secret partes below, is thyne, thyne

yea thyne; and to none els is due, but vnto the: whose 30

mercies are infinite; which respectest the glorie of thy owne

name above the frowardnes, and perversnes of mans nature:

which swarmeth with synnes, and is couered with Iniquitie: and

in the which, there is fownde no place free from filthynes and

abomination. Glorie be to the; ô, all powre: and 35

magnified be thou, in the workmanship of thy own hands, from

time to time, and with out ende of time, from generation

to generation: and euen amidst and in the number of those, for

whome thou hast prepared the flowres of thy aeternall Garland.

Beare with them (ô lord) for thy mercyes sake. for, woldest thou 40

seeke <sup>Δ</sup> in the myddst of miserie? Whom yf thou sholdest

ludge according to [ius] thy iustice, How shold thy Name be glorified so in thy

self, to thy own determination, and writing, sealed before the Creation

of the Worlides? The fire of thy Justice consumeth thyne own seat.

and in the, is no powre wanting, whan it pleaseth the, to cast down,

45

and gather them to gither, as the wynde doth the snow, and in hemme

them

Marginal notes:

line 21: Nos

line 26: Vr.

line 41: Δ here I mist / the hering of / a word or / more.

[92b]

them with the mowntaynes, that they may not arrise, [...] /<sup>c</sup>to/ synne

But what thou art, thou art: and what thou wilt, thou canst.

Amen

Δ Amen.

Vr.—I haue measured time (sayth the lord) and it is so: I haue appointed

5

to the heauens theyr course, and they shall not pass it.

The synnes of man shall decay, in despite of the enemy: But the fire

of aeternitie shall neuer be quenched, nor neuer fayle

More, then is, can not, nor may not be sayde

We can not be Witnesses to him, which witnesseth of him self

10

But (this sayeth the Lord). Behold yf you trubble me

ones more, or towche the wings of my excellency, before I shall

move my self, I will raze you from the earth, as children of  
perdition

and will endue [that] these that are of quiet myndes, with the  
strength of my powre. You are not faithfull, sayeth the lorde 15

whome you beleue not. Notwithstanding I haue hardened  
the hart of One of you, yea, I haue hardened him as <sup>c</sup>/the/ flynt,  
and

burnt him to gither with the ashes of a Cedar: to the entent

he may be proued iust in my work, and great in the Strength of my

Glory. Neyther shall his mynde consent to <sup>c</sup>/the/ wyckednes of  
Iniquitie 20

For, from Iniquitie I haue chosen him, to be a first erthely  
witnes of my Dignitie.

Your words are, yet, not offensive vnto God: Therefore, will

not we, be offended at any thing that is spoken: For it must

be done [caret] and shall stand; yea and in the number <sup>c</sup>/which/  
I haue 25

allready chosen.

But this sayeth the lorde: Yf you vse me like worldlings

I will surely stretch out my arme vppon you, and that

heuilly

Lastly, I say

{ Be Faithfull,

{ Honor God truely

{ Beleue him hartily. 30

E K. he kneleth down, and semeth to pray.—Now he standeth vp

Vr. Lo, As a number increasing is allwayes bigger: so in this  
world decreasing, the Lord must be mightily glorified

Striue not with God. But receyue, as he imparteth. 35

The Mercy of my message, quencheth the obscuritie and dullnes  
of your sowles. I mean of the Infection, wherewithall they  
are poysoned.

Lo, how the Earth cryeth vengeance. Come, for thy Glory  
sake, it is tyme Amen

40

△ Seing it is sayd that in 40 dayes [and before 40 dayes] the  
boke

shalbe finished: and seing it is sayed that our former  
Instructors

shall not come nor appere to vs tyll the boke be finished.  
And seing

heretofore the boke vsed to appere to E K, that he might

write, whan so euer he bent him self therto: and seing the

45

same

Marginal notes:

line 11:



line 12: NOTA et / Caue.

line 17: One of vs is / by the Lord / confirmed in / constant  
purpose

line 21: Election / confirmed

line 25: △ I think / sayeth the Lord / [caret] is forgotten /  
here

line 27: Note /



line 33:



line 35: Note

line 39: Vengeance / cryed for

[93a]

same boke appeareth not so now: and seing we are desyrours to  
be fownd diligent in this work, and to omitt no Oppunitie  
wherein the writing therof might be furdred: We wold  
gladly know, What token or warning shall be giuen



vs, henceforward, whan due tyme serueth for the same purpose. 5

Vr——Dy in the folly: I haue sayde

E K. It thundreth and lightneth about the clowde: and now all  
is vanished away

△ E K sayd, that at the very begynning of this days action,  
when he  
expressed the first Voyce (this day), hard by him, his belly  
did

10

seame to him, to be full of fyre: and that he thought veryly,  
that his bowells did burne: And that he loked downward  
toward his leggs, to see if any thing appeared on fire: calling  
to his mynde the late chance that befell to the Adulterous  
man

and woman by Saint Brydes church in London. etc

15

Allso that whan he had made an ende, he thought his belly  
to be wyder, and enlarged, much more then it was before.

△ I sayde certayn prayers to the Almightye our God and most  
mercifull father, on my knees; and E K on his knees  
likewise, answered diuers times, Amen.

20

After this, we made A G. to vnderstand these the mercies of the  
Highest: and he reioyced greatly, and praysed the Lorde:

And, So E K, was fully satisfied of his Dowtes:

And A G, and he, were reconciled of the great discorde  
which, yesterday, had byn betwene them etc.

25

Non nobis, Domine, Non nobis,  
sed nomini tuo [da] Gloriam omnem  
Laudem et honorē dāmus et  
dābimus in perpetuum

Amen

[flourish]

30

Marginal note:

line 21: A.G,

[93b]

[blank]

[94a]

Aprilis 26. fryday

△

Nota

By the prouidence of god, and M<sup>r</sup> Gilbert his meanes, and pacifying of

E K his vehement passions and pangs, he cam agayn to my howse:

and my wife very willing, and quietted in mynde, and very frendely

to E K in Word, /<sup>c</sup>and/ cowntenance: and a new pacification /<sup>c</sup>on all partes/ confirmed: and

all vppon the Confidence of God his servyce, /<sup>c</sup>to be/ faythfully and cherfly intended, and

followed in and by our actions, through the grace and mercy of the highest.

[flourish]

1583 Aprilis 28. Sonday: after Dynner. about 4 of the klok. 10

△ As I and E K had diuerse talks and dyscourses of Transposition of letters: and I had declared him my rule for to know certaynly how many wayes, any number of letters (propownded,) might be transposed

or altered in place or order: Behold, suddenly appered, the spirituall creature, IL, and sayd 15

Il—Here is a goodly disputation of transposition of letters

Chuse, whether you will dispute with me, of Transposition, or I shall

lerne you

△ I had rather lerne then dispute. And first I think, that those letters of

our Adamicall Alphabet haue a due peculiar vnchangeable proportion of

theyr formes, — and likewise that theyr order is allso Mystically

20

Il—These letters represent the Creation of man: and therefore they must be in

proportion. They represent the Workmanship wherewithall the sowle

of man was made like vnto his Creator.

But I vnderstand you shall haue a paynter shortly.

25

△—I pray you, what paynter may best [serue] serve for the purpose? Can master

Lyne serue the turn well?

Il.—Dost thou think that God can be glorified in hell, or can diuells dishonor him?

Can Wickednes of a paynter, deface the mysteries of God?

The truth is, I am come to aduertise you, least with a small error

30

you be led, far, a syde.

Let me see the forme of your Table

△—I shewed him the Characters and words which were to be paynted

rownd about in the border of the Table.

Il—How do you like [it?] those letters? △ I know not well what I

35

may say. For, perhaps, that which I shuld like, wer not so to be lyked:

and contrarywise what I shold think well of, might be nothing worth.

Il—Thow sayest well.

Behold, great is the fauor and mercy of God toward those whome he

fauoreth. All things are perfect but onely that: Neyther 40

was that shewed or deliuered by any good and perfect messenger

from God. A wicked powre did intrude him self, not

onely into your societie, but allso into the Workmanship of Gods mysteries

Sathan dare presume to speak of the Almighty. Those Charac=

ters are diuillish: and a secret band of the Diuell. But, this sayeth

45

the lord, I will rayse them vp, whom he hath ouer thrown:  
and blott

oute his fote steps where they resist my glorie. Neyther will

I

---

Marginal notes:

line 22: The mysticall / Alphabet.

line 32: The Table / of Practise

line 42: Illuding / spirits thrus= / ting in them / selues.

---

[94b]

I suffer the faithfull to be led vtterly awry: nor finally  
permi< t darkness>

to enhemme them for euer. He sayeth, I AM, and they ar<e most  
untrue.>

But behold I haue brought the the truth: that the Prince of  
reas< on,> Go< d>

of Vnderstanding may be apparent in euery part of his  
Caelestiall de=

monstration. Therefore, as thow saydst vnto me ones,

5

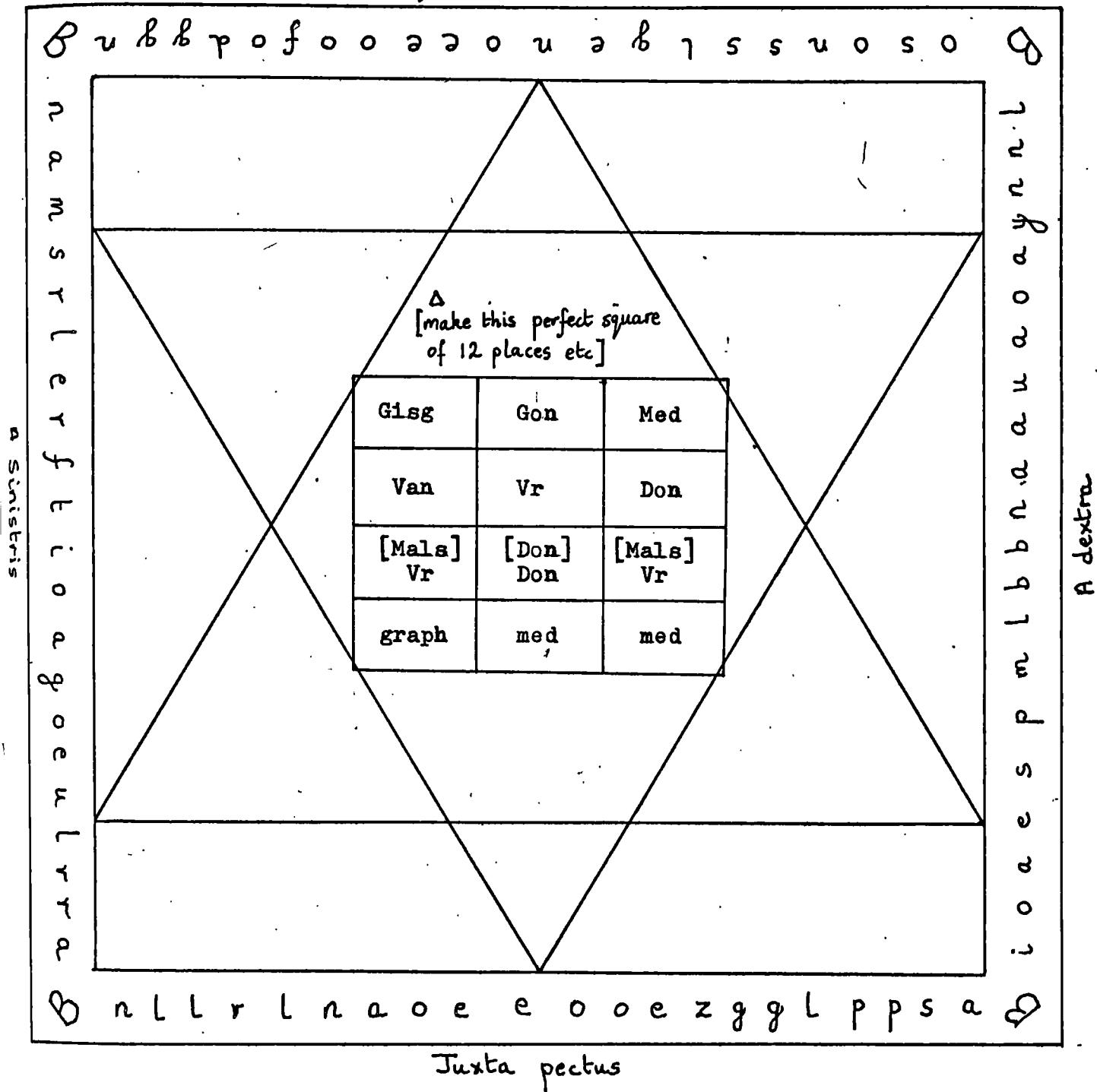
So say I now to the: Serue god.

Make a <sup>Δ\*</sup>square, of 6 ynches euery way

The border therof let it be (here) but half a inche: but on  
the Table it

self, let it be an inche broad.

In fronte Tabulae



Euery one of those [sy] sides must haue 21 Characters

But, first, at euery corner make a great B

Prayer is the key of all good things:

△ After

## Marginal notes:

line 2: \* I vnderstand / that the Charac / ters are most Vntrue

line 7: Δ\* / the inner / square, of / 6 yashes;

line 10, RH upside down: Δ vide post. [2] foliā[e], et etiā in /  
Tabula cordis, carnis et / Cutis, nam in lineis def= /  
endentibus, ibidem habes / hanc tabula hic incipiendo /  
sed in primo omittendo l et accipiendo o [with hand  
pointing to first 'o' of top border of the table  
( 'in fronte Tabulae' )]

[95a]

Δ After our prayers made, E K had sight (in the stone) of  
innumerable letters

and after a little while, they wer brought into a lesser  
square and fewer letters.

first appered in the [opposite] border opposite to our  
standing place (which I haue

used to call, in fronte Tabulae) these letters following:  
beginning at the right

hand, and proceeding toward the left.

5

| .1.   | 2     | 3     | 4     |    |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|----|
| Med   | drux  | drux  | gon   |    |
| fam   | vn    | vr    | med   |    |
| med   | tal   | vr    | vn    |    |
| drux  | fam   | don   | graph | 10 |
| fam   | don   | vr    | fam   |    |
| fam   | vr    | drux  | mals  |    |
| Vr    | graph | vn    | tal   |    |
| ged   | don   | med   | vr    |    |
| graph | or    | graph | pa    | 15 |
| drux  | gisg  | graph | pa    |    |

In fronte Tabulae

A sinistris

Juxta pectus

A dextris

|            |       |       |      |                        |
|------------|-------|-------|------|------------------------|
| med        | gon   | med   | drux |                        |
| graph      | med   | med   | vn   |                        |
| graph      | vn    | graph | vn   |                        |
| <u>tal</u> | ged   | ceph  | van  | 20                     |
| med        | med   | ged   | vn   |                        |
| or         | graph | ged   | med  |                        |
| med        | van   | vr    | vn   |                        |
| gal        | vr    | mals  | gon  | w <sup>th</sup> a prik |
| ged        | don   | mals  | drux | 25                     |
| ged        | don   | fam   | drux |                        |
| drux       | vn    | vn    | vr   |                        |

II—What haue you in the myddle of the Table?  $\Delta$  Nothing

II. sigillum Emeth,

is to be sett there

30

II—The rest, after supper.

$\Delta$  Soli Deo Omnipotenti sit laus perennis.

Amen

[flourish]

Marginal notes:

line 20: forte med

line 29: Sigillū / Emeth.

After supper, returning to our businesse, I first dowed of the heds of the letters in the

35

herdes, to be written, which way they ought to be turned, to /the/ center ward of the Table

or from the center ward.

Il. — The heds of the letters must be next or toward the center  
of the square Table or Figure

Diuide that written by 12 and 7

△ I diuided it

40

Il. — Grace, mercy and peace be vnto the liuely branches of his  
florishing

kingdom: and strong art thou in thy glory, which dost  
vnknytt the

secret partes of thy liuely workmanship: and that, before  
the weak

vnderstanding of man

Herein is thy powre and Magnificence opened vnto man: and  
why?

45

bycause thy diuinitie and secret powre is here shut vp in  
Numero

Ternario et Quaternario: a <sup>o</sup> q principium et fundamentum

omne huius est tui sanctissimi operis

For, yf thou (o God) be wunderfull and incomprehensible in  
thyne

owne substance, it must nedes follow, that thy works are  
likewise

50

incomprehensible. But, Lo, they shall now beleue, bycause  
they

see, which heretofore could skarsly beleue. strong is the

Influence of thy supercelestiall powre, and mighty is the  
force of

that arme, which overcommeth all things: let all powre

therfore rest in the. Amen.

55

---

Marginal notes:

line 39: Note of / the Square / within

line 47: Ternarius et / Quaternarius

---

[95b]

△ The spirituall creature seemed to eate fyre, like balls of  
fyre: hauing



his face toward me, and his bak toward E K.

II.—Leave oute the Bees of the 7 names of the [Kings] seven Kings, and 7

Princis: and place them in a table diuided by 12 and 7: the 7 spaces being

vppermost: and therein write, in the vpper line, the letters of the king, with

the letters of his Prince following next after his name: and so of the six

other, and theyr Princis: And read them on the right hand from the vpper

part to the lowest, and thow shalt finde, then, the Composition of this Table.

Therein they are all comprehended, sauing certayn letters, which are not to be

put in here: By reason that the Kings and Princis do spring from

God; and not God from the Kings and Princis. Which excellency is

comprehended, and is allso manifest, in that Third and Fowrth member.

Rownd about the sides   of this square   is euery letter of the 14 names, of the

7 kings and Princis

Hereafter shall you perceyue that the Glorie of this Table surmownteth

the glorie of the sonne

All things els appertayning [to it] vnto it, are allready prescribed by your

former instruction.

I haue no more to say, but God transpose your myndes, according to his

own will and pleasure.

You talked of Transposition.

Tomorrow I will be with you agayn. But Call not for me,

least you incurre the danger of the former Curse.

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |          |          |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------|----------|---|---|
| l | o | n | e | g | a | n | o | g        | i        | l | a |
| o | g | o | n | r | o | l | e | g        | o        | b | o |
| s | e | f | a | f | e | l | e | l        | a        | b | a |
| o | n | o | m | t | u | r | o | p        | e        | n | y |
| n | o | d | s | i | l | l | o | p        | s        | a | n |
| s | e | g | r | o | r | n | e | [p]<br>s | [s]<br>p | a | n |
| s | e | g | l | a | r | a | z | a        | m        | u | l |

25

/flourish/

30

## Marginal notes:

- line 4:        12 }  
               7 }
- line 10:       Note of / these kings / and Princis
- line 15:       The dignitie / of the Table / of Practise.
- line 20:       He alludeth / to our talk / [of Talk] had / of  
               Transposi= / tion of letters
- line 22:       Note danger / of violating / precepts of / doctrine
- line 28, RH:   forte / s p

[96a]

Aprilis 29. Monday, a meridia

△ As E K and I wer talking of my [boke] boke Soyga, or  
 Aldaraia: and I

at length sayd that, (as far, as I did remember) Zadzaczadlin,  
 was Adam

by the Alphabet thereof, suddenly appeared the spirituall  
 creature, which sayd

yesterday that he wold come agayn, this day, vncalled: and at  
 his first comming

5

he sayd

Then, a primo

△ Qui primus est et nouissimus, Alpha et omega, misereatur nri.

Il. — Amen. Glorie be to the, which art one, and comprehending  
all.

Mervaylous is thy wisdom, in those, of whome, thou wilt be  
comprehended.

A short prayer, but appliable to my purpose

10

Euery prayse, with vs, is a prayer.

△ he taketh of, his pyed coat, threw it vp on the corner of my  
desk.

and then he seemed clothed in an ancient doctorly apparayle:  
and on his

hed he had a wrethe of white sylk of three braydes.

Il. — Well I will give you my lesson, and so byd you farewell

15

First I am to perswade you to put away wavering myndes.

Secondly, for your Instruction, in these necessarie occasions,  
thus it is:

The owtsides or skyn must be the centre. There is  
one fowndation.

The Flesh must be the owtside.

The Centre it self must be disseuered into 4 aequall  
partes.

20

There is your lesson

△ We vnderstand not, this dark lesson

Il. — The hart must be the fowrth part of the body; and yet the  
body

perfect and sownd. The skynne must occupy the place of the hart  
and yet without deformitie

25

God is the begynning of all things: The fardest parte of all  
things is in

the hands of God.

The like shalbe fownd amongst the number of his One and most  
holy name:

The Erth is a fowndation to euery thing: and differeth but onely  
in forme

In the forme of his own application wherevnto it is applied. 30  
 God is the begynning of all things, but not after one sorte,  
 nor to

euery one alike.

But it is three manner of works, with his name:

The One, in respect of Dignification:

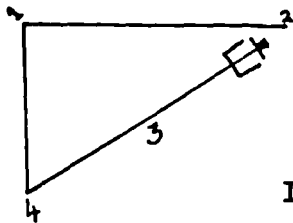
The Second, in respect of Conciliation: 35

The Third, in respect of an ende and determined Operation.

Now syr, to what ende, wold you were your Character?

△ at our two first dealings to gither, it was answered by a  
 spirituall

creature (whome we toke to be Vriel,) sigillum hoc in auro



sculpendum, ad defensionem Corporis omni  
 loco, tempore 40

et occasione, et in pectus gestandum.

IL—— But how do I teache?

The Character is an Instrumēt appliable  
 onely

to Dignification

But there is no Dignification (syr) but  
 that which 45

doth procede, and hath his perfect  
 Composition,

Centrally, in the square number of 3  
 and 4

The Centre whereof shall be equall to the  
 greatest.

△ We Vnderstand not.

IL—— Hereby you may gather

50

---

Marginal notes:

line 3: Adam

line 12: Apparayle / changed.

line 18: an aenigmat= /ticall lesson

line 28: Note

line 34: Three manner / of works with / God his Name

line 40: Vide inscriptionē / suo loco, / a<sup>o</sup> 1582 / Martij die /  
10 / f. 6

[96b]

Note here of the 7 Tables of Creation how they  
apperteyn to the 7 kings and Princis.

not onely, to what ende, the blessed Character, (wherewith thou shalt be

dignified) is prepared, but allso the nature of all other Characters.

To the second—————△ Conciliation you meane.

5

Il————The Table is an Instrument of Conciliation.

And so are the other 7 Characters: which you call by the

name of Tables, squared out into the forme of Armes: which  
are propre to euery king and Prince according to theyr  
order.

10

Now to the last: △ As concerning the ende and determined Operation

Il————It onely consisteth in the mercy of God, and the Characters of these

bokes. For, Behold, As there is nothing that commeth or

springeth from God, but it is as God, and hath a secret Ma= 15

iesticall and inexplicable Operation in it: So euery

letter here bringeth furth the Names of God: But, (in dede),

they are but one Name; But according to the locall and

former being, to comprehend the vniversall generation corruptible

and incorruptible of euery thing. It followeth, then, it must 20

nedes comprehend the ende of all things

This much, hitherto

The Character is fals and diuillish

He that dwelleth in the, hath told the, so, long ago

The former Diuel, did not onely insinuat him self, but these things

25

Δ I do mervayle, that we had no warning hereof ere now, and that I was

often tymes called on, to prepare those <sup>c</sup>/things/ (character and Table): and yet they

were fals

Il———Yf it shold haue byn gon abowt to be made, it shuld not haue byn suffred

to [pass r] pass vnder the forme of wyckednes.

30

The Truth is to be gathered vppon the first Demonstration (my de=

monstration and yours are not all one: you will not be offended w/<sup>th</sup>/

me, syr).

I gaue the a certayn principle, which in it self is a sufficient demon=

stration: I told the, the placing of the Centre, the forme of

35

it, with a lineamentall placing and ordring of that which

thow lookest for Δ But truely I vnderstand not.

Il———I teache. Take cleane paper

It must be made 4 inches square

Pray. Δ We prayed.

40

Il———These letters, which I shall speak now thow shalt, afterward,

put them in theyr propre characters:

Write: Neuer since the begynning of the world was this secret deliuered, nor this holy mysterie set open, before the Weaklings of this world

45

Write in the vppermost prik O,

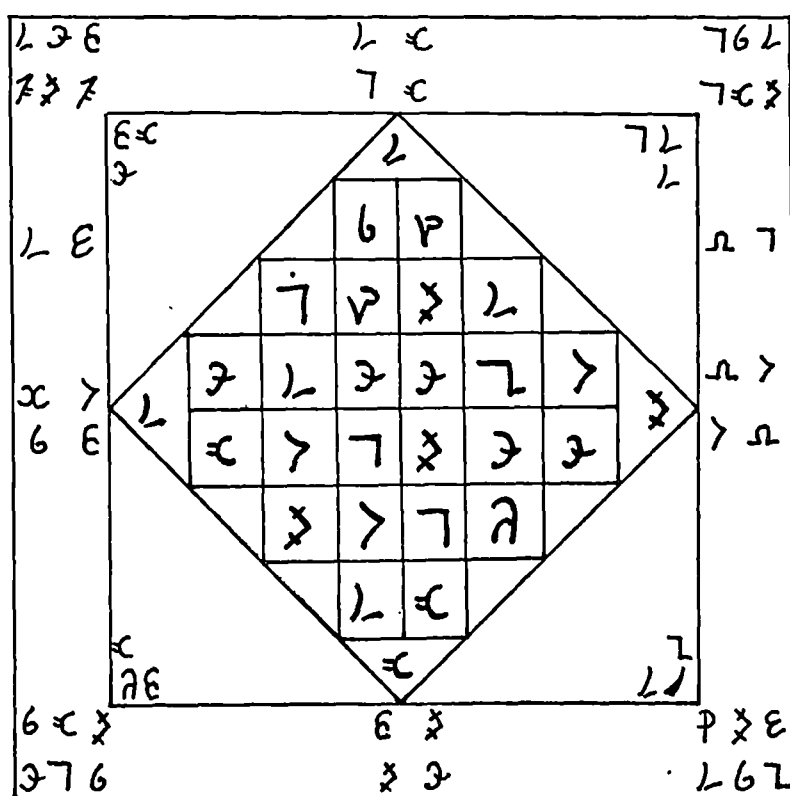
and h on the right hand, and g on the left etc

The two extreme priks, one on the right hand, a and the  
other

~~Marginal notes:~~

- line 4: The Nature / of all Charac= / ters.
- line 7: Instruments / of Concilia= / tion
- line 9: NOTE
- line 10: Order
- line 14: This boke / of 48 Tables
- line 17: Note of the / Names of / God.
- line 19: Generatio 
 $\swarrow$  corrup  
 $\searrow$  incor.
- line 20:
- line 23: The Charac= / ter allso / was a falls / tradition
- line 29: Note
- line 32: \* / lepipe, mathe- / maticas meas / demonstrationes / denotat
- line 37: \* he meaneth / my propre / Character / truely made
- line 41: Note. These / to be put in / propre Charac= / ters.

[97a]



[97b]

[blank]

[98a]

other, on the left o etc

There is the Whole

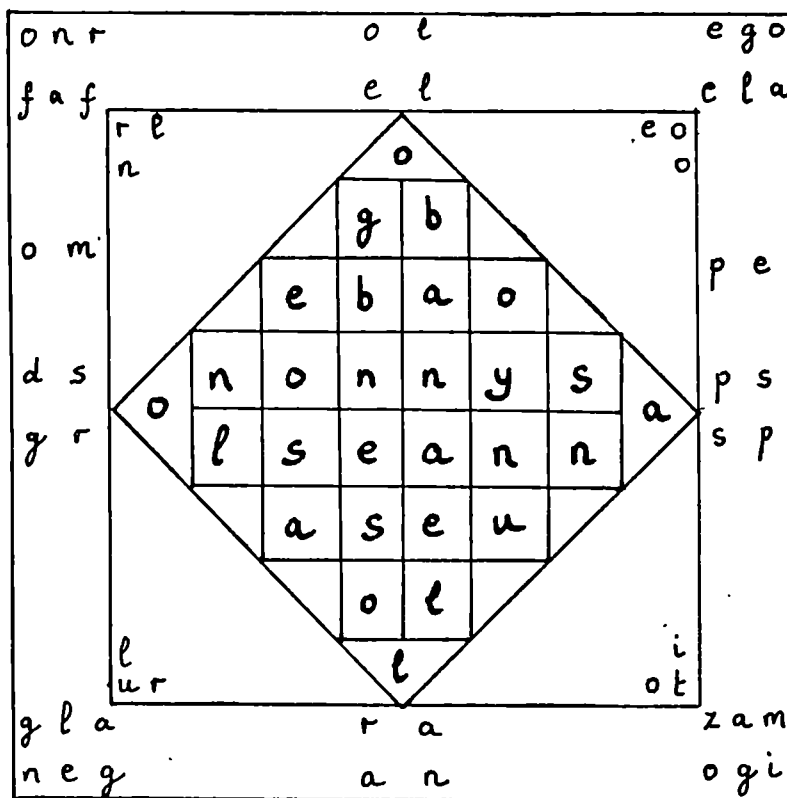
△ We prayed (vnhidden) in respect of the mysterie revealed.

E K, was skarse able to abide or endure the voyce of the spirituall

Creature, when he spake of these things now: [it] the sownd was so forcible to

5

his hed that it made it ake vehemently.



II—Set down the kings, and theyr Princis in a Table (as thow knowest them:

with theyr letters backward: excepting theyr Bees, from the right hand, to the left.

Let Bobogel be first, and Bornogo, is his prince.

10



|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | g | o | n | r | o | l | e | g | o | b | o |
| s | e | f | a | f | e | l | e | l | a | b | a |
| o | n | o | m | t | u | r | o | p | e | n | y |
| n | o | d | s | i | l | l | o | p | s | a | n |
| s | e | g | r | o | r | n | e | s | p | a | n |
| s | e | g | l | a | r | a | z | a | m | u | l |
| l | o | n | e | g | a | n | o | g | i | l | a |

15

IL—Here is the skynn turned into the Centre: and the Centre turned into 4 partes

of the body

△ I see now allso, how, the flesh, is become the owtside:  
o g e l o r n o etc.

20

Il. I haue done tyll sone.

△ Deo nro Oipotenti perennis laus sit et  
immensa gloria Amen

[flourish]

---

Marginal note:

line 11: △ / Note here the / three diuerse man= / ners how  
the letters / ar encumpassed. / The midder is called /  
.1. the Hart or centre / those abowt enclo= / sing the  
hart, ar / .2. called the flesh, / and the two  
owtside / pillers (of two letters / in a row) is  
egwna / .3. ted the skyn.

---

## NOTE

△ After that these things were finished, [and] E K rose vp from <sup>g</sup> table and went

to <sup>c</sup>/the/ west window, to reade a letter which was, euen than, brought him from his

wife: which being done, he toke a little prayer\* boke (in english meter made by

one William Hunnis which m<sup>r</sup> Adrian Gilbert had [left] here and it lay on the Table

5

by vs all the while of this last action) and with this boke, he went into his bed

chamber, intending to pray on it, a certayn prayer, which he liked: and as he

opened the boke, his ey espied strange writing in the spare white paper at

the bokas ende and beholding it, iudged it verily to be his own letters, and the thing

of his own doing: but being assured that he never saw the like of this Character

10

[for Conciliation], and that other, (notified by the hart or Center, skyn and flesh

before this present howre, he <sup>c</sup>/be/ cam astonied, <sup>c</sup>/and/ in great wrath; and behold, suddenly,

One appered to him and sayd, Lo, this is as good as that other. meaning

that, which we had receyued, and is here before sett down on the former page.

With this newes cam E K to me, as I was writing down fayre

15

this last Action, and sayd, I haue strange matter to impart vnto you: The<n>

sayd I what is that? and at the fyrst (being yet tossed in his mynde

with this great iniurie of the suttile supplanter of man, [and] ambitiously

intruding him self, to rob god of his glory) he sayd, you shall know, and at

length shewed me this little paper, here, by, being the one of the white

20

leaves in the ende of the <sup>c</sup>/forsayd/ little prayer boke. And I  
vewing it to

he ment to be the counterfeat of ours; but, with all, imperfect  
diuerse wayes,

after the order of our method: yea though[t] the words, out of  
which it had sprong

had bin good, and sufficient: and thereat laughedat, and  
derided the

Wicked enemy, for his envy, his asshedded folish ambition,  
and in dede mere

25

blyndenes to do any thing well. To conclude, we fownd, that

with an incredible spede this Diuinish figure was written down  
by some

Wicked spirit, to bring our perfect doings in dowt with vs:  
thereby eyther

to provoke vs to <sup>c</sup>/vtter/ vndue speaches of gods good creatures,  
or to wavering

myndes of the Worthynes and goodnes of the same <sup>c</sup>/things receyued/,  
and so eyther to

30

leaue of, or with fayntharted wavering to procede. But I <sup>c</sup>/by gods  
grace/ (contrary

to such inconueniency) [being] <sup>c</sup>/was/ armed with constancie, and  
confident good

hope, that God wold not suffer me, (putting my trust in his  
goodnes and

mercy, to receyue wisdom from him) to be so vniustly dealt  
withall

or vnkindely or vnfatherly vsed at his hands etc. and entended  
after

35

supper to make my earnest complaint to the diuine Maiestie [of]  
<sup>c</sup>/against/ this

wicked intrusion and temptation of the Illuding diuell: and so  
we went to supper.

---

Marginal notes:

line 4: \* / The Title of the / boke was Seuen / sobe of a  
sorrowfull / soule for synne.

---

1583. Aprilis 29. Monday. after supper. hora 8.

△ I went into my oratorie, and made a feruent prayer agaynst the  
spirituall enemy: specially meaning the wicked one who had so  
suddenly

40

so suttily and so liuely cownterfeted the hand and letters of E K:  
as is here before

declared, and by the thing it self may appere here: Likewise E K  
on his knees (at the greene chayre standing before my chymney) did  
pray: after

which prayers ended, I yea, rather, before they were ended, on my  
behalf, E K

espied a spirituall creature come to my Table: whome he toke to be 45

IL. and so, a lowd, sayd He is here. and therevppon I cam to  
my desk, to write as occasion shold serue: [or receyue] And  
before I

began to do any thing I rehersed part of my intent, vttred to  
god by prayer

and half turned my speche to god him self, as the cause did  
seme to require

Therevppon that spirituall <sup>c</sup>/creature/ who, as yet had sayd.  
nothing, suddenly vsed

50

these words ————— I give place to my better.

E K. There semeth to me Vriel to come, and IL to be

gone away.

△ Then began that new<sup>c</sup> come Creature  
to say thus

---

Marginal notes:

line 39:    △ ——— prayed }  
line 43:    E K prayed        }

---

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | r | i | a | n | s | e | a | e | h | a |
| o | r | i | a | n | b | s | e | a | h | a |
| o | r | i | a | n | h | s | e | a | h | a |
| a | r | h | i | a | n | h | s | e | a | h |
| a | r | n | a | x | o | d | a | x | o |   |
| p | a | l | g | a | n | h | a | h | o |   |
| n | a | x | a | p | h | a | r | o |   |   |

|   |   |   |  |   |   |  |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|--|---|---|--|---|---|---|
| a | l | n |  | g | a |  | d | a | x |
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| n | o |   |  |   |   |  | q | r |   |
|   |   |   |  |   |   |  |   |   |   |
| a | l |   |  |   |   |  | a | r |   |
|   |   |   |  |   |   |  |   |   |   |
| a | b | r |  | n | o |  | t | o | x |
| a | h | a |  | x | a |  | a | l | g |

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Marginal notes:

line 1, RH: o h a b r a h a m o x ∕E K's hand∕

line 11, RH: Δ / Belmagel / his cownter= / feating of δ /  
 instruction re= / ceyued frō god, / and to E K /  
 his hand, as / likely as could be ∕Dee's hand∕

---

[99b]

∕blank∕

---

to say thus

Most abundant and plentiful are the great mercies of God  
vnto them

which truely and vnfaynedly feare, honor and beleue him

The Lord hath hard thy prayers, and I am VRIEL, and I haue  
brought the peace of God, which shall from henceforth viset  
you.

5

If I had not made this action perfect (sayeth the lord) and  
wrought some

perfection in you, to the ende you might performe: yea, if I had  
not had

mercies (sayeth the lord) over the infinite number and multitude of  
sowles, which are yet to put on the vilenes and corruption of the  
flesh,

Or if it wer not time to loke down, and behold the sorrow of my 10

Temple, Yet wold I, for my promiss sake, and the establishing  
of my kingdom, verifie my mercies vppon the sonns of men:

Wherevnto I haue Chosen three of you, as the mowthes and

Instruments of my determined purpose. Therefore (sayeth the

Lorde) Be of stowte and courragious mynde in me, for me, 15

and for my truth sake: And Fear not the assales of temptation,

For I haue sayd, I am with you. But as mercy is necessary

for those that repent, and faithfully forget theyr offenses, so is

Temptation requisite and must ordinarilie follow those, whome it

pleaseth to illuminate with the beames of triumphant sanctification 20

If Temptation wer not, how shold the sonnes of men (sayeth the lord)

know me to be mercifull? But I am honored in hell, and wurshipped  
with

the blasphemers: Pugna erit, vobis autem victoria: yet, albeit, (thus  
sayeth my <sup>c</sup>message) I will defend you from /the/ crueltie of these  
dayes to come

and will make you perfect: that perfectly you may begynne in the  
works.

25

of my perfection: But, what? and doost thou (sathan) think to triumph? Behold (sayeth the God of Justice) I will banish thy servants

from this place and region; and will set stumbling bloks before the feete

of thy ministers: Therefore, be it vnto the, as thou hast deserued; And

be it to this people, and holie place, (as it is, the will of god; which I

30

do pronownce) light without darkness, Truth without falshode, righteousnes without the works of wickednes. I haue pronownced it, and it is done

But thou, o yongling (but, old synner,) why dost thou suffer thy blyndenes thus to encrease: or why dost thou not yeld thy lymmes to the service and fullfilling of an aeternall veritie?

35

Pluck vp thy hart. Let it not be hardened. Follow the waye

that leadeth to the knowledge of the ende; the open sight of god his word

verified for his kingdoms sake.

you began in Tables, and that of small accownt: But be faithfull: for

40

you shalbe written within Tables of perfect and euerlasting remembrance. Considering the truth, which is the message of him which is the fowntayne and life of the true, perfect and most glorious life to come,

Follow, loue, and diligently Contemplate the mysteries therein.

He that hath done this euill, hath not onely synned against the, but against

45

God, and against his truth. Judgment is not of me, and therefore

I cannot

---

Marginal notes:

line 4: Vriel

line 9: Note, sowles / created before / the bodies are /  
begotten

line 13: Three elected

line 15: Fortitudo in deo / et propter Deum.

line 19: Temptation / necessarie

line 25: A perfect be= / gynning

line 27: Sententia cōtra / istū Malignum / spūa qui nobis /  
imponere voluit.

line 34: \* / He spake to E K.

[100b]

I can not pronounce it: But what his Judgment is, he knoweth in  
him

self. His name is BELMAGEL and he is the fyrebrand which  
hath followed thy sowle from the begynning; yea seking his  
destruction.

Who can better cōunterfeat, than he, that in thy wyckednes is  
chief lord

and Master of thy spirites: or who hath byn acquaynted with the  
secrets

5

of mans fingers so much as / <sup>c</sup> that / hath byn directer? My  
sayings

are no accusation: neyther is it my propertie to be defyled with  
such

profession. But I cōwsayle you generally; and aduertise you  
[through]

through the grace and by the spirit of vnspeakable mercy.

This night, yf your prayers had not byn, yea, if they had not  
perced

10

into the seat of him which sitteth aboue: Thow, yea (I say) thow  
hadst byn carryed, and taken awaye, this night, into a willdernesse,  
so far distant hence Northward, that thy destruction had followed.

Therefore lay away thy workes of youth; and fly from fleshly Vanities



yf not vppon Joye and pleasure of this presence, yet for the 15  
glorie of him that hath chosen you.

I say be strong, Be humble, with Obedience: For,

All the things, that haue byn spoken of, shall come to pass: And  
there shall not be a letter of the boke of this prophesie perish.

Finally, God hath blessed you, and will kepe you from <sup>Δ</sup>temptation 20  
and will be mercifull vnto you: and perfect you, for the  
dignitie of your <sup>\*</sup>profession sake: Which, world without ende,  
for euer and euer, with vs and all creatures, and in  
the light of his own cowntenance, be honored.

Amen Amen Amen

25

Δ Herevppon I made most humble prayer w<sup>th</sup> harty thanks to our  
God,

for his help, cumfort, and Judgment against our enemye, in this  
case, (so greatly concerning his glorie). And at my standing vp  
I vnderstode that Vriel was out of sight to E K. yet

I held on my purpose to thank him, and to prayse god for 30  
Vriel that his so faithfull [and frutefull] ministerie  
vnto

his diuine Maiestie, executed to our nedefull comfort  
in so vehement a temptation.

Deo nro Omnipotenti, sit ois laus, honor,

et gratiarum actio, nunc et in perpetuū 35

Amen

/flourish/

---

Marginal notes:

line 2: Angelus malus / proprius ipius / E K.

line 7: Δ / Diuels are / accusers pro= / prely.

line 11: E K had byn car= / ryed away in the / wrath of God /  
 if fervent prayer / had not byn, as / may appere in  
 the / begynning of this / mightie Action.

line 19: The boke of / this Prophecie / shall contynue

line 20:  $\Delta \approx$  a malo Temp / tationis

line 22:  $\Delta$  / Professio mea / est Philosophia / vera. / vide  
 Libro / primo.

[101a]

/5./ Maij [4] Sonday. a merddie hor. 4 vel circiter.

$\Delta$  Forasmuch as, on fryday last, while my frende E K was about writing

of the Tables he was told that the same shuld be finished on monday next:

and that on sonday before, (it is to wete, this present sonday) at after none,

all dowtes shold be [and] answered; after, the after /<sup>c</sup>none/ had so passed, as tyll

5

somewhat past 4 of the klok: Then, we fell to prayer, and after a

quarter of an howres invocation to god, and prayers made, E K sayd, here

is one. whome ([in dede]) we toke to be Vriel: as he was, in dede

I had layd 28 questions or articles of dowtes in writing vppon my desk,

open, ready for me to rede (vppon occasion) to our spirituall instructor: who,

10

thus began his speche, after I had vsed a few wordes begynning with this sentence. Beati pedes, evangelizantia pacem etc

Vriel—The very light and true wisdom (which is the somme of my message,

and will of him that sent me) make you perfect and establish

those things, which he hath sayd, and <sup>c</sup>/hath/ decreed: and likewise your

15

myndes, that you may be apt vessells to receyve so abundant mercies. Amen.  $\Delta$  Amen, per te Jesu Christe: Amen.

Vr — This boke, and holy key, which vnlocketh the secrets of god his determination,

as concerning the begynning, present being, and ende of this world,

is so reuerent and holy: that I wonder (I speak in your sense) 20  
whie it is deliuered to those, that shall decay: so excellent and great

are the Mysteries therein conteyned, aboue the capacitie of man: This boke

(I say) shall, to morrow be finished: One thing excepted: which is

the vse thereof. Vnto the which the lord hath appointed a day.

But (bycause I will speak to you after the manner of men) See that 25

all things be in redynes agaynst the first day of August next.

Humble your selues nine dayes before: yea, vnrip (I say)

the cankers of your infected sowles that you may be

apt and meet to vnderstand the secrets, that shalbe

deliuered. For why? The Lord hath sent his 30

angels allready to viset the earth, and to gather the

synnes thereof to gither, that they may be wayed before

him in the balance of Justice: and Then is the tyme

that the promise of God, shalbe fullfilled. Dowt not

for, we are good Angells. 35

The second of the greatest prophesie is this (o ye

mortall men). For the first was of him self, that

He shold come: And this, is from him, [self]: in

respect <sup>c</sup>/of/ that he will come. Neyther are you to speak

the wordes of this Testimonie, in one place, or in one people,

40

but, that the Nations of the whole world may knowe  
that there is a GOD which forgetteth not the truth of his  
promise, nor the sauegarde of his chosen, for the  
greatnes of his glory.

---

Marginal notes:

- line 18: This Holy / boke  
line 23: The boke to be / finished to morrow / [rule]  
line 24: The day appoin= / ted for the Vse / of this boke /  
Augusti .1. / [rule]  
line 27: Our nine / dayes contrition / preparatiue / [rule]  
line 31: Angels sent / to viset the / heaps of sinnes / in the  
world / abownding etc.  
line 35: Good Angels.  
line 36: The second / of the greatest / prophesie, is / this.  
line 40: Our Testi= / mony of this / Prophecie, / all the  
World / ouer, to be (by / Vs) published.
- 

[101b]

Therefore (I say) prepare your bodies, that they may be strong enough,

for armors of great profe. Of your selfs, you cannot: But desire  
[<sup>c</sup>sire] and it shall be giuen vnto you. For Now, is euen that  
wicked childe

grown vp [<sup>c</sup>vnto] [<sup>c</sup>vnto] perfection: and the fier tungs red to open  
his Jaws

Wo therefore shalbe to the Nations of the Earth: and Wo Wo  
innumerable to those that say, We Yelde:

5

Wickednes (o lorde) is crept vp, and <sup>c</sup>/hath/ filled the dores of thy holy

sanctuarie: defyled the dwelling places of thy holy Angels: and  
peysenned the earth; as hee sawe see.

In 40 dayes more must this boke be perfyted in his own marks 10

ner to the intent that you allso may be perfyted in the workman-  
ship of him, which hath sealed it.

Oute of this, shall be restored the holy bokes, which haue perished  
euen from the begynning, and from the first that liued

And herein shalbe deciphred perfect truth from imperfect 15  
falshode, True religion from fals and damnable errors,

With all Artes: which are propre to the vse of man, the

first and sanctified perfection: Which when it hath spread  
spread /a/ a While, THEN COMMETH THE ENDE.

Thy Character must haue the names of the fiue Angels (written 20

in the myddst of Sigillum Emeth) graven vppon the other side  
in a circle. In the myddst whereof, must the stone be,

Which was allso brought: Wherein, thou shalt, at all times  
behold, (priuately to thy self,) the state of gods people  
through

the Whole [world] earth. 25

The fowre fete of the Table must haue hollow things of swete  
wood, wherevppon, they may stand: within the hollownes wherof,  
thy seales may be kept vnperished.

One month is all, for the Vse thereof.

Thus sayeth the Lord, when I brought you vp in likenes of birds, 30

encreasing you, and suffring you to touche the skyes, [and call  
the sterrs to testimonie thereof] I opened vnto you the  
ende of your reioycing: For, this Doctrine shall towche  
the skyes, and call the sterrs to testimonie therof: And

your fotesteps shall viset (allmost) <sup>A</sup> all the partes of 35  
the [world] whole world.

The sylk, must be of diuerse cullors, the most changeable  
that can be gotten. For, who, is hable to behold the glory  
of the seat of God?

All

40

---

Marginal notes:

- line 1: Our bodyes to / be made / strong
- line 4: Antichriste / is allmost / ready for / his practise
- line 10: 40 dayes more / for the tables / writing in their /  
own Characters.
- line 13: The frute / of this boke
- line 21: The backside / of my Cha= / racter.
- line 22: The Vse of / the stone / which a good / Angel brought /  
to me the / last yere. / Remember it is / half an inche  
thik
- line 26: The 4 hollow / fete of the / Table
- line 29: The Vse of the / Table of prac= / tise is onely / for  
one Month.
- line 31: \* / Vide sup<sup>a</sup> / A<sup>o</sup> 1582 Maij 4.
- line 35: Great long / iornayes to / be gon of vs two
- line 37: The Cullor / of the silk / for the Table
- 

[102a]

All these things must be vsed, as that day.

All errors and dowtes ells may be amended by the rules of reason:

But Notwithstanding, Ask, and thou shalt be answered.

△. As concerning Mals don mals, what is the veritie to be placed

in the middle of my practise Table?

5

Vr. — Write

|       |             |       |
|-------|-------------|-------|
| o o e | rather thus | t i o |
| l r l |             | u l r |
| r l u |             | l r l |
| o i t |             | e o o |

△ from whence, are these taken?

10

Vr. They ought to be gathered of those names, which are first gathered by the, [by] by ordre: (In the myddst of them:) [the] the Kings and Princis being placed, as thow (of thy invention) [dost] diddst gather them: Not putting theyr own princis, next

to the kings: but as they follow in Tabula, collecta by the: 15  
as thus

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | l | i | g | o | n | o | r | n | o | g | o |
| o | b | o | g | e | l | e | f | a | f | e | s |
| a | b | a | l | e | l | u | t | m | o | n | o |
| y | n | e | p | o | r | l | i | s | d | o | n |
| n | a | s | p | o | l | r | o | r | g | e | s |
| n | a | p | s | e | n | r | a | l | g | e | s |
| l | u | m | a | z | a | a | g | e | n | o | l |

20

△ Wherefore is the Table of Kings and Princis set down in so diuerse manners?

.1: as, one, to haue Bobogel and Bornogo in the first row: an other to haue

25

.2: Baligon and Bagenol (his prince) in the first row: and here thirdly

.3. Baligon and Bornogo: and in the Heptagonon Blumaza semeth to be first,

discoursed of, and his prince and Ministers: but very secretly:

4. Vr. Blumaza is the first, in respect (And so all the rest, are the first in

respect) of theyr own being. That secret is not to be  
deliuered but by

30

the distinction of the boke. Notwithstanding, thow hast  
truely considered

of it all ready.

△ I required the perfect forme of the 21 letters, that I might  
imitate the

same in the Table of practise, and in the holy boke  
writing etc.

[Vr] They shall be deliuered to morrow.

35

Whether is the King his Name Bnaspen, or Bnapsen?

[Vr. Bnapsen.

△ The Character or Lamine for me was noted (Noue<sup>b</sup> 17. A<sup>o</sup> 1582  
/sp.85/ )

that it shold cōteyne some token of my name: and now, in this,  
(accounted

the true Character of Dignification) I perceyue no peculiar  
mark, or

40

letters of my name

[Vr. The forme in euery corner, considereth thy name. △ you meane  
there

to be a certayn shaddow of Δelta. Vr. Well.

△ Bycause many things do seeme to be taken from vnder the Table,  
as out of a

stoare howse, shall there be any shelf framed vnder our square  
Table of Practise

45

or handsome stole set in apt place to lay things on?

Vr. These things that were deliuered by show, vnder an Imagined  
Table, were

the

---

Marginal notes:

line 1: <.....> the / <fir>st of / August / next.

line 6, RH: △ So they seeme / to haue byn / ment in the figure /  
of the Table / of practise / before described.



line 15: The Princis / here not / put next / to their / kings.

line 25: Note. / .4. diuerse / Wayes.

line 30: A Secret of / preeminence / due to the Kings / etc:  
as in Astro / logy. I vse to mak / every planet a /  
base / or a / grownd / in his / propre / signification  
etc / & so every / howse of / the 12 / &c. in respect  
of / his proper and / essenti<sup>all</sup> signifi= / cation.

line 42: The Sym / bolum of / my name / in my character / how  
and where

[102b]

The mebres of God his secret Prouidence,

the members of God his [prouidence] secret Prouidence,  
distributed vnto his Ang<ells>

as the Principals of theyr Officis. But vnder thy Table is  
nothing to be set.

△ What more vses are there of the great Circle or globe,  
wherein there are Capitall

letters vnder the Kings names and Characters: and allso there  
are other letters 5

with numbers: of which we haue receyued no instruction: and  
more ou of these

letters, some are auersed and some euersed, etc?

Vr — The letters turned bak to bak, (<sup>c</sup>/being/ [the] Capitall  
letters,) ar aequally to be diuided,

according to their numbers, with a circle cumpassing the  
name and Cha=

racter of the king vnder which they are placed 10

The other letters, whose greatest number doth not excede 7,  
are certayn By notes

{ of wicked and euill powres: which cannot, any way, but  
by the towchestone

{ of truth be deciphred from the good. Wherof Notice shall  
be given

at large by the boke.

He that standeth in the myddst of the globe, signifieth  
Nature.

15

wherevpon, in the first point, is the Vse and practise of  
this work

that is to say, as concerning the first part. for it is  
sayde before

The Boke conteyneth three kinde of Knowledges

- |     |   |   |                                                            |    |
|-----|---|---|------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| .3. | { | 1 | The knowledge of GOD, truely                               |    |
| .2. |   | 2 | The number, and doing of Angels, perfectly                 | 20 |
| .1. |   | 3 | The begynning and ending of <u>Nature</u> , substantially. |    |

And this hath answered a great dowte.

△ What is the vse of the 7 lamines, (like armes,) and from  
what grownde

are they framed or deriued?

Vriel— They are the ensignes of the Creation; wherewithall they were  
created by God:

25

known onely by theyr acquayntance, and the manner of theyr  
doings.

△ Are they to be made in any mettall?

Vr— They are to be made in [pure tynne] purified tynne: And to  
be vsed at the time

of theyr Call

△ Ar the letters there to be altered into the holy [Ch]  
Alphabet letters or characters?

30

Vr Into theyr propre Characters. △ May I not vse them as they  
ar, vnaltered? Vr—<.....>

△ How to be vsed; hanged or layd?

Vr To be layd before the vppon the Table. Or thow mayst place  
them, (yf thow

wilt,) contynually at the 7 angles of the Holy seale:  
laying them

besides, and against the points or Angles of the Holy  
Seale: 7 ynches

35

from the Vtter border of the holy Seale, all at ones: Or  
els they ~~/////~~

may be paynted, On the Table.

△

What is the [vse] fowndation of the first 40 letters, in the principall; or

holy seale Emeth: and what other vses haue they, then yet hath byn

spoken of: And what is the reason of suche theyr consequence, or

40

following eache other, seing in our practise we cull them out by a pe

cullier order?

Vr———Thow hast nothing there, but what hath byn sufficiently spoken of.

△

yf 42 letters be 42 names, and 42 persons, how shall distinction be made

betwene any two or three, of one name and in one row?

45

Vr———How canst thow distinguish any thing with god?

△

Lord I know not

Vr———Yet, by the boke it shall be perfectly known: but by skylle aboue

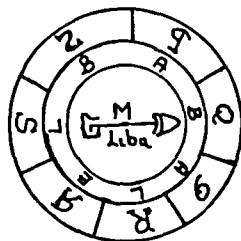
nature.

△ Hau < e > 50

Marginal notes

line 3, over 'pals' of 'Principals': ples

line 9:



△ perhaps somewhat  
like this,

line 15: The man in the / myddst of the / globe or circle

line 18: Three kinde of / Knowledges in / this boke.

line 23, over 'lamine': Tables  
 line 25: The 7 ensignes / of creation  
 line 28: At the time / of theyr call.  
~~line 31:~~ Letters / to be / alfred  
 line 37: The 7 ensignes / to be paynted on / the Table.  
 line 43: sup  
 a line joins 'Nature' (line 15) to 'Nature' (line 21), then to 'first part' (line 17) and then to '.l.' (line 21).

[103a]

△ Haue I rightly applyed the dayes to the Kings?

Vr—The dayes are rightly applyed to the Kings

△ How is the phrase The fifth of the seventh vnderstode, which Befafes speaketh of him self?

Vr—He speaketh so of him self, in respect that he shall be the fifth that

5

shall be Vsed. In consideration of Nature he is the fifth, allthough

not consequently in the Order of Operation

△ It was promised that we shold be instructed, whan the Day (in this practise) is to

be accountd to begynne.

Vr—It is not to be enquired, which is sufficietly tought, it is a thing most easy,

10

and perfectly deliuered.

△ Adrian Gilbert how far, or in what points is he to be made priuie of

our practise? seing it was sayd, That none shall enter into the

Knowledge of these mysteries with me, but onely this worker.

Truely the man is very cumfortable to our societie.

15

Vr—He may be made priuie of some things: such as shall be necessarie for

the necessitie of the Necessities wherevnto he shall be driuen.

△ The phrase of the last Ternarie, which, Baligon (otherwise named Carmara, or Marmara) vsed, I vnderstand not.

Vr—He is the ende of the Three last corruptible times: wherof, this is the last. 20

△ The one, at Noes flud ended, the second at Christ his first comming  
and this is the third.

Vr—It is so.

△ The Characters and words anexed to the Kings names in the vtter circumference of the great circle or Globe: How are they to be vsed? 25

Vr—<sup>A</sup>They are to be paynted vppon swete wood: and so to be held in thy hand,

as thow shalt haue cause to vse them.

△ For the bringing of the erthes hither from the places of hidden Threasure,

what is your order and direction? 30

Vr—After you haue eaten, it shall be told you.

△ We prayed, and so went to supper

[flourish]

Marginal notes:

line 1: <.....> Dayes and there / <....>ngs

line 4: Befafes

line 12: A G.

line 13: sup

line 18: The last / Ternarie.

line 21: Three / times

line 24: Vide supra pa= / gina praecedente.

line 27: △ / The 7 / characters / of the 7 kings / as on the /  
former page / is Babalel / Liba etc.

1583

The same sonday. [M] Maij .5. [after supper hora 8½

35

△ After diuerse our elaculations and pangs of prayer and thanks  
vnto god, this was sayed

Vr—Be it thus vnto you [He prayeth in his own language]

After this holy boke is finished, then is it necessarie with  
expedition

that the foresayd commaundemet, as concerning the fatching 40  
of the earth, be fullfilled and performed. And be it vnto  
you as HE will. And HE sayeth thus.

My angel shall be amongst you, and shall direct his iornay:  
and

will bring his feete, euen into the place and places, where  
that erthly filth and Corruption lieth. Behold I 45  
will deale mercifully with him. For, Error shall not deceyue  
him. Notwithstanding what I will haue done with it

---

Marginal note :

line. 39: Expedition

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[103b]

or how it shall be bestowed, is yet to be enquired of.

Secret are the determinations, and vnsearchable purposes, wherewithall  
the most mightiest dealeth with worldlings, and loketh vnto the  
v<se>

and necessarie application of worldly things. Many temptations  
shall assayle him in following this commaundement. But it is 5  
sayd, I Will be with him. God will deale mercifully  
with you This is sufficient.

Yet ones more. Yf thou haue any dowte herein it shall be  
satisfied.

△ What if he go first to Nubery, and with the erth being taken 10  
 thence, to procede to the other places noted in the skroll  
 and then with the erth of those ten places, the rest of the  
 skroll, the boke therewith fownd, and the red congeled thing  
in the hollow stone, to come directly hither: and then the  
 rest of the peculier practise for enioying the premisses, to be 15  
 lerned, or how els will you haue him order his iornay

Vr— As thow wilt herein, so shall it be brought to pas.

△ As concerning the Victorious Captayn /<sup>c</sup>The Lord Albert Laski/  
 [Alasko] the Polake

who so much desyreth my acqwayntance, and Conference, how sha<11>  
 I vse my self, to God his best liking, my Cuntries honor, and 20  
 my own good Credit?

Vr—Remember, it is sayde, that the Princis of the earth shall not  
 discredit, much lesse work thy Confusion. He that dwelleth  
in the, above worldes: and shall give the sufficient discretion  
worldly, in worldly occasions. For, Where the blessings 25  
 of God are, euery thing is perfyted.

△ As concerning the Chamber for Practise, appointed by me, and  
 the half\_pace whereon the Table standeth, how is allowed <of?>

Vr—The place can not sanctifie the Action, but the Action  
 the place But I answer the, after the manner of men, 30  
 It is sufficient

△ The 4 hollow feete for comprehending the 4 letter seales,  
 how great ought they to be?

Vr. According to the fete, of the nearest proportion

And so, as the heith of the Table, be, as it, now, is. 35

E K. He semeth now to sit in the ayre: but I perceyue no chayre  
 behinde him.

△ Are all these things of this dayes Action to be Noted with  
your name: as Vriel?

I am Vriel, which allwayes will answer yntill this Action 40  
be finished

I teache. Be Mercifull, Thankfull, and mery in him, and for him  
for whose name you shall susteyne much bodyly sadnes

More then my mesage, I may not: And it is done

△ As 45

Marginal notes:

- line 1: How the / Threasor is to / be vsed  
line 13: The Skroll / The Boke / The red powder  
line 18: Albertus / Laski, / Palatinus / Siradiensis / venit ex /  
Polonia Londiniū / 1583. Maij initio  
line 24: My good Angel.  
line 30: ∴ Hereby may many / other answers / be cōsidered  
line 40: VRIEL  
line 43: Multa nobis / perpetienda / propter Deū / nostrum /  
Oipotetem

[104a]

△ As concerning the Vision which yester night was presented  
(vnloked for)

to the sight of E K as he sat at supper with me, in my hall,  
I meane: the appering of the very sea, and many ships thereon,  
and the Cutting of the hed of a woman, by a tall blak man,  
What are we to imagin therof? 5

Vr——The One, did signifie the prouision of forrayn powres against  
the

Welfare of this land: which they shall shortly put in practise:



The other, the death of the Quene of Scotts It is not long  
vnto it.

The Maiestie of his invisible powre, which overcommeth  
all things be among you, vppen you, and rest with you 10  
for euer

△ Amen

E K. At his last words he flung fyre with his hands from him toward  
vs, and it spred it self in the manner of a Crosse.

△ Gloria sit sempiterna Deo nro 15

Omnipotenti et AEterno

Amen

[flourish]

Marginal notes:

line 4: ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

line 8: Note The Quene / of Scotts / to be behedded. / [rule] /  
So she was / A<sup>o</sup> 1587 at / Fodringham Castell / And  
allso the / same yere a / great preparation / of ships  
against / E<sup>g</sup>land by the / King of Spayn / the Pope  
and / other Princis / called Catholik / etc

Maij: 6. Monday, I went to london,: and E K remayned [writing  
the Tables]

attending the accomplishing of the promise, for the Tables  
ending 20

and for the perfect forme of the holy letters receyuing:  
Which

/ two points (when I cam home that after none), I fownd done.

But it is to be Noted, that, When E K could not aptly imitate  
the forme of the Characters, or letters, as they were shewed:  
that then

they appered drawn on his paper with a light yellow cullor,  
which

25

he drew the blak vppon, and so the yellow cullor disapearing  
there remayned onely the shape of the letter in blak: after  
this mann

and iust of this quantitie and proportion

℞

℥ ™ 7 ε 7 ✕ ✕ x 6 13 v

30

✓ 7 a p e l r e u n

[flourish]

---

Marginal note:

line 27: Note.

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[104b]

<Ma>1j 8. Wensday. After dynner hora circiter 4

△ Being desyrous to funder all things on my part to be performed,  
and <n...>

to lack the Cumpany of E K going for the Erthes (before spoken  
of)

and to be away 10 or 12 dayes: and for as much as the boke  
was to

be written in 40 dayes before August next: and vncertayn of 5

those dayes whan they shold begynne: and allso for that I  
wold do all

things (gladly) by warrantie of counsaile of our Instructor,  
I was

desyrous to know whether the boke were to be written in paper  
or

parchemēt: in what cullor the lynes were to be ruled, grene  
or blew

etc. and of diuerse other dowtes, necessary to be dissolved,  
I was carefull

10

to haue had some aduertisement. After long prayers of vs  
both,

Nothing was eyther seen in the ayre, or hard. Then it cam in  
my hed

to set furth the stone.

E K. sayd that assone as he lokod into the stone, he saw there the  
Table, Chayr,

and three, com into the stone. Vriel sat down in the chayre:  
the

15

other two, inclined theyr body to him reverently: and then,  
stode by; one on the

one side of the chayre, the other, on the other side.

The sides of the Table cloth were turned vp, and a thing like an  
yong

shepe, bigger then a lamb, appered vnder the Table. Then they  
two did

knele before Vriel and sayd

20

Verus et sanctus et sempiternus.

△ Then they rose agayn. and they semed to haue talk, a  
conference together

and therevppon Vriel sayd

Vr Be it so, bycause powre is giuen vnto him.

E K. The Table, Chayre and all the [rest] three do disapere: and 25

therevppon immediately appered in the stone a fayre Pallace:  
and out

of the pallace cam a tall wellfauored man, very richely  
apparayled

with a braue hat and a fether on his hed: and after him  
followed a

great number, all like curteours. and this brave man sayd

**Man**—How pitifull a thing is it, when the wise, are deluded?

30

△—I smell the smoke; procede Syr, in your purpose.

**Man** I come hither, for the desyre I haue to do the good.

△ — Come you, or are you sent. Tell the Veritie I charge the,  
in the name and by the powre of the aeternall Veritie.

△ Note: After I perceyued euidently that it was a wicked tempter,  
who had powr

35

permitted him at this instant, I began with some Zeale and  
egreness

to rebuke, and to charge him. But he stiffly and stowtely  
did

contemne me a good while, mock me, and at length threaten  
to destroy

me, my wife, and children. etc

△ I therevppon made my earnest prayers to god agaynst this  
spirituall enemy:

40

but he in the myddle of my prayers, sayed thus.

[Man] — As truely as the Lord liueth, all that is done, is lies

△ That, thy sentence, will I record agaynst the; to be layde  
to thy charge

at the dredful day:

△ After this great turmoyle past, was this voyce (following),  
hard of E K.

45

A voyce ——— Pereant tenebrae, cum Principe Tenebrarum

△ All went suddenly out of sight, Prince and pallace and all  
And the Chayre and Table and Vriel appeared againe

[Vr ——— Arme]

Vr —

Marginal notes:

line 3: The Erthes

line 8: The boke

line 13: Note the / stone

line 19: The shepe / Vnder the / Table

line 26: A Temptation / permitted by God.

a line joins 'powre' (line 24) to 'powr' (line 35).

Vr:—Arme your selues; for, great shall be the temptation followin<g>

You shall be hindred, in all, that may be.

Nothing can hinder god his determined purposes.

Δ— Man may hinder his owne saluation

Vr:—Fullfill those things that are commaunded.

5

Forme, and write the boke after thyne own Judgment.

God his determination is iust; Therefore putto your hands

More then hath byn sayd, and more plainely, cannot be Vttred.

His works are true, for, and to the ende.

Δ Forasmuch as expedition is to be made for the erthes fatching  
and diuers

10

other things: and we haue made assay to get an horse: But we  
could

get none as we wold: and without somme better prouision of  
mony then

we haue, we cannot redress the case. Therefore, if it might  
pleas god,

that of the ten places Noted, we might haue but the possession  
of

the smallest of them, deliuered here, vnto vs, at this pynche,  
it might

15

greatly pleasure vs.

Vr. ——— Will these worldlings hold on in theyr iniquitie?

E K They pulle the leggs of the Table away, and seme to  
carry all

away in a bundell like a clowde. and so disapered vtterly.

Δ Herevppon I was exceding sorrowful: and betoke my self  
to a

20

lamentable pang of prayer.

Δ After long prayer, appered in the stone a thing like a Tunge

all on fyre thus hanging downward

and from it cam this voyce



Tung — Thow hast deliuered thy self vnto the desires of thy hart,  
and 25

hast done that which is not Convenient.

Thow hast spoken iniquitie, and therefore dethe the Veritie  
of Gods Doings by Vs, decay, in your Wickedness.

△ I dowl of the Veritie of that tung.

Tung — Man (o God) beleueth him self in his own Imagination 30

Therefore Wipe our holines from the face of the erth

And Justifie our doings, where we lawde and prayse the.

△ I becam now abashed of my former speche, and perceyued my  
error:

axed forgivenes bitterly at the Lord his hand. and at length  
it was sayde 35

Tung — Do that, which is commaunded, the Lord is Just.

△ O lord, forgiue me my trespasses, and deale not with me  
according

to Justice: for, then I, and all mankinde shall vtterly  
perish;

Vnleast thy mercy be our savegard, destruction is our  
desert.

Tung — It is forgiuen: but it shall be punished. 40

E K. The tung mownted vp toward heven, and he saw it in the  
ayre out and above the stone aboue a hand bredth,  
mownting vpward

△ Thy Name be praysed, in AEternitie, Ô God

Amen

△ Herevppon 45

Marginal notes:

line 1: Temptations & / hinderances

line 6: The forme / of the boke / committed to / my discretion

Herevppon I was in an exceding great hevines, and sorrow of mynde:  
A<nd>

sundry tymes, bewayled my case to God: and promissed a greater  
safe

henceforeward, of Governing my Tung: and consenting to any  
vnlawfull or vnconvenient desire of my hert: yea, [or] /to  
forbeare/ to accum<pany>

with my own wife, carnally,: otherwise then by heavenly leave 5  
and permission, or /if vppon<sup>c</sup>/ my protestation making in the  
hardines of the conflict

that vnleast the lord order /and redress<sup>c</sup>/ my cause, I shall  
be overcome: That if

I shall, so deliberately call for help, and not withstanding  
be entrapped,

That then, such trespase, shall not be imputed vnto /me<sup>c</sup>/, as  
gladly, gredyly,

or willingly committed [etc] of me etc.

10

/flourish/

Maij 9. Holly Thursday in the morning.

△ Being desyrous (before E K. his going down into the Cuntrie)  
to haue som<e>

Cumfort and token of free forgiuenes at Gods hands I browght  
furth

the stone. Then I went into my Oratorie first requesting the 15

Almighty God to respect the hartly sorrowfull paines [I] I had  
endured for

my offences; /to regarde<sup>c</sup>/ the Vows and intent of /my<sup>c</sup>/ better  
hede taking henceforth

etc. and prayed the 22 Psalm in the conclusion of the pang.

E K—One, all in white appeareth in the stone, who sayde

It is written: It is written: yea, it is written:

20

Euen as the father his compassion is great over his yonglings  
and Children: So, is the abundance of thy mercy (o lord)

great and vnapeakable to the long offences and sinnes

of thy servant. For, it is written, the light of  
thy eyes haue beheld those that feare the: and those that  
trust

25

in thy mercy, shall not be confounded

Be it, what it was: And be you, what you were:

For, the Lord, is euen the same, that he was, before:

But be you Warned

Behold, my armes ar longer then my body, and I haue eyes  
rownd about me: I am that, which [g] GOD pronounceth  
vppon you: Be it as I haue sayde /flourish/

30

△ Therevppon he disapered; and immediately, appered Vriel,  
who sayd

Vri. ——— Actum est. △ Then the other two, and the Table and  
Chayre, and the ancient furniture appeared, agayn restored,  
and more bewtifull, then in foretyme.

35

Vri — Thus, sayeth the Lord: Euen as the Tabernacle which I  
restore, is ten times brighter then it was, So may your  
Worthynes deserue brightnes ten tymes cl<er>er then this  
The rising of synners doth greatly reioyce vs and  
That, he hath sayde, Do good vnto those that feare me: and  
defend them, bycause they know my name. For in Justice

40

they

---

Marginal notes:

line 20: △ forte. / Anna<sup>81</sup>

line 29: /hand/

line 30: Misericordia / Dei.

line 36: NOTE

---



they shall finde me theyr God: & in mercy their great Comforter.

Therefore we say, In thy name (o thou most highest) fiat.

fiat.

Justifie not your self:

Be humble and diligent:

5

Continue to the ende. For great is the reward of them that

feare the Lorde stedfastly.

△ Whereas the <sup>c</sup>ordring of the<sup>7</sup> boke is referred to my Judgment:  
in my mynde it semeth

requisite <sup>c</sup>/that/ as all the writing and reding of that holy  
language is

from the right hand to the left, so the begynning of the bok<e> 10

must be, (as it were, in respect of our most vsuall manner

of bokes, in all languages of latin, greke, english etc) at  
th<e>

ende of the boke: and the ende, at the begynning, as in the  
hebr<ew>

bible. secondly the first leafe cannot be written in

such little and aequall squares, as [the] all the rest of  
the 47

15

leaves are: bycause, the first leafe, except 9 lines (of the  
[last]

second page) therof: is all of words: some conteyning many  
letters, and some few, very diuersly: wherfore, I entend to  
make many leaves, serve to distinguish the 49 rowes of the  
firs<t>

leafe: and at the ende of euery word to draw a line of

20

partition, vp and down, betwene the two next parallell

lines. etc. or as shall come in my mynde then.

Vr——He, that sayeth, DO this, directeth thy Judgment.

E K. Now is there a veale drawn before all: and all things

appere far bewtifuller then euer they did.

25

△ I rendred thanks to the highest, and became in mynde  
 Very Joyfull, that the Lord had pardoned my  
 offences: whose name be praysted, extolled and  
 magnified world with out ende. Amen.

I prayed after this the short psalme Jubilate Deo  
 quotquot in terra versamini etc.

30

[flourish]

E K, immediately was to take bote and so to go to London: ther< e>  
 to buy a saddell, brydle, and bote hose: for he had (here)  
 yesterday, bought a

prety dun Mare, of goodman Pentecost: for iij<sup>ls</sup>, redy mony, in  
 angels [god]

35

God be his guyde, help, and defense

Amen.

[flourish]

---

Marginal notes:

line 1: Justice  
 line 10: The boke.  
 line 14: Note

---

[106b]

Thursday. Maij 23. Circa 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  mane.

△ E K being come [home] yesterday [frō his ior] againe &  
hauing.....

the erthes of the eleuen places before specified: Wee being  
desirous to....

the furder pleasure of the highest therein, and in other matters  
pteyn/g/: to our Actions

in hand: I made prayer to such intent, both in my oratory & at my  
desk, rendring

5

thanks for E K his safe retorne, and for the benefit receyued  
of late of the

Governor and assistants for the Mines Royall: (which I perceyued,  
was the

extraordinary working of god /<sup>c</sup>for<sup>c</sup> theyr /<sup>c</sup>inward<sup>c</sup> perswasion; /<sup>c</sup>they<sup>c</sup>  
 being /<sup>c</sup>els<sup>c</sup> very vnwilling

so to let the lease, as I obteyned it.) and moving somewhat towching  
Albert Lasky

At length, E K hard a Melody /<sup>c</sup>a far of<sup>c</sup>, and the voyce of many,  
 singing, these words

10

Pinzu[a] Lephe ganiúrax Kelpadman pacaph

△ At the length the curten was taken away, and there appered a  
 clere whitis<h>

fume, but not fyre

After that, cam the threes, which were wont to come in.

Michael————— Grauida est terra, laborat iniquitatibus

15

inimicorum lucis.

Maledicta [est] igitur est, quia quod in vtero  
 perditio<nis>

et tenebrarum est.

Vriel—————Sordida est, et odiosa nobis.

Raphael————— Proprijs sese flagellat tremulis.

20

E K. They loke abowt them, as though they loked for somewhat  
 or at somewhat

Rap.————— Voh dicat, sed non est qui audiat

Gementem vidimus, sed non est, qui misereat.

Sancticemur igitur Sanctum eius, quia <n>os

25

sanctificamur in illo

Mich.————— Fiat.

E K. He plucketh all the vsuall hangings down abowt the place  
 and now they take the Table away, and the Chayre:

And where the Chayre was semeth a Canapy or

30

cloth of state to hang

Michael———Transeunt vetera, Incipiunt nova.

E K. Now seeme like clowdes to come about the Canapy being very  
beawtifull: and the bottom or flowr of the place, all couered  
with pretious

stone, bigger then ones fist.

.35

Mi ——— This

Vriel ——— That

Rap ——— We

□ they sayd, pointing about the howse.


E K. They bring in a Throne like a Judges seat or Throne and  
set it vp with the back of it to the Wall.

40

Mich ——— Be it couered for a season: For euer and euer  
and

Marginal notes:

line 3: <T>he Erthes.

line 7: <T>he stone / 

line 11: <T>his [a] was / <s>ounded to the / <e>nde of pinzu /  
<a>s we vse in. / <e>nglish balads / <a>s with this /  
<w>ord down / <a> is sounded / <h>ey downa / <d>own  
a down a / etc.

line 32: Nova

[107a]

<sup>c</sup>  
and [ever] ever is thy Justice, O GOD □ all three sayd □  
E K. And there

cam light fire flashing from the Throne □

There commeth a beame from the Throne, and throwgh Raphael  
his head, and semeth to come out at his mouth. The other two  
seeme

to knele downe: Michael on his right hand, and Vriel on his left. 5  
Raphael.—— I will speak (o lord) bycause it is iust that thou  
 hast commaunded.

Your rashnes (o worldlings is trodden vnderfote: He sayeth,  
 (I say not) your synns are forgiven

△ O blessed God; ô prayse we his mercyes for euer: ô Cumfortable  
 newes. 10

Raph. ——— For, whome I will viset, those do I clense (sayeth  
 the Lord)

Whan other things decay by reason of theyr age and filthynes  
 quae

nunc sunt in summo gradu, and I will not suffer them to move  
 one

fote farder [(], sayeth the lord,) Then shall your branches  
 begyn

to appere: And I will make you florish, for my gloryes sake, 15

And my testimonies are true, and the wordes of my covenant

iust: My pathes are thorny, but my dwelling place, is  
 cumfortab<le>

[And lift vp your harts, as from the strength of an other]

[But be you vnto me]. My hand is heuy, but my help is great.

Be ye cumforted in me: for from me, in my self, I am 20

your Cumforter: and lift vp your harts as from the strength

of an other. But be you vnto me a new people: bycause

I am to you no new god. Dwell with me to the ende

bycause I haue byn with you from the begynning: For

Who soeuer shall arrise agaynst you (Behold) I 25

am With you.

~ Your fathers liued in darknes, and yet were revived

~ yea your fathers were in light, and yet they saw not Truth.

~ But I will be known: yea the Nations vppon earth, shall say

{ Lo this is he, whome we haue risen agaynst I AM. therefore  
reioyce

30

All three sayd [ ] We perish (o lord) for our vnrighteousnes  
sake [ ] and therew/th/

they fall down [ ] But in the we were created and in the

We rise agayn: Huseh Huseh Huseh garmal, Peleh Peleh Peleh  
pacád=

uasam

Gyrd your gyrdles together and pluck vp your myndes: I say,  
ope<n>

35

your eyes: and yf you haue eares, heare: for we tremble and  
quake. This mercy was never: no not in Israël

Decedant mali, et pereant.

Depart o ye blasphemers, and workers of Iniquitie: For,

Here is Glory, Justification, with Sanctification

40

I answere the.

△ Note: he meaneth, now to such matters as

I propownded first of my self, and this  
Poland<er>

prince etc to give answer. The Prince had  
left with me these questions:

.1. De Vita Stephani Regis Poloniae quid [st...] dici po<ssit?>

45

2. An successor eius erit Albertus Lasky an ex  
domo Austria<ca?>

3. An Albertus Lasky Palatinus Siradiensis habebit  
regnū Molda<uiae?>

---

Marginal notes:

line 6: Just:

line 9: Peccatorū re= / missio

line 17: The Thorny path / sup<sup>a</sup>: Mar: / 24.

line 31: Angeli iniusti respectu / Justitiae Divinae

line 37: Mercy,

---

Behold you thanked God, and it is accepted.

I say, Although we require speede of the and of you: yet ....  
.... speede of vs, you haue a Master, we are his mowth ...  
are Schollars, without vs, you could \* not heare him: Ney ....  
we heare him of our selues.

5

Consider the first, respect the second: Measure your selues,  
as the third.

For what you were & shalbe is allready appointed

And What He Was, is and shalbe, it is not of our determination

His purposes are without ende: yet, to an ende; in you, to an ende 10

Therefore When you shall be called vppon, DO that which

is commaunded: But appoint no forme vnto god his buil-  
ding. Many wyndes are to come: but theyr furey is in

Wayne: It is sayd: The Conquest shall be yours.

To the purpose. Who puft vp this princis father with desire to 15

Viset these cuntries: or who hath prevented him? euen he.  
 that hath

prouided him a sonne, as an arme vnto his chosen

Truely the hills shalbe couered with blud: The Valleys shall take  
 vp

the Cedar trees vnframed: He seeth these places, but knoweth  
 not

to what ende. He is dead, in respect of his absence: But  
honor

20

them, whome God hath sanctified. For, Behold, the Lord

hath sayd: Thow shalt gouern a people: a time there is, which

is prefixed: and it is the course of the sonne: Then sh<all>  
it be

sayd vnto him, O King.

When you semed to be carryed vnto mowntaynes, you towched his  
[his] ...

25

Behold (sayeth He). Fornication shall not prevayle:

the very stones shall be taken away: and the Tables shalbe couered

with blud: and theyr dayly bankett shall be Wo Wo.

Whatsoever thow takest in hand, First loke vp: see if it  
be Just: yf it be, put furth thy hand: for it is  
graunted.

30

It is sayed, I haue giuen the powre; and thy perswasion shall <be>  
like fire: and for my names sake, thow shalt triumphe  
agaynst the mightiest. But beware of Pride.

Many Witches and enchanter, yea many diuels haue rosen vp against 35  
this stranger, and they haue sayd, We will preuayle against  
him: for why? There is one that aspieth and he it  
is, that seeketh his confusion. But I will graunt him  
his desire. He shall do good with many: your names  
are in one boke. Feare not, therefore; Love together

40

There

# Marginal notes:

- line 1: ..... / ..... / require none at / Gods hands  
in / this Case.
- line 11: Note / we shalbe / called vpon.
- line 17: Albertus / Lasky
- line 20: The dead / man [hand]
- line 22: Prophetia de / regno Alberti a / Lasky. sed ip̄e /  
noluit constanter / se convertere ad / Deum: et ad= /  
herere Deo / &c.
- line 26: Fornication
- line 29: Justa / facienda.
- line 32: Perswasion /  $\Delta$



line 35: Alb. Lasky ¶

line 39: Alb. Lasky his / name in one boke / with our names.

[108a]

There shall arise, saying, let .....

talked with strangers: But I .....

I will driue them from they<r> own .....

the bones which are buryed a far of .....

They do spit vengeance agaynst .....

5

them in theyr own filthynes .....

All men loke vppon the .....ause it is glorified .....

Happy are they, whose faces are marked, and in w.....

is a percing fyre of workmanship.

I will move the Prince (sayeth the Lord) Be .....

10

shall shortly say, Ô give me Cownsayle: for th .....

cownsayled me, conspire agaynst me

Behold, <sup>\*</sup>such as shewed the, little frendeship, are rather such ..

dede (as thow iustly hast confessed,) as were forced to doe ..

good: I say they, begyn to repine at that, they haue ...

15

Let those which are of tyme, yelde to time

One euerlasting cumfort of grace, and perfect loue,

be amongst you: to the honor and glory of him that

loueth you.

Beleue, for the teacher his sake.

20

All thow demaundest, is answered.

Of our selues, (we say,) We desire to be with you:

And what is of vs, the same be it vnto you

E K. They pluck the curten, affore the stone, all ouer.

The curten is like beaten gold:

25

Δ Semper sit benedictus Trinus et vnus.

AEternus et omnipotens Deus nr̄.

Amen

/flourish/

Liber sexti [et sancti] Mysteriorū (et sancti)

30

[Noualissim] parallelus, [sequitur] Noualisq<sub>r</sub>

sequitur

Marginal notes:

line 4: < ....rie bones / .... be / .... to>

line 8: Fa= / <Fa>ces marked

line 11, over 'for th': forte they that

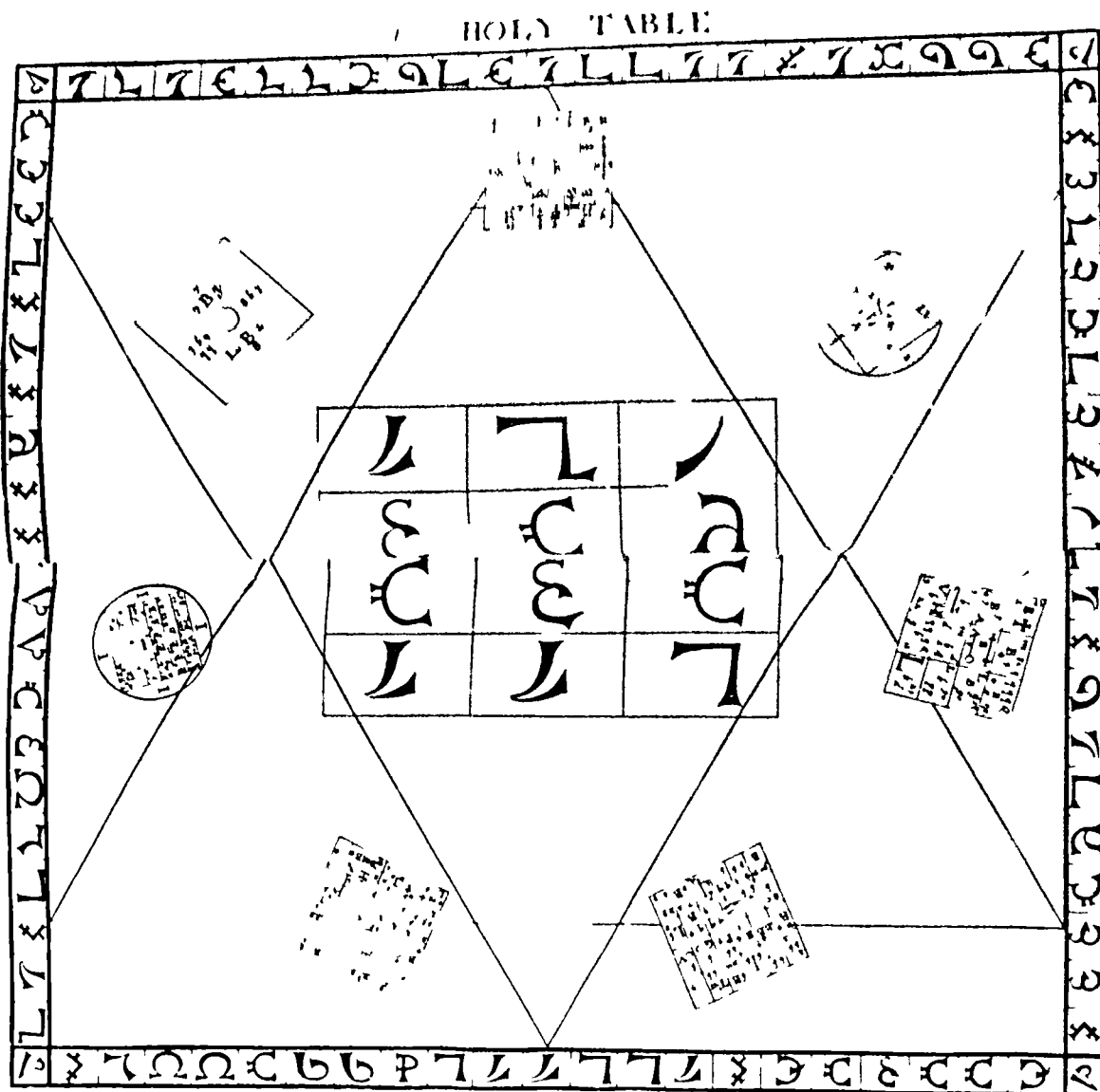
line 13: \* / The Cumpany / for the mines / royall which / had  
made A.G. / and me a lease / for Deuonshire / mynes  
etc

line 14, below 'doe': forte done

line 16, RH: ☐ Δ we were called to / dynner often / so he  
ended.

line 25, RH: ☐ The other curtens did not /not/ cover all so  
wholy / as this did.

## APPENDIX



The plate of the Holy Table shown in Meric Casaubon's A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee...and Some Spirits (1659), facsimile edition 1974, (copyright: The Antonine Publishing Co. Ltd.).

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Ashmole MS 1446. Townesend's annotated copy of Theatrum Chemicum with various notes about Dee.

Ashmole MS 1788, arts 1-16. Ashmole's copy of A Compendious Rehearsal; a copy of 'Praefatio Latina in actionem' (published by C.H. Josten as 'An Unknown Chapter'); letter from Dr. N. Bernard to Meric Casaubon and some ensuing correspondence; copy of a letter from Dee to William Camden, 7 August 1574; list of contents of 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries'; copy of the Supplication to Queen Mary; miscellaneous notes on Dee; copy of a letter from William Aubrey to Dee; 'Medicina ad cancrum curandum'; two horoscopes for Dee; horoscope for Edward Kelly; Ashmole's comments on Dee's horoscope; information about Dee from Hollinsworth's book of antiquities; John Aubrey's account of Dee gathered from Goodwife Faldo; notes by Ashmole on his discourse with Goodwife Faldo.

Ashmole MS 1790, arts 1-4. 'Praefatio Latina in actionem'; various papers relating to the Actions with spirits; Ashmole's notes concerning the Actions with spirits; Ashmole's correspondence relating to Dee.

Douce MS 363, fol. 125. A record that Lasky arrived in England on 30 April 1583.

Rawlinson MS D 923, arts A12 and B10. Family tree taken from Dee's grandson Rowland; letter by Casaubon undated.

Selden Supra MS 79, fols 171-187. Notes copied by Brian Twyne from various manuscripts written by Dee.

Smith MS 95, fols 131-146. Thomas Smith's notes on Dee.

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